

Philip Rees

**Biographical
Dictionary
of the
Extreme Right
Since 1890**



Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890

by Philip Rees

This unique new reference book is a comprehensive biographical dictionary of 500 major figures on the radical right, extreme right, and revolutionary right from 1890 to the present. Its diverse international coverage includes Argentinian nationalists, Mexican sinarquistas, American nativist demagogues, Brazilian Integralists, German National Socialists, Portuguese National Syndicalists, Spanish Falangists, and Belgian Rexists. The *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890* also includes philosophers, novelists, poets, and others whose activities or ideas supported the policies of the extreme right. The terms "fascist" and "Nazi" by no means exhaust the categories of the right encompassed in this book.

Organized from A-Z, the entries span from Salvador Abascal to Hans Zehrer, and cover contemporary figures such as Jean-Marie Le Pen as well. Although everyone has heard of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, few readers will have knowledge of such people as Joseph E. McWilliams, Jan Rys-Roszevac, or Damian Kratzenberg. These and many other figures of the extreme right are resurrected from obscurity to form a complete picture of the wide variety and complexity of this sector of the political spectrum.

A concise biographical summary begins each entry, providing quick reference for the reader. A list of sources completes the coverage of each figure.

Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890 is an authoritative resource that provides students, researchers, and general readers with straightforward, easily accessible biographical portraits.



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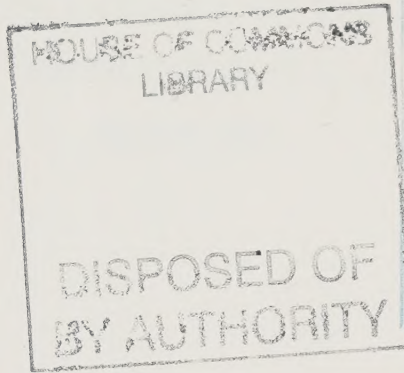
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BIOGRAPHICAL
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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE EXTREME RIGHT SINCE 1890

Philip Rees



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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

In this list of references only those items appear that have been represented in the sources following each entry by a brief code word. Fuller details of many of the references may be found in my own *Fascism and Pre-Fascism in Europe, 1890–1945: a bibliography of the extreme right*, Hassocks, 1984.

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- MSI** Movimento Sociale Italiano.
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- RNP** Rassemblement National Populaire.
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- SD** Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service of the SS).
- SS** Schutzstaffel.
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INTRODUCTION

Anyone who has ever risked the charge of having bitten off more than they can chew or, to be more grandiose, the charge of overweening hubris will know of the immense possibilities for error in my attempting to write all the entries for such a work as this myself. In my defence I can only argue that I have spent many years struggling to limit the errors to the minimum. Although it is tempting to believe in the progressive thrust of knowledge, with past mistakes systematically being corrected, this is probably an illusion, indeed some existing reference works serve as a salutary reminder of the possibilities of human fallibility. I have endeavoured to eschew, as far as possible, unwarranted judgement and polemic, in the interests of fact, although when presented with horrific details of past atrocities, it is less than human, perhaps, to adopt a pose of gelid impartiality. Suffice it to say that my aim has been factual but at the same time critical and evaluative.

It will inevitably be said that there are omissions and, indeed, there must be, not only because of constraints of space, but also as part of a conscious process of selection. It is notoriously difficult to define the right and, in particular, the extreme right. Ian Gilmour, the British Conservative, has pointed to the difficulty of definition when he claimed that the right is 'like the elephant, easily recognized when it is seen'.¹ He, perhaps, had in his subconscious the Sufi story of the blind men who each felt a different part of the elephant and described it as if it were the whole thus demonstrating their failure to grasp the nature of the total beast. This is no place to rehearse in depth the old arguments about what constitutes the extreme right but perhaps it is politic to summarize briefly the underlying policy for inclusion or exclusion. Of the many recent attempts to define the phenomenon, the most impressive has been that of Professor Stanley Payne who recognizes three distinct strands of the extreme right: fascism, the radical right, and the conservative authoritarian right. It will do little harm to repeat his excellent description of the processes by which the extreme right came into being:

The roots of the new forms of the authoritarian right in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries may be found in at least four different areas: the growth of corporatist doctrine, primarily in Catholic circles, and the ambiguous development of certain new forms of political Catholicism; the transformation of moderate or conservative liberalism, by degrees, in an overtly authoritarian direction, especially in southern Europe, the transformation of previously traditionalist anti-liberal and monarchist forces in various countries from the Latin west to Russia, and the emergence of an instrumental, modernizing, and imperialist new kind of radical right in Italy.²

Another recent book edited by Roger Eatwell and Noel Sullivan has found five separate strands within the right as a whole: the moderate right, the reactionary right, the radical right, the extreme right and the 'new' right.³ Although they are aware of the 'blurred edges' between the various categories, occasionally there is a tendency, particularly in regard to the 'new' right, to lump together those working within an essentially democratic and pluralist tradition with those whose origins, both ideological and personal, are very different. If the extreme right is anything it is opposed to parliamentary forms of democratic representation and hostile to pluralism. There is also a tendency to pay insufficient attention to the fluidity of, and interconnection between, the various rights: Evola and the philosophers of the 'conservative revolution' (classified as radical right) influenced Benoist (classified as 'new' right), and he in turn is not totally unsympathetic to Jean-Marie Le Pen (classified as extreme right), while Maurras and Barrès, the philosophers of the reactionary right, had a profound influence on the young fascists of *Je Suis Partout*.

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Nobody should expect to find Margaret Thatcher or Irving Kristol or Roger Scruton or F.A. Hayek here, any more than representatives of the 'libertarian' right, such as Ayn Rand, for example. Alain de Benoist, who is included, however, is quite different in the tradition (that of Evola and the 'conservative revolution') from which he comes. Nor should anyone expect to find Jerry Falwell and others of the Moral Majority who work within a democratic tradition. Their predecessors G.L.K. Smith, Gerald Winrod, and William Dudley Pelley looked in a very different direction, pulled by the magnetic force emanating from the European continent. And while Senator Joseph McCarthy was very much in the uniquely American demagogic tradition based on charismatic individuals rather than movements which, in its twentieth-century manifestation, abused communism, espoused super-patriotism, and attracted minorities and out-groups, nevertheless he worked broadly *within* the congressional and democratic framework.

It has to be admitted that there are what Wittgenstein called 'family resemblances' between movements of the right. There exists 'a complicated network of similarities, overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail',⁴ but it would be a huge mistake to fail to see the monumental differences between the moderate right (including, I would argue, many on the 'new right') and the other categories. Few make this mistake with the left. Clearly the moderate right has been omitted for, by definition, it is not extreme.

Naturally the present definition takes in fascism, the Iron Guard, the Arrow Cross, the Nasjonal Samling, the Falange Español, the Isänmaallinen Kansanliike, Action Française, the Parti Populaire Français, the Portuguese National Syndicalists, Zbor in Serbia and the Ustaši in Croatia, and all the rest of them. The real quarrel arises lower down the extreme right chain: what about Franco, Salazar, Dollfuss, Schuschnigg, Pétain, Laval? What about the Argentine Nationalists, the Italian Nationalists, the Poujadists (all included), and the Fatherland Front in Austria (omitted). What about the extreme right before the advent of fascism and National Socialism, what about Biétry, Schönerer, Karl Luger, Guido von List and Vacher de Lapouge? I have included most of these, the notable omissions being Laval and Pétain. Their voyage towards the service of the extreme right was surely contingent on the ironies of historical outcome and personal considerations, not entirely the result of ideological defection. Dollfuss and Schuschnigg in Austria were more representative of what Pauley has called 'bureaucratic absolutism' (he does, indeed, assign it some decided fascist characteristics) but, despite the overlap of the Heimwehr and the Fatherland Front, the attempts at reconciliation with the Nazis, and the search for a coalition of 'national' elements, I believe it is justifiable to include Starhemberg and Fey, while omitting Dollfuss and Schuschnigg. I have erred on the side of generosity (if this is the appropriate term for inclusion) in the case of the pre-fascists, convinced by the work of Zeev Sternhell.

It has long been an article of faith that the left is ultimately, apart from one or two aberrations, rational, progressive, and well-intentioned, and, being on the side of the angels and of history, coherent and substantial. The benighted right, on the other hand, is judged to be full of irrational and passionate intensity, an evolutionary blind alley whose members resist the inevitable, and, because unnatural, therefore, inchoate and amorphous. Recent events in Eastern Europe may make the left less complacent. This, as far as I know, is the first comprehensive biographical dictionary of the extreme right which crosses national boundaries and, I hope, it will give the lie to the charge of incoherence. It covers not only Europe, Latin America, and North America but also South Africa and Japan and such geographically marginal figures as the Mufti of Jerusalem and Rabbi Kahane. Perón has been omitted because I believe Peronism is a distinct phenomenon with characteristics of both right and left, based as it was on the support of trade unionists. Nor have I included the host of military and civil dictators in Africa, Latin America (Stroessner and Pinochet, for example), and Asia, some of whom like Qaddhafi are unclassifiable in terms of the left/right dichotomy and others of whom were no more than 'village tyrants' (as for example, Idi Amin) concerned with retaining power at all costs, rather than with ideological considerations. It is also impossible to classify Fundamentalist and other theocratic figures centred in the Middle East (for example, the Ayatollah Khomeini) in these terms. Some would argue that many of the contemporary and recent authoritarian developmental regimes in the Third World, and the

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pre-Second World War regimes in China and Japan were 'fascist'.⁵ I am not prepared to be so inclusive.

Clearly I have my prejudices: I am particularly interested in those who came from the left to the extreme right. Perhaps this is reflected in the following pages. I also make no apology for the inclusion of Virgil Effinger, Joseph McWilliams, Hermann Hiltl, Josef Rys-Rozsévač, Tullio Tamburini, and other similar characters who were more representative, at the grass roots, of the reality and essence of the extreme right experience in this century than some of their more renowned co-ideologists. To those who would argue that those omitted should have been included, I can only plead that the line had to be drawn somewhere. I would like to have had room to include all those for whom I initially prepared entries including Roy Campbell, Wyndham Lewis and many others but I have had to work to another important principle for inclusion, that of current interest. The application of this has allowed the precedence of Lyndon LaRouche and Meir Kahane over Campbell and Lewis. Finally, why not Pareto and Michels? Pareto was anti-democratic and elitist but he was opposed to racism and to narrow nationalism and has even been referred to as the father of welfare economics. If he influenced Mussolini and was made a senator in fascist Italy, he, like Pirandello, gave the regime little more than a passive approval. The case for Michels is more persuasive, perhaps. Beetham has characterized him as a 'fascist ideologue'⁶ and, it has to be admitted that he did not oppose the rise of fascism in Italy but, as Alfred De Grazia, comparing his ideas to those of James Madison, points out: 'he remained a believer in democratic ideals, a disbeliever in the possibility of realizing the ideal.'⁷

There are a number of entries for philosophers, novelists, poets, and others who were men of the extreme right and in these cases I have made no attempt to assess their literary or philosophical work, nor am I qualified to do so. I have been concerned only with these aspects in so far as they impinge on their political activities or ideas.

This book has relied on the assistance of a large number of individuals and institutions who have generously given me their time and advice. In many cases when the particular information I was seeking seemed impossibly elusive, it would be provided in response to an enquiry. Such an experience reinforces a librarian's visceral prejudice that, if the seeker can discover the correct source, almost anything can be discovered. I would like especially to express my deep appreciation to Dr Tim Rees and Dr Jean Grugel of York University and to Dr Sheila Ellwood of the Foreign Office Research Department.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to the following for information supplied: Dr Joseph Zacek, Per Thullberg of the Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon, Pascal Martin of the Centre des Recherches et d'Études Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale in Brussels, E.G. Groeneveld of the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam, John D. Bell of the University of Maryland, Alain de Benoist, Mary O'Hara, the State Library in Pretoria, the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, Henry Coston, the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek in Berne, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, Dr Morris Schonbach, Professor Robert O. Paxton, Professor J. Stengers of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, Taija Pirhonen of the Suomen Historiallinen Seura in Helsinki, A.H. de Oliveira Marques, Major Stellan Bojerud of the Department of Military History in Stockholm, the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, Dr Horst Nusser, John Dahl of the University Library of Oslo, Dr Leo Ribuffo, Dr Gerhard Botz of the Institut für Geschichte in Salzburg, Dr Micheletti of the Fondazione Micheletti in Brescia, the Greek Embassy in London, Professor Michael R. Marrus of Toronto University, the Archiv für Zeitgeschichte in Zurich, the Bulgarian National Front in Chicago, Professor Evan Bukey of the University of Arkansas, the Brazilian Embassy in London, Det Danske Spejderkorps, Peter Dehoust of Nation Europa, Professor Paul Preston of Queen Mary College, Warner W. Pflug of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Dr Peter Amann of the University of Michigan-Dearborn, Professor Bruce F. Pauley of the University of Florida, the American Jewish Committee of New York, Professor Hugh G. Campbell of California State University, Chico, and Professor Henning Poulsen of the Historisk Institut in Århus.

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NOTES

1. Quoted in Roger Eatwell and Noel O'Sullivan, (eds.), *The Nature of the Right*, London, 1989, p. 74.
2. Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: comparison and definition*, Madison, WI, 1980, p. 23. Professor Payne further explains what he means by the four major influences on the later formation of 'fascism': a) the gradual transformation of moderate Catholic corporatism with its belief in the reduction of governmental intervention from a 'societal' corporatism to a 'state' corporatism and various forms of anti-atomistic political Catholicism like the 'solidarist' school of Léon Bourgeois in France b) the 'authoritarian liberalism' of the brief dictatorship of João Franco in Portugal, similar tendencies in Spain, and the ideas of Sidney Sonnino in Italy c) the neo-monarchist authoritarianism of Action Française, Portuguese Integralism, and the Union of the Russian People d) forces calling for modernization with national expansion like Rocco (*q.v.*) and the Italian Nationalist Association.
3. Eatwell and O'Sullivan, 1989, *op. cit.*
4. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, Oxford, 1976, § 66–7.
5. Anthony J. Joes, *Fascism in the Contemporary World*, Boulder, CO, 1978.
6. David Beetham, 'From socialism to fascism', *Political Studies*, 25, 1, 1977, 3–24, and 25, 2, 1977, 161–88.
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A

ABASCAL, Salvador (1910–)

Mexican Sinarquista leader.

Born the fourth of twelve children into a family of landed proprietors in May 1910 in Valle de Santiago (Guanajuato), Abascal studied in a seminary in Morelia for six years where he was taught by Luis María Martínez, Primate and Archbishop of Mexico. After deciding that the priesthood was not for him, he entered the Escuela Libre de Derecho in Mexico City from where he matriculated in 1930. He obtained his first post as a judge in Ayutla (Guerrero) at the age of 21. He later worked as an advocate in Morelia. His *hacendado* and Catholic background and early memories of the violence which accompanied the revolution in his home state predisposed him towards those clandestinely pledged to continue the frustrated hopes of the Cristeros, to protect the Church against the revolutionary, secular forces. Abascal was instrumental in forming the Catholic defence organization, the Circulo de Estudios Vasco de Quiroga, and involved himself with Las Legiones, led by the Jesuit Eduardo Iglesias, a counter-revolutionary organization whose aim was to organize militant Catholics under a unified and disciplined leadership in order to counteract the regime's anti-clerical legislation. In 1935 Abascal met other youthful militants like Zermeño, the Trueba Olivares brothers and José Antonio Urquiza. His radicalism and his uncompromising fanaticism in defence of the 'Christian social order', Hispanic values and the family, his iron-willed asceticism and his firm belief in the cult of martyrs made him a feared figure in the high command of the Legion.

When the Sinarquista movement was founded in May 1937, combining, as Betty Kirk has argued, 'a Franciscan programme and Jesuit tactics', Abascal was considered too violent for it but was allowed to join in June and became a highly successful organizer in Michoacan state. Moving from village to village like early missionaries, the Sinarquistas castigated Yankee imperialism, preached scorn for the easy life in the name of the trinity (God, Church and family) to peasants, the young urban middle classes, the unemployed and the forgotten of the revolution.

Abascal, perhaps the most charismatic of all the Sinarquistas, was the nearest to the ideal of 'half monk, half soldier'. He achieved an early triumph in the Tabasco affair in May 1938 in Villa Hermosa when a peaceful mass protest came under fire from the police, thus establishing the pattern of aggressive but non-violent action. The mass action by 8,000 followers succeeded in reopening the local churches.

Elected *jefe* on 6 August 1940, Abascal presided over the movement at its highest point of support with some 500,000 members. He was the most pro-Nazi of all the leaders, a fact which earned him the title of 'Hitler in *Guaraches*'. Although he denied the fascist character of Sinarquism, calling Nazism barbarous, anti-Christian and misguided, none the less he was violently opposed to liberalism in all its forms, rabidly anti-Semitic, a believer in non-political counter-revolution aimed at hearts and minds, and was inclined to see Hitler as a divine scourge with a mission to destroy the Soviet Anti-Christ. In December 1941, hounded by the moderates under Antonio Santacruz, Abascal handed over the leadership to Torres Bueno and set out with a group of followers to the snake-infested desert of Baja California with a utopian scheme to colonize it on behalf of the Sinarquista ideal. By the summer of 1944 only eight families remained and the ideal was in tatters. Abascal was expelled when he quarrelled with the leadership, whom he accused of corruption and of dealing with the hated United States.

Abascal rejoined the movement in 1947 when Torres Bueno himself left. When David Lomeli took over as leader in 1955, he asked Abascal to be the Sinarquista presidential candidate but Abascal declined. In the late 1970s he was responsible for the extreme right-wing Catholic integrist publishing house Editorial la Tradition which published the journal *Hoja de Combate*. In his unrepentant memoirs *Mis Recuerdos*, he was still blaming Yankee imperialism and the Jewish International for the 'suicide of Mexico' and fulminating against the foul vices of modern society including beauty contests.

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ABETZ, Otto (1903–58)

German diplomat and ambassador to France during the war.

Born on 26 March 1903 in Schwetzingen near Mannheim into a Catholic family, Abetz trained as an art and design teacher and taught in Karlsruhe. At first a member of the Wandervogel youth movement, and later under the influence of the leftist Freideutsche youth, Abetz as president of his local community of work in Karlsruhe became involved with the Franco-German youth movement, organizing camps for politically active youth, beginning in Sohlberg in July/August 1930 (it soon became known as the Sohlbergkreis). In the middle of July 1934 he made contact with the French association of ex-servicemen, persuaded their leaders to meet their counterparts the German NSKOV in Baden-Baden, and talked M. Pichot of the Union Fédérale into meeting Hitler. Although he had lost his post as head of the youth confederation when Hitler came to power, he was given the post of rapporteur for French questions in the Hitler Youth leadership. As an enthusiast for Franco-German collaboration he joined Brinon's (*q.v.*) Comité France-Allemagne (founded in 1935). He was also very close to Jean Luchaire (*q.v.*) whose secretary, Suzanne de Bruyker, he married.

From the autumn of 1934 Abetz worked for Ribbentrop's personal research foreign service bureau, the Diensstelle, for whom he engaged in information-gathering and espionage activities including the provision of subventions to Luchaire's journal *Notre Temps*, activities which were finally exposed by *La Lumière* and *L'Époque* in June 1939. The following month Abetz was expelled from his post as counsellor at the German embassy in Paris. He had joined the NSDAP in 1937. Abetz was to return after the German victory in June 1940 as ambassador (although not officially accredited until later in the year) having previously been the representative of the German Foreign Ministry with the German military

command in France. His remit as ambassador was to be 'solely responsible for dealing with all political questions in occupied and unoccupied France'.

He chose to use Pierre Laval as his chosen instrument rather than the ultras of Doriot's (*q.v.*) PPF although he was more sympathetic to Déat (*q.v.*) whose RNP was perhaps more capable of attracting the left and Luchaire, whose new journal *Les Nouveaux Temps* he assisted financially. A sincere francophile it was none the less Abetz's purpose to make France 'a satellite state of Germany' through 'voluntary subordination' to the Reich through the control of press and radio propaganda. He encouraged journals like *Gringoire*, *Candide* and *Je Suis Partout*. Recalled to Germany several times, notably in December 1942 and from March to May 1944, Abetz had lost all influence by August 1944 to SS-General Karl Oberg. He had earlier been forced to battle with Fritz Sauckel (*q.v.*) over forced-labour policy in France. The writer Céline (*q.v.*) was to refer to Abetz as King Otto and to France as *Le Royaume d'Otto*. Laval described him as 'more human and also more intelligent than most of the other German leaders who operated in France', while Jules Romains claimed that Abetz felt 'aversion and mistrust towards the Prussians'. In July 1949, he was given 20 years' hard labour for the Jewish deportations in which he had been implicated; he was released early in April 1954. He died in a car 'accident' at Langenfeld near Düsseldorf on 5 May 1958 on the Cologne–Ruhr autobahn, the victim possibly of a revenge killing.

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ACERBO, Giacomo (1888–1969)

Italian fascist minister and academic.

Born in Loreto Aprutino (Pescara) on 25 July 1888 into a family descended from the provincial aristocracy, Acerbo studied agriculture and then was a volunteer in the First World War from 1916. He was wounded in Flondar in August 1917 and demobilized in March 1919. After his military service he founded an ex-servicemen's group in Abruzzi for which he stood in the elections of 1919 but he was

not to be elected until 24 May 1921 when he entered the Chamber on the National Bloc list headed by Corradini (*q.v.*). He joined the PNF in August 1920 and on 1 March 1921 founded the first fascist group in Teramo. In the Chamber he became the secretary of the fascist parliamentary group. As a member of the Central Committee of the party in 1921 he and his colleague Giuriati (*q.v.*) had talks with the socialists which resulted in the temporary Pact of Pacification.

After the March on Rome on 29 October 1922, Acerbo was appointed Undersecretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Mussolini's first cabinet. As Undersecretary he had, like his colleague Aldo Finzi (*q.v.*), great power and influence. He was the author of the Acerbo Law of June 1923, which introduced electoral reform. Designed to discourage opposition, it allowed the fascists to create a permanent majority in Parliament and end the previous system of parliamentary government after the elections of April 1924 by retaining proportional representation but giving two-thirds of the seats to the party that gained a majority of at least 25 per cent of the votes. In July 1924 Acerbo resigned his office after being accused of participation in the murder of the socialist deputy Matteotti. In April of the same year he had been honoured with the title of Baron dell'Aterno. On 20 March 1926 he was made Vice-President of the Chamber and after the furore following the Matteotti affair had completely died down he returned to the government as Minister of Agriculture and Forests, a post he held from September 1929 to January 1935 and one in which he demonstrated a considerable competence.

Clearly his experiences in 1924 had not turned him against Mussolini for in 1932, he referred to 'the genius and indefatigable passion of the Duce'. In January 1935 he became the President of the International Institute of Agriculture and in September an *ad personam* member of the Fascist Grand Council. At the same time he reached the peak of his academic career on being appointed rector of the Faculty of Economic Science in the University of Rome. In 1938 as President of the Council for Demography and Race, he took a stand against the government's racist policy and his book *Fundamenti della dottrina Fascista della razza* (1940) incurred the hostility of the arch anti-Semite Preziosi (*q.v.*), who considered it pro-Jewish and insulting to the Germans. Acerbo volunteered for war service in 1940 and on his return from Croatia was restored to government as Minister of Finance on 5 February 1943.

Acerbo voted for Grandi's (*q.v.*) anti-Mussolini motion in July 1943 at the Fascist Grand Council

and on the 27th resigned as minister. Condemned to death by the Verona Tribunal *in absentia* on 10 January 1944, he was not apprehended by the Salò authorities but after the war was sentenced to a 30-year term of imprisonment by the Supreme Court for 'important acts in favour of Fascism' on 28 May 1945, but was released on 25 July 1947. In 1951 he was reinstated on the list of eligible university teachers and in 1963 was created professor emeritus in the Faculty of Economics in Rome. Acerbo died on 9 January 1969 in Rome aged 80.

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ALBIÑANA Y SANZ, José Maria (1883–1936)

Spanish neurologist and founder of the Partido Nacionalista Español.

Born on 13 October 1883 in Enguera (Valencia) into a middle-class family, Albiñana was a Doctor of Medicine, Philosophy and Letters, and of Law, and studied in France, Belgium and the Netherlands. He was a prolific author of both medical textbooks and of adventure novels. In 1921 he made a special study of Aztec medicine in Mexico from where he was expelled by President Calles, having in 1920 been appointed a professor in the medical faculty of the Central University in Madrid. One of the reasons he had been ejected from Mexico was his over-enthusiastic advocacy of Spanish imperialism as laid out in his *Vindicación de España en América* (1928). On his return to Spain he became a fervent devotee of General Primo de Rivera's regime.

Albiñana, a colourful eccentric with a stentorian delivery, began his political life as a liberal and a member of the Juventud Monárquica Liberal but he was soon attracted to an aggressive, monarchical nationalism influenced by Maurras (*q.v.*) and by the Action Française. In April 1930 he founded the Partido Nacionalista Español in Burgos and issued a manifesto more notable for the range of its identified enemies – Jews, freemasons and anti-Spanish elements who should be deported to Spanish Guinea – than for its constructive policies. According to Southworth he was 'an undisciplined and violent conservative' and it is clear that his ideology, resembling that of the Carlists, was closer to an earlier reactionary model than to currently

fashionable fascist ones. The genuine fascist Ledesma (*q.v.*) rejected him as a thorough-going reactionary. Indeed, his opposition to parliamentary democracy and political parties, his hatred of liberal intellectuals and 'sovietism', and his respect for the traditional institutions of Army and Church, were all entirely compatible with the fact that he felt most at home with members of the Unión Monárquica.

In style he approached fascism, for to protect his members he set up the blue-shirted Legionarios de España. In June 1932 Albiñana was arrested for using the royal flag on his pamphlets and for refusing to pay a fine. He was sent to Nuñomoral in the desolate Las Hurdes region, from where he launched a determined campaign with help from certain Italian fascist intellectuals and a petition to the League of Nations to gain his release. His book *Confinado en Las Hurdes* relating his experiences was dedicated to Léon Daudet (*q.v.*).

In November 1933 he was elected as a member of the Cortes for Burgos on behalf of the PNE but in 1934 he moved across to Renovación Española and the Bloque Nacional for which he was re-elected in 1936. In February 1934 he had founded in Madrid a Centro Nacionalista Español. In the early days of the Civil War in July 1936 he was arrested and confined in the Model Prison in Madrid where he was killed on 22 August 1936.

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ALFIERI, DINO (1886-1966)

Italian fascist propagandist and diplomat.

Alfieri was born on 8 July 1886 in Bologna and took a degree in law. Before 1915 he was a leading Milanese nationalist having founded the Milan Group in 1910. An enthusiastic interventionist, he participated in the First World War. After the war he took part in the forcible expulsion of the socialist local authority headed by the *sindaco* (mayor) Caldara from the Palazzo Marino in August 1922. Although he was an opponent of the fusion of the nationalists and the fascists in 1923, he was elected to

Parliament on the fascist list in 1924; he served in the 27th, 28th and 29th legislatures.

From November 1929 to July 1932 he was an Undersecretary of State for Corporations. After this appointment he concentrated for a number of years on various cultural and literary activities; he organized the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution in 1932, was President of the Society of Authors and Publishers and of the International Confederation of Authors, and played a leading role in the Dante Alighieri Society. As Undersecretary of State for Press and Propaganda from August 1935 to June 1936 he was much concerned with Italy's 'civilizing mission'. Succeeding Ciano (*q.v.*) as Minister of Press and Propaganda on 11 June 1936, he exercised strong power and control over the media, seeing his role as the implementation of 'the passage from a liberal regime to a disciplined regime in the realm of culture', with the emphasis on popular culture. (The ministry later became the Ministry of Popular Culture.) Alfieri was the first propaganda minister to make an explicit feature of racial propaganda; Ciano in his 1937/8 diaries calls him 'a real party man' for his opposition to Balbo's (*q.v.*) proposal to grant citizenship to the Libyan population.

A germanophile, Alfieri gave support to Ciano's pro-Axis line but at the Foreign Minister's later neutralist policy came into the ascendant Alfieri, who according to Ciano had been 'amongst the most vociferous war-mongers', fell out of favour. In November 1939 he became ambassador to the Vatican, but at Hitler's request, was moved to Berlin as ambassador in 1940; for some time he had been anxious for an accord with the Germans and appeared more pro-German even than Mussolini. His ambassadorial appointment ended in 1942 and, as 1943 progressed, he became increasingly disillusioned with what he saw as Germany's ruthless use of Italy as a shield for its own protection; he came to believe that Italy's interests lay in leaving the war. In the Fascist Grand Council meeting in July 1943, he supported Grandi's (*q.v.*) famous motion, after which he lay low for a time before fleeing to Switzerland. He was condemned to death *in absentia* by the Verona Tribunal in January 1944. After the war his ambassadorial pension rights were restored and he acquired a number of lucrative posts as president of various companies. Alfieri died on 2 January 1966 in Milan.

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AL-HUSAYNI, Muhammad Amin, Mufti of Jerusalem (also known as Al-Hajj Amin) (1895–1974)

Leader of the Palestine national movement during British rule (1917–48) and violent anti-Zionist.

Born in 1895 in Jerusalem into a prominent Muslim Arab family, Al-Husayni attended the local elementary school at a time when less than 7 per cent of the population of Palestine were Jewish. He went to study at the Al-Azhar University in Cairo and later at the military training college in Istanbul. Repelled by the influx of rich Zionists into Palestine, he founded an anti-Zionist society in Cairo. During the First World War he served in a non-combative capacity in the Ottoman Army but later joined the artillery in the 46th Division. A member of the secret Arab society, El Nadi al Arabi, working for the decentralization of the Ottoman Empire, he participated in the Arab revolt in 1916 and became the acknowledged leader of Palestinian nationalism, calling for union with Syria, while employed as a clerk in the British military administration in the Department of Public Safety and later in Damascus, where he mixed in nationalist circles surrounding King Feisel's court.

The Balfour Declaration came as an act of betrayal to Al-Husayni and in April 1920 as the organizer of anti-Jewish demonstrations in Jerusalem he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but escaped to Damascus by way of Trans-Jordan. He later found refuge in King Feisel's court. He received a pardon in September 1920 and in 1921 succeeded his brother Kamil as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. In January 1922 he became President of the Supreme Muslim Council. He was to play a major role in the violence which erupted in 1929 over the western 'wailing' wall in Jerusalem. Loathed by the Jews, Al-Husayni has been the target of bitter invective from Zionist biographers, a picture both Taggar and Mattar have redressed with their more balanced accounts of what Mattar calls 'a cautious, pragmatic traditional leader' from 1917 to 1936 who, after 1936, through 'bitterness, inflexibility and political alliances of dubious value or wisdom', tried to change British policy.

As leader of the Arab Higher Committee he orchestrated violence against Jewish immigrant settlers. In 1936 General Wauchope wrote: 'he has allowed himself to be pushed into causes against his better judgement'. Forced to flee to Lebanon in October 1937, disguised as a woman, he led the Palestinian Revolt (1936–39) from Beirut and Damascus. When war came in 1939, Al-Husayni was in Iraq, where Churchill planned to have him assassinated in 1941.

He fled to Iran, Italy and then Germany where he cooperated with Hitler, whom he met in November 1941. He received a promise of Axis assistance in the anti-Zionist struggle and of an end to British rule in Palestine. He encouraged sabotage and organized an Arab Legion to carry it out.

After the war he fled to Switzerland but the authorities handed him over to the French. Escaping from residential surveillance in Paris in May 1946, he moved to Cairo from where he resumed his anti-Israel campaign, opposed the 1947 UN partition settlement and organized violence and strikes. In 1959 he moved to Beirut, reverting to his role as a religious leader. In his final years he cooperated with Yasser Arafat and the PLO. Al-Husayni died on 4 July 1974 in the American Hospital in Beirut. Taggar has confirmed that far from being an extremist at all times, 'he adopted different attitudes depending on the situation' and that he was 'torn between his better judgement and the call of his nationalist followers'.

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ALMEIDA BRAGA, Luis Carlos de Lima de (1890–1970)

Portuguese Integralist intellectual, lawyer and politician.

Almeida Braga was born in Braga, on 20 November 1890, the son of a lawyer. Educated at the *Colegio dos Padres de Congregação do Espirito Santo* and at the Law Faculty of Coimbra University from 1907, he became a convinced monarchist as a student and was involved in the anti-republican events of May 1911 for which he was forced into exile in Belgium. While there he studied at the University of Ghent (1912–13) and in the University of Brussels (1913–14). In May 1913 he was one of a group of exiled intellectuals, in particular Domingos de Gusmão Araújo, who founded the review *Alma Portuguesa* as the organ of *Integralismo Lusitano* in Louvain. Literary and cultural rather than explicitly political, the journal embodied the views of the movement created on an institutional basis in 1914, Lusitanian Integralism, which expressed an authoritarian, traditionalist, nationalist, and corporatist world-view.

In 1916 Almeida was amnestied and returned to Coimbra where he became a member of the Junta

Central of the new movement. In 1919 he acted as secretary to the Captain Phantom of the monarchist rising in the north of the country, Major Paiva Couceiro. In exile once more after the rising was suppressed in February, Almeida was one of the *integralistas* who embraced the legitimist Miguelist Pretender Dom Duarte Nuño de Bragança and with Monsaraz (*q.v.*) took part in the negotiations for the abdication of Miguel II in favour of his young son Dom Duarte. With Monsaraz he served as Integralist emissary in Paris and was dismissed from the Junta Central after the Pact of Paris in April 1922, which recognized the other Bragança claimant, Manuel II, as the rightful heir to the throne, was repudiated by the Junta Central. He was restored when the Pact was repudiated in 1925.

In 1921 he travelled widely in Europe and South America where he was particularly influential in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro. In the 1930s Brazil was to develop its own indigenous Integralist movement. In the 1920s and 1930s Almeida concentrated on his literary work and in 1932 with Raposo (*q.v.*) launched the journal *Integralismo Lusitano* in an attempt to redefine the philosophy of integralism in the age of Salazar (*q.v.*). He was deaf to the honeyed voice of Salazarism and in 1958 supported the opposition candidature of General Humberto Delgado in the presidential election. He died on 27 February 1970. Almeida wrote two of the key books of the movement expressing the medieval romanticism in the *saudade* tradition which was characteristic of early integralism, *O culto da tradição* (1916) and *o mar tenebroso* (1915).

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ALMIRANTE, Giorgio (1914–88)

Italian leader of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano. Born in Salsomaggiore (Parma) on 27 June 1914, the son of a theatrical director, Almirante was trained as a school teacher and lived first in Turin and then in Rome. He began his journalistic career in December 1932 when he wrote for Interlandi's (*q.v.*) *Il Tevere*, although his ambition had been to be a cinema director. He obtained a degree in letters in 1937. He later described the Rome fascist daily *Il Tevere*,

which he edited, as his school and Interlandi as his mentor. Under Interlandi's influence he operated as the editorial secretary of the racist review *La Difesa della Razza* (founded August 1938). In July 1943 he resumed as editor of *Il Tevere* after fighting in the North African campaign as an infantry lieutenant. Under the Salò regime he served as the chief of cabinet to the Minister of Popular Culture, Mezzasoma (*q.v.*). With the collapse of the Italian Social Republic, Almirante went into hiding (April 1945–September 1946) working as a travelling salesman. He was later to work as a teacher but was dismissed for 'eulogizing fascism'.

In 1946, with Roberto Mielville, he founded a clandestine neo-fascist group, the Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria, and in December was one of the founders of the MSI (his group had been called the Movimento Italiano de Unità Sociale). Almirante served as the MSI's first national secretary (1946–50). During this period he was leader of the 'left-wing' tendency which wanted the Verona Manifesto as the party's ideological basis. Also director of the party newspaper *Il Secolo d'Italia*, Almirante was elected a deputy in 1948. At this time a firm enemy of the democratic process, he was imprisoned in 1947 for one year for his praise of fascism in a speech at a meeting in Rome. In 1954 he called democracy 'an infection of the spirit' at the MSI conference in Viareggio. For many years he hoped to replace election by selection, a 'quantitative' democracy with a 'qualitative' one.

Deprived of his leadership by the more moderate elements under Michelini (*q.v.*), Almirante formed an internal opposition of the more 'nostalgic' forces under the flag of '*rinnovento*' as the MSI's support rose in the mid-1960s to 1.5 million votes. When Michelini died Almirante was restored to the leadership in June 1969 with the task of reuniting the 'softs' and the 'hards'. He proceeded to create the '*doppio petto*' (double-breasted) image of respectability at the same time as he retained an instinctive sympathy for the more intransigent members as represented in the break-away violent Ordine Nuovo; many ON supporters found their way back into the MSI as advisers. With a policy of firmness on law and order, strong anti-communism, extreme nationalism and a semi-corporate economic policy reconciling workers and management. By 1972 Almirante had doubled the party's support to 2.9 million, 9 per cent of the vote. He became known as 'the ratcatcher of the silent majority'.

With the absorption of the monarchists in the MSI-Destra Nazionale, in 1972, Almirante pursued a policy of greater respectability, ruled out 'the old

rites', went on lecture tours to the United States, and tried to prove the MSI modern and ready to forget the past (although in Florence he had threatened, 'we are ready to replace the state' and his parliamentary immunity was suspended in 1973 and again in 1981 when he was alleged to have encouraged right-wing terrorist extremists). The process of respectability reached its zenith in June 1984 when he visited Communist Party headquarters to pay his respects to the deceased communist leader Berlinguer's body. Almirante retired from active politics in December 1987 having served the party and its Euro-right grouping with other extreme right-wing forces in the European Parliament. He died in Rome on 22 May 1988.

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AMADEO, Mario (1911–83)

Argentine nationalist and diplomat.

Born on 11 January 1911 in Buenos Aires, Amadeo received his degree in philosophy from the Colegio Angelico de Roma and began his career as Professor of Philosophy and Civic Education in 1935. He then moved into the Argentinian diplomatic service, obtaining posts as secretary in the embassy to the Vatican (1939–40), ambassador in Uruguay (1940–1) and consul in the Chilean embassy (1943–4). With many other later nationalists like Meinvielle (*q.v.*), Sanchez Sorondo and Anquín (*q.v.*), his political education was shaped by attendance at the Catholic cultural courses begun in 1922 by Cesar Pico and Atilio Dell'Oro Maini. In 1931 he was one of the founders of the Acción Católica Argentina. As a founder of the group associated with the journal *El Baluarte* (The Bastion) and influenced by the Hispanidad outlook of the Spanish writer Maeztu (*q.v.*), he became an independent though scarcely original or coherent nationalist ideologue of no fixed party or faction. He advocated an extreme conservatism whose ingredients included traditionalism, hispanicism, corporatism, spiced with more than a pinch of phobia about demo-liberalism and the dominating influence in Argentine life of foreign capital. He gave his support to the current of Uriburism in the early

1930s, especially as mediated through the journal *Nueva República*.

He took part in the unity meeting of various nationalist groups in December 1942 which included Ramon Doll, Etchecopar (*q.v.*), Sanchez Sorondo and Anquín. At this time he was sympathetic to the Axis powers but later, writing in 1951 in *Dinámica Social*, although accepting the attempt of Italian fascism to overcome class conflict and its support for order and national development he criticized its childish rituals and exaggerated rhetoric. With the coming of the military regime in 1943, Amadeo was appointed Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but resigned in 1945. In 1952 he became a convert to Peronism, having, after the war, been a contributor to Meinvielle's journal *Balcón*. In 1955 he briefly joined Lonardi to assist in the overthrow of Perón but became disillusioned when Aramburu was appointed to the presidency in November of that year.

Amadeo shifted his allegiance to Frondizi who created him permanent secretary to the UN (1958–62). In 1962 he was also given a Chair in the National University in Buenos Aires. In this story of changing allegiances (before his conversion to frondizism between 1956 and 1958 he had been a supporter of the extreme nationalist Azul y Blanco group) there was to be one more conversion or reversion to Peronism which he re-embraced in the 1970s. His memoirs, *Ayer, Hoy, Mañana*, appeared in 1956. Amadeo died on 19 March 1983 in Buenos Aires.

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AMANN, Max (1891–1957)

German National Socialist journalist and press leader.

Amann was born on 24 November 1891, the son of a tradesman. Educated in business school for three years, he served his apprenticeship in a Munich law firm. In 1912 he was attached to the 1st Bavarian Infantry Regiment and fought in the First World War finishing it as a *Vizefeldwebel* (company sergeant) in 1918. In this capacity he served in Hitler's regiment, the Bavarian Reiter-Regiment No. 16. After the war he worked in a mortgage bank in Munich. He appears to have joined the NSDAP in February 1920 and proved himself to be a Hitler

loyalist who was prepared to curtail his own ambitions in the interests of his former regimental comrade. In July 1921 he was offered the post of business manager (head of the administrative organization) in the NSDAP, and in April 1922 became the director of the central press of the party. As the managing director of Eher Verlag, he was responsible for publishing the *Völkische Beobachter*, *Illustrierte Beobachter*, *SA-Mann* and *NS-Monatshefte*. Aggressive and energetic, Amann was able to turn the Eher Verlag into a powerful propaganda weapon for the Nazis. Although he did not enjoy good relations with VB's editor Rosenberg (*q.v.*), he was able to clear the journal of its debts.

As a result of his involvement in the Munich *putsch* in November 1923, Amann was arrested on 19 November, but served less than a month, being released on 12 December. During the outlawed period, Amann became a leading member of the Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft and continued his work as director of Eher Verlag. On the refounding of the NSDAP in 1925, Amann, who had a justified reputation as a brutal and quarrelsome bully, formed with Feder (*q.v.*), Esser (*q.v.*) and Streicher (*q.v.*) the small nucleus of leaders who enjoyed Hitler's favour. In November 1924 he had been elected as a member of Munich City Council and from June 1928 to June 1930 was a member of the local council of Upper Bavaria. Hitler trusted him to such an extent that he allowed him to supervise his royalties from *Mein Kampf*.

Amann was financially very shrewd and exploited his talent to the full in both his party role and in the amassing of a personal fortune; his personal income increased from 108,000 marks in 1934 to 3,800,000 in 1944 but he lost almost his entire fortune after the war and died in poverty. Amann's party hand was significantly strengthened when in 1934 the *NS-Gau* press was put under the control of the Eher Verlag. After the National Socialist Party came to power Amann was appointed president of the Reich Association of the German Newspaper Publishers (*Reichsverband der deutschen Zeitungsverleger*) and in November 1933 president of the Reich Press Chamber (*Reichspresskammer*). The so-called Amann Ordinances of April 1935 virtually destroyed the voice of opposition by decimating the independent sector of the press. Some 500 to 600 newspapers were forced to close, many bought up by Eher Verlag to create a virtual monopoly.

In 1933 Amann, who lost his left arm in a firearm accident in 1931, was elected to the Reichstag and in 1941 was promoted to *SS-Obergruppenführer*.

Sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment by a Munich de-nazification court on 8 September 1948 and to ten years on 6 December by a central

court as a major offender, Amann died in Munich on 30 March 1957.

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AMAUDRUZ, Gaston Armand (1920–)

Swiss neo-fascist.

Amaudruz was born on 21 December 1920 in Lausanne and, as a teenager, was an adherent of the former leader of the Swiss fascist movement, Colonel Fonjallaz (*q.v.*). He worked as a school teacher before becoming a professional politician. He was the co-founder with Vollenweider of the Swiss People's Party which published the journal *L'Appel au Peuple* in Lausanne. He later fell out with Vollenweider over the question of the *Alto Adige*, an issue on which the latter supported the irridentist cause. The People's Party opposed in particular the immigration of foreign workers.

Amaudruz was one of the first to claim, in *Ubu Justicier au Premier Procès de Nuremberg* (Paris, 1949), that the gas chambers of the Holocaust were a figment of the imagination. One of the original inspirers of the neo-fascist Malmö movement in 1951 which appeared under the name *Europäische Social Bewegung*, he was also a member of the leading group of radicals who found the ESB insufficiently racist and broke away to form the *Neue Europäische Ordnung* on 28/30 September 1951 based on the Zurich programme drawn up by René Binet (*q.v.*), Amaudruz and others. The racial (particularly Evolian (*q.v.*)) element in the NEO's propaganda was quite explicit with references to 'negroid' capitalism and 'mongoloid' communism. It believed that the new Europe must be built on the basis of a Rome/Berlin axis, vigorously opposed to the two evil empires representing capitalism and communism. In January 1953 at the NEO's 3rd Congress a *Europäische Verbindungsstelle* (European Liaison Office) was set up with a permanent secretariat under Amaudruz in Lausanne. In 1952 he was also associated with Vollenweider and Ernst Schmid in the so-called *Europäische Arbeiter Bewegung*. He was particularly close to the Italian neo-Nazi group the *Ordine Nuovo* and was a frequent contributor to its journal.

Following a period when the movement seemed

moribund, signs of life reappeared when Amaudruz and the Frenchman Charles Lucca boosted its activities. At the New European Order's 8th International Congress in 1965 there were representatives from the Spanish Falange, the Italian Avanguardia Nazionale, Restauration Nationale and the Gesamtdeutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft, among others. A congress was held in 1981 in Barcelona. Amaudruz, who was still alive in early 1989 in Lausanne, was a contributor to and supporter of journals like *Nation Europa* and latterly *Courier du Continent* and *Erklärungen*.

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ANNALA, Vilho (1888–1960)

Leader of the Finnish Isänmaallinen Kansanliike movement, statistician and minister in the wartime government. Born in Lapua on 17 January 1888, Annala was the editor of the Helsinki University student newspaper *Ylioppilaslehti* from 1916 to 1919. In 1919 he worked as chief of commercial and industrial statistics in the government Bureau of Statistics and served on the editorial staff of *Uusi Suomi*, the leading National Coalition (Conservative) party newspaper.

In 1918 a man of monarchist sympathies, he retired for a time from politics to concentrate on his career. His higher education continued from 1923 until the mid-1930s in Sweden and West Germany. He gained his D. Phil. in 1932. In his civil service career he became Chief Actuary at the Department of Commerce and Industry in 1928. From 1930 he was concerned with the management of the government-controlled railway system.

His political activities resumed when he was appointed Helsinki District Chairman of the Lapua Movement in February 1931, a post he held for a year. Although he had earlier been a prominent conservative, he considered himself a part of the left of the Lapua Movement in his opposition to the undue influence of industrialists like Haarla and Walden; he favoured a popular *Volksgemeinschaft* (*Kansakokonaisuus*) in which the working classes would be integrated through favourable social policies. In April 1932 he was, with Gummerus (*q.v.*) and Raikkönen (*q.v.*), one of the founders of the Isänmaallinen Kansanliike (IKL or People's Patriotic Movement)

which became the Finnish fascist party. He was the caucus chairman of IKL from Kosola's (*q.v.*) death in late 1936 to 1944. He had, in fact, been effective leader of the IKL from the beginning. It was he more than anyone who dictated the direction of policy (although it was through Gummerus' inspiration that the party adopted corporative solutions on an Italian fascist model) and it was he who controlled the bloc of parliamentary representatives and extra-parliamentary activities. Annala was a member of parliament from 1933 to 1945 despite his detestation of the democratic process.

After 1934 the IKL lost the right to wear uniforms and in February 1935 the Archbishop of Finland, Erkki Karla, criticized clergy who dabbled in politics (the clergy being very strongly represented in the IKL); finally in November 1938, Kekkonen, the Minister of the Interior, introduced a provisional dissolution of the movement, an action which in Annala's eyes confirmed his warnings about dangerous reds. Although this was not upheld by the courts, the movement was seriously weakened. Ironically, Annala was to achieve his most prominent political appointment on 4 January 1941 as Minister of Transport and Public Works in the coalition government, a post he held until 1943.

After the war, he continued as acting professor in Helsinki University where he had first been appointed lecturer in 1930. In 1951 he was upgraded to full professor, a chair he held until 1957. He wrote a number of works on Finnish industrial and economic history. Annala died on 28 July 1960 in Helsinki.

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ANQUÍN, Nimio de (1896–)

Argentine Thomist philosopher, nationalist and founder of the Front of Fascist Forces.

Born in Córdoba in 1896, Anquín studied law in the University of Córdoba and then philosophy under Ernst Cassirer in Germany. Discovering the French thinker Maurras (*q.v.*), he developed a profoundly nationalist, Christian and anti-democratic philosophy,

ANQUÍN

combining a transcendental Thomism with an immanent Hegelianism. He came to reject what he saw as the sterile and bourgeois traditional Catholicism in the religious field and democracy, which in his view spawned crisis and anarchy, in the political, in favour of a single party national syndicalist state. Luis Farré has referred to his 'primitive adherence' to the neo-Thomist system which he tried to reconcile with modern post-Hegelianism.

In 1934 Anquín became a member of the blue-shirted Fascismo Argentino de Córdoba movement which in the following year became the Frente de Fuerzas Fascistas with Anquín as leader and in 1936 the Unión Nacional Fascista. All three movements were characterized by a great deal of youthful energy which often spilled over into overt violence as in 1934 when Anquín was suspended from his lectureship in the Colegio Montserrat and exiled from his home province for his aggressive defence of his mentor, Dr Martínez Villada, founder of the journal *Arx* in 1924, who had objected to the University of Córdoba defiling the memory of the dictator Rosas. Earlier in September 1933 Anquín had been suspected of plotting the assassination of the socialist deputy José Guevara. The UNF was virtually burnt out by 1939 and Anquín joined the group around the journal *Sol y Luna* (1938–43) and *Nueva Política* (1940–3) under the leadership of Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo.

He supported the military regime of 1943 until 1945 when it declared war on the Axis powers. He then returned to his intellectual efforts first as lecturer and then as Professor of Philosophy in Córdoba in 1955 and later in the Catholic University in Santa Fé in the late 1960s. He founded the journal *Arkhe* (1952–4, 1964–7). In his *Mito y Política* (1957) he continued to find liberal democracy an inadmissible form of government while nationalism was the only political system that treated man as both a spiritual and a temporal being. He was still at work in the early 1970s.

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ANSALDO VEJERANO, Juan Antonio (1901–58)

Spanish professional aviator, monarchist and later Falangist supporter.

Ansaldo was born in Arechevaleta (Guipuzcoa) in 1901, the son of the Viscount of San Enrique. He joined the army to fight in Morocco, and retired as a major on the proclamation of the republic in 1931. He took part in the attempted coup by General Sanjurjo in August 1932 in the preparation of which he had visited Italy in April 1932 in an endeavour to solicit support, particularly from Balbo (*q.v.*). A year later he returned with Calvo Sotelo with little to show for his visit, although agreement appeared to have been reached in principle. Meanwhile, in September 1932, Ansaldo had visited Vegas Latapié (*q.v.*), Eliseda and other Alfonsine restorationists in Biarritz to plot yet another coup. Ansaldo succeeded in raising some 3 million pesetas towards this end. In March 1933 he was a founder member of Goicoechea's (1876–1953) *Renovación Española* which aimed to restore the monarchy. He was also a leading member of *Acción Española* with Maeztu (*q.v.*) and Sáinz Rodríguez (*q.v.*).

After his meeting with José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*) and Ruiz de Alda (*q.v.*) in St Jean de Luz he arranged for financial backing for the newly-founded *Falange Española* and was a prominent member of the violently militant *Falange de la Sangre* (Blood Falange), organizing its early terrorist squads, under the impression that he could turn the organization towards the monarchy. His intrigues against José Antonio became well known and he was expelled from the Falange in July 1934 in spite of attempts by his fellow aviator Ruiz to prevent this. Ansaldo returned to the activity that gave him most satisfaction – plotting revolution in France on behalf of the Spanish monarchy.

In July 1936 he was sent by General Mola to fly General Sanjurjo from Cascaes in Portugal to Burgos but the venture ended in a fatal crash, and Sanjurjo was killed. Ansaldo survived to participate in the northern offensive in 1937 as a member of the nationalist air force. At the end of the war he represented Franco (*q.v.*) as air attaché in London and in Vichy but his conspiratorial nature could not long be suppressed and he was exiled to Portugal and then France from 1947 after conspiring with General Kindelán, Vegas Latapié and others against Franco when it had become apparent that the Caudillo had no intention of restoring the monarchy. Ansaldo died in exile in Ville d'Avray (Seine-et-Oise) on 29 April 1958.

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ARCAND, Adrien (1899–1967)

Canadian journalist and fascist leader.

Born on 3 October 1899, the son of a labour organizer and teacher, Arcand studied chemical engineering for a few terms at McGill University. He gravitated towards the nationalist, anti-capitalist underground in Quebec represented by Joseph Ménard, who became his mentor; he had worked for *La Patrie* as a journalist and was then dismissed from *La Presse* for union activism. In November 1929 he founded the *Ordre Patriotique des Goglus* named after the paper *Le Goglu*. He was particularly influenced by the extreme nationalism of Abbé Lionel Groulx (1878–1967), a devotee of Maurras (*q.v.*). As a professional journalist and, by 1930, editor of three newspapers (*Le Miroir* (April 1929), *Le Goglu* (August 1929) and *Le Chameau* (1930) (whose proprietor was Ménard), he campaigned for a 'purified' politics free of corruption, a campaign which after March 1930 became progressively anti-Semitic. For some time an admirer of Mussolini, Arcand began to establish contacts with international fascist organizations like the Britons and the Imperial Fascist League in Britain.

While his economic nationalism appealed to conservative politicians like R.B. Bennett, his infatuation with Hitler did not, any more than his assault on the legal status of Canadian Jews, resulting in the withdrawal of Bennett's subsidy and the closure of the three papers. Undaunted, and with Ménard's financial assistance, Arcand started up a new weekly *Le Patriote* in May 1933, a base from which a new party *Le Parti National Social Chrétien*, using the swastika as its symbol, was created in 1934.

In his campaigning style, Arcand consciously modelled himself on Mosley (*q.v.*), whom he resembled in his tall, slim appearance. Like Mosley he believed in the constitutional approach to power, the giddy heights of which he became ever more unlikely to achieve, though the status of Quebec as a colonial enclave gave him a head start. By 1938 the climate had changed to such an extent that the party split in May of that year and shed a number of prominent members. After peaking at the Toronto Convention of 4 July 1938 and after the amalgamation with the Canadian Nationalist Party in the West in a National Unity Party, the outbreak of war saw the party banned and Arcand interned in Fredericton, New Brunswick.

After the war, he continued his anti-Semitic vendetta, made overtures to Social Credit MPs, worked in an editorial capacity for Premier Duplessis and stood unsuccessfully in the 1949 Federal general election as candidate for Richelieu-Verchères,

coming second with 5,590 votes. He died in Montreal on 1 August 1967.

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ARPINATI, Leandro (1892–1945)

Leading Italian fascist, Bologna leader and Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior.

Arpinati was born in Civitella di Romagna on 29 February 1892 into an anti-clerical socialist family of restaurant owners. As a mechanic in Turin, Arpinati worked in the Diatto car factory and then on the railways in Bologna from 1913. Anxious to improve himself, he attended night school and eventually returned to Civitella as an electrician with a diploma from the Technical Institute. A Marxist at first, he moved to anarchism. He worked for *Alleanza Libertaria* in Rome and for *Lotta di Classe* in Forlì.

At the end of August 1914 he joined a group of revolutionary interventionists and, after his meeting with Mussolini in Bologna on 24 May 1918 (having first met him in March 1910), he took part in the foundation of the Bologna *fascio* on 10 April 1919 and participated in many of the violent *squadristi* actions in Monza, Pavia, Milan, Rimini and other places.

As the leader of Bologna fascism from April 1920, Arpinati led the bloody attack on the Bologna town hall on 21 November 1920 against the hated socialist administration of 'renegade pacifists'. Working with Gino Baroncini, whom Mussolini later plotted against in order to replace him with the less abrasive Arpinati, and Dino Grandi (*q.v.*), Arpinati, in spite of his anarchist and socialist origins, was prepared to work closely with the bourgeoisie and particularly with the Civil Defence Association in strike-breaking and with the agrarian interests around Bologna; in fact, he supported a merger of the *fascio* and the employers' organizations. Arpinati opposed the tactical pact with the reformist socialists in August 1921. He also had his differences with Grandi, who favoured a broader-based agrarian movement.

Appointed Federal Secretary of Bologna in January 1924 (until 1929), *podestà* of Bologna in 1926, and from 1921 a parliamentary deputy (until 1934), Arpinati held a powerful hold over the city and particularly over the city's leisure activities; he was

president of the local football federation. His suspected involvement in Tito Zaniboni's (1883–1960) attempt on Mussolini's life appeared to be no barrier to his retaining the Duce's confidence and in September 1929 he was appointed Undersecretary to the Ministry of the Interior; he proved to be more libertarian than might have been suspected, opposed corporate organization and state intervention in the economy, as he did party intervention in state functions. As Salvatorelli and Mira have expressed it: 'he was a kind of conservative liberal or better a free-trader' who was often disparaging about welfare to the old and to children. Mussolini was forced to intervene to correct his forays against state intervention. In many ways he approached the anarcho-fascist position of his friend Mario Missiroli (1886–1974). His major handicap was his inability to exercise tact or restrain his natural sincerity and frankness.

Dismissed on 4 May 1933 at the instigation of the party secretary Starace (*q.v.*), who was aware of Arpinati's undiplomatic remarks (in early 1933 he had said, 'Italy is not a fief of the Mussolini family') Arpinati was expelled from the party as a dissident and arrested on 26 July 1934; banished to Lipari for five years, he returned after two to his small farm in Milacappa.

Called up in 1941, he spent a short time in barracks before returning to Malacappa. Though he made contact with Prince Umberto, the heir to the throne, and opposition activist Ivanoe Bonomi (1873–1951), he did not take part in the July 1943 events and, meeting Mussolini on 7 October 1943, refused the post of Minister of the Interior. The radical 'neo-socialism' of Salò did not appeal to Arpinati's 'liberal' temperament nor was he in sympathy with what he considered the catastrophic association with the Germans. Many of his friends joined the resistance but his assistance to the partisans did not protect him from execution at the hands of the Communists on 22 April 1945 at his home in Malacappa (Bologna).

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ARRESE Y MAGRA, José Luis de (1905–86)

Spanish Falangist.

Born in Bilbao on 14 April 1905 into a strong

Basque Carlist family, Arrese was trained as an architect in Madrid where he earned his doctorate in 1932. He joined the Falange Española on its foundation in 1933, having been a member of the Asociación de Estudiantes Católicos. He was also the founder of the Federación Española de Trabajadores, an anti-Marxist workers' organization.

When the Civil War broke out he took refuge in the Norwegian embassy and in 1937 escaped to the Nationalist zone. As an associated of Hedilla (*q.v.*) he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment by a military tribunal after the decree of unification between the Falange and the Carlists. General Queipo de Llano arranged his release. On 8 December 1937 he was appointed *jefe provincial* of Malaga and Civil Governor; in this post he championed low-cost housing and organized an efficient food supply. He was a genuine believer in the Falangist policy of national syndicalism as expounded in his book *La Revolución Social del Nacional Sindicalismo* (1940). On 21 May 1941 he was appointed Minister Secretary-General of the National Movement and in January 1943 visited Hitler. He told Hitler, according to his own account, that there was a wide gulf between atheistic Nazism and the Spanish National Movement, which was based on a profound Catholic faith. Arrese himself was a devout Catholic for the whole of his life. It was Arrese who drew up the constitution for the emasculated Cortes which was to serve the regime and it was also Arrese who created the Radio Nacional, broadcasting to the Americas, in his capacity as head of press and propaganda.

On 20 July 1945 he ceased to be Minister Secretary-General, but continued as a member of the Junta Política and of the Council of the Realm. Considered a liability because of his pro-Axis orientation, in the search for a *modus vivendi* with the victorious Allies, he nevertheless found his influence waxing as that of Serrano waned but he had to wait until 15 February 1956 to be restored to the Secretary-Generalship. A tense, humourless and rigid conservative and an undoubted Franco loyalist, he has been considered something of an organization man, but in 1958 he was inspired, on the anniversary of José Antonio Primo de Rivera's (*q.v.*) death, to declare, 'José Antonio, you are not satisfied with us . . . you cannot be satisfied with this mediocre, sensual life.' He was dropped as Secretary-General in 1957 for his attempt to encourage the leading role of the Falange by transforming the Junta Política into the main council of the state and to create a more useful role for the Cortes. Under pressure from the more conservative elements in the Church and the Army, Franco forced Arrese to withdraw the

proposals. Arrese had had the foresight to perceive the need to institutionalize the Falange within the legal and constitutional structure of the state.

In 1958 he was appointed Minister of Housing but resigned in 1960 after his desire to increase the departmental budget was thwarted, and he retired from public life. He died on 6 April 1986 in Corella (Navarre).

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AUGIER, Marc (known as Saint-Loup) (1908–)

French writer and activist of the extreme right, a pacifist who joined the Charlemagne Division of the Waffen-SS. Born in Bordeaux on 19 March 1908, the son of a cement plant owner, Augier began his political life in the Socialist Party. A keen skier and mountaineer, he was involved in the French youth hostel movement, the Centre Laïc des Auberges, and became the editor of its newspaper. The movement which cultivated the spirit of outdoor camaraderie had as its unofficial patron the writer Jean Giono (1895–1970), whose neo-primitivism and pacifism were a strong influence on the romantic young writer. In 1937, by this time a militant anti-communist, Augier walked out of a World Youth Congress meeting when the communists tried to turn it into an anti-fascist vehicle.

In 1941 Augier founded (with Jacques Schweizer) Les Jeunes de L'Europe Nouvelle, an affiliate of the intellectual Groupe Collaboration with some 4,000 members at its peak; he became business manager of Chateaubriant's (q.v.) *La Gerbe*. In an article in November 1941 he talked of 'opening a new world to his faithful comrades', by which he meant the new Nietzschean world that was to lead to his enlistment in the anti-Bolshevik LVF; he served on the Eastern Front as a sergeant. In 1944 he fought with the Charlemagne Division of the Waffen-SS as a political officer. He had earlier launched the LVF journal *Le Combattant Européen*. Convinced that socialism in Europe could come about only through National Socialism, he declared that he was prepared to make a pact with the devil in order to bring it about, but he became disillusioned at the lack of a genuinely anti-capitalist and revolutionary drive in the SS. After hiding out in Austria, he returned to France in

April 1945 and found his way to Argentina where he worked for Perón as a technical counsellor and served as a lieutenant-colonel in the army. In March 1946 he was connected with Binet (q.v.) on the journal *Combattant Européen* which was 'against the red front and reaction'. On his return to France he was a frequent visitor to Rhodesia and South Africa and took up the presidency of the Venner (q.v.)-inspired Comité France-Rhodesia. In the early 1960s he wrote for Venner's *Europe-Action* and has never shown any regrets for his Nazi past. In fact, he has produced a long series of books on the French volunteers in the Waffen-SS including *Les Partisans*, *Les Volontaires* and *Les Hérétiques*. He has also written the preface to the French edition of Otto Skorzeny's (q.v.) *Memoirs* and in recent years has contributed to Yves Jeanne's anti-Zionist journal *Devenir Européen* and in 1982 contributed to the militant journal of Pierre Bousquet and Pierre Pauty. He was still alive in November 1988.

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AXMANN, Artur (1913–)

German National Socialist youth leader.

Born in Hagen (Westphalia) on 18 February 1913 into a working-class family, Axmann studied law and joined the Hitler Youth in 1928 where he found a place on the socialist wing of the organization. After working as an agricultural labourer, in November 1931 he joined the Berufsschulorganisation, the vocational training programme of the party. In September 1932 he was the organization leader of the National Socialist Youth Work Cell Organization, and from 1933 to 1940, head of the Social Affairs Office of the Reich Youth Leadership which achieved some success with the Deutsche Arbeitsfront in producing work security for youth. From 1934 he was connected with the National Vocational Competition, the *Reichsberufswettkampf*. Axmann came to be known as not only an efficient organizer but also as an ambitious and fanatical National Socialist. In May 1939 he was chairman of the Committee for the Establishment of the Youth Service Duty Law of 1939.

He fought on the Western Front until May 1940 and on 7 August succeeded Schirach (*q.v.*) as the Youth Leader of the NSDAP and of the Greater German Reich. From June to December 1941 he was posted on the Eastern Front where he lost his right arm. A member of the Reichstag from October 1941, he was then given the responsibility for the Hitler Youth on the home front. He was known as something of a womanizer who was especially fond of blonde actresses. He was to remain one of the most intransigent and loyal Nazis until the last stroke of the war as one of Hitler's immediate entourage in April 1945. Earlier he had been joint secretary with the Italian Vidussoni (*q.v.*) of an abortive European Youth Association.

He escaped from Hitler's bunker to a peasant hut in Bavaria and remained free until December 1945, when he was arrested, interned and interrogated about his activities since the end of the war in an illegal underground Nazi organization. A Nuremberg court (30 April 1949) considered him to be a major offender, particularly for his encouragement to the Hitler Youth to fight and die to the last man. At that time he had, indeed, believed that he would be made Hitler's successor.

Sentenced to 3 years and 3 months in prison and a ban on further political activity, Axmann was released immediately as the sentence was considered already served. He then frequented the circles around the Herrenklub which had connections with Naumann's neo-Nazi organization and also included prominent former Nazis like Frauenfeld (*q.v.*) and Kaufmann (*q.v.*). He later worked as a salesman, and in 1957 moved to Gelsenkirchen. In August 1958 he was fined by a denazification court the sum of 35,000 marks for the indoctrination of German youth. He worked in the 1960s as a partner in an export business in West Berlin. He was believed to be still alive in the late 1980s.

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AZNAR GERNER, Agustín (1911–84)

Spanish Falangist militia leader.

Aznar, the son of a lecturer in sociology in the University of Madrid, was born on 18 August 1911

in Madrid, and studied medicine there. As a student he led a unit of the Sindicato Español Universitario recruited from university students, which formed the Falange Español's militant student syndicate. He became the head of the Madrid SEU and then of the Madrid militia of the Falange. He was caught up in numerous and often bloody clashes with leftist forces. He was appointed to the movement's National Council in 1935 and to the Junta Política, a function he retained with brief absences until 1958.

He had begun his medical career in Guadalajara and then moved to Madrid. He was a specialist in haematology and eventually became Chief Professor of the Central Laboratory and of the Haematological Service of the provincial welfare service.

When the Civil War broke out he was already in Vitoria prison, sent there from Madrid after the Falange had been outlawed in March 1936. On his release when the city was taken by the nationalists, he tried in September and again in November, with farcical results, to release José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*), the Falange leader, from prison with the help of Von Knobloch, the German consul in Alicante, and a false German passport. By September he had taken upon himself the post of Chief of the National Militias and in this capacity opposed the proposed incorporation of the militia into the united Carlist/Falangist force under General Yagüe (*q.v.*).

In Serrano's (*q.v.*) memoirs of 1977 Aznar is described as a 'man of limited ideas' and as 'bulky in volume . . . copious in words, a little violent in manner'. This last was, perhaps, a little understated for such an impetuous and intolerant personality who as late as the early 1980s was known to carry a pistol. After José Antonio's death he was one of those members of the Junta de Mando Provisional who opposed the appointment of Manuel Hedilla (*q.v.*) as José Antonio's replacement and was one of the self-appointed triumvirs with Davila (*q.v.*) and José Moreno who attempted to depose Hedilla. Following the events of the *noche triste* of 16–17 April 1937, when two Falangists were killed, Aznar was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison, but was later released and restored to the National Council.

After the unification of the Falange with the Carlists, Aznar was appointed political inspector of the militias of the new FET y las JONS but his relations with Franco (*q.v.*) were poor and on 23 June 1938 he was arrested and court martialled as a leading suspect in an old guard plot. The sentence was commuted to internal exile and eventually, in November 1939, he was restored to general circulation. He was completely rehabilitated in 1940 when he was appointed National Delegate for Health, a post he held until 1958.

Following service on the Russian Front with the División Azul in June 1941, he played a less prominent political role although he remained on the Junta Política of the party. In 1961 he was a member of the Cortes and in this role voted against the law of 1976 to allow political parties. He became the head of the Blood Transfusion Service in the Francisco Franco hospital in Madrid. He died in 1984.

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B

BAARS, Jan (1903–)

Dutch fascist agitator and founder of the Algemeene Nederlandsche Fascisten Bond.

Born on 30 June 1903 in Amsterdam, Baars was of working-class origin and worked as a market trader in his birthplace. He first came to prominence as a rabble-rousing speaker for the fascist group which grew up around the journal *De Bezem* in 1927. This group deliberately directed its attention to the lower socio-economic strata. In March 1930 when two *De Bezems* appeared, one Haighton's (*q.v.*), the other Sinclair de Rochemont's (*q.v.*), the result of a schismatic dispute, Baars, who had joined the Amsterdam department in August 1929, followed Haighton into the new *Fascistische Jongeren Bond*. Baars eventually (in 1932) quarrelled with Haighton and forced him out. On 29 June of the same year he launched the *Algemeene Nederlandsche Fascisten Bond*. The down-to-earth proletarian modelled his movement as he did his oratorical style on Mussolini, whom he visited in 1940.

In September 1933 Baars' General Dutch Fascist Union together with Haighton's FJB and the *Nationale Unie* formed what they called a 'corporative concentration' under the leadership of a university professor Frederijck Gerretson, an aloof intellectual who in every way was the antithesis of Baars, the coarse market trader. The consequent falling out was perhaps inevitable. Baars left the ANFB in 1934 and without his organizational talents, the movement folded. In 1936 after opposing Mussert's (*q.v.*) NSB he went back to the market. When the Netherlands was invaded by the Germans in 1940, Baars took no active part in collaboration although he is known to have traded with the occupiers.

Haighton, who was, perhaps, not an unbiased witness, called Baars 'a half-Jordanian Amsterdamer, a good orator at proletarian meetings but otherwise stupid, uneducated and vain, who knew as much about philosophy as a pike in a hay loft', and as a mouthpiece who would say anything that was required of him. However, although he was known to be aggressive, he did not lack a certain native intelligence, and was, indeed, not as vulgar in his anti-

Semitism as his megaphone style might suggest. In the spring of 1933 he had sent a telegram to Hitler protesting against his treatment of the Jews in Germany. It is believed that Baars was still alive in the mid-1980s.

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BACKE, Herbert (1896–1947)

German National Socialist agricultural expert.

Herbert Backe was born in Batum (Russian Caucasus) on 1 May 1896, the son of a former lieutenant in the Prussian army who had become a trader. From a German colonist family in Russia, Backe attended school in Tiflis. During the First World War he was interned in the Urals from September 1914 but escaped to St Petersburg and emigrated to Germany. He joined the German army and then worked in the Ruhr as a munitions worker. After a series of odd jobs, including a drainage worker and an agricultural apprentice in Hanover in the spring of 1920, he studied agriculture in Göttingen University from 1920 to 1923. On graduating he became a farm manager in Mächelsdorf (Hesse-Nassau), an assistant geography teacher in the Technical High School in Hanover and, in 1927, supervisor of an estate in Pomerania. In September 1928 he took over as manager of a large estate near Alfeld.

He joined the infant SA in Göttingen in 1922 and a year later the NSDAP itself. By 1931 he had been appointed branch chairman of the *Landbund*, the farmers' political organization, in his district in Alfeld; Backe was instrumental in bringing the organization under Nazi control. On 30 April 1932 he was elected as a representative for the NSDAP to the Prussian provincial parliament and in 1923 became departmental head of the community of the German Farming Profession with Darré (*q.v.*) as its

chairman. In October of that year he was created Secretary of State in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Backe's star was to rise as Darré's waned; Backe represented practical efficiency against Darré's unrealistic, ideologically-driven policies. In October 1936 as a Food Commissioner for the Four Year Plan directly under Göring's (*q.v.*) direction, Backe was given important powers in the coordination of food production. He was often given orders over Darré's head.

After the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Backe, with his expertise on Russian agricultural problems and his interest in Eastern rural settlement strategies, was the obvious man to succeed Darré, which he did in May 1942. Hitler said of him: 'he is not a pale theoretician . . . but a first-class practical man'. Backe had long been an advocate of a controlled economy with state intervention and autarky on a continental level. In 1942 he wrote *Das Ende des Liberalismus in der Wirtschaft* (The End of Liberalism in the Economy). Backe was promoted to *Reichsbauernführer* (Reich Farm Leader) in 1943 and, on 6 April 1944, Reich Minister, although not with the portfolio of food and agriculture. He retained the post during the short-lived Dönitz regime. Backe committed suicide while awaiting trial in Nuremberg on 7 April 1947.

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BAINVILLE, Jacques (1879–1936)

French popular historian, journalist and a founder of Action Française.

Bainville, born in Vincennes on 9 February 1879 the son of a conservative lawyer descended from a family of radical republicans, sought a career as a free-lance writer after leaving school aged 19. A fastidious dresser, widely read with old-world manners and highly intelligent, he was one of the founders of Action Française and the editor of the newspaper of the same name, and had been persuaded by Maurras (*q.v.*) like other republican leaders to embrace monarchical ideas. Bainville wrote a weekly political column in *Candidé* and contributed to numerous other journals and newspapers like *L'Edair*, *Le Petit Parisien* and *La Nation Belge*. In 1920 he was made editor of Maurras' *La Revue Universelle*. In 1901 Bainville called for the expulsion of Jews from all public employment.

His *Histoire de deux peuples* (1915) about Franco-German relations, had a great influence and in 1924 he followed it with another massive popular success, the *Histoire de France*. After the First World War he was convinced that the peace had been too harsh for Germany to accept, that Versailles was 'too mild for the hardships it contained' although his desire for an enervated and castrated Germany had been an obsession since his visit to Germany in 1898, an emotion expressed particularly in his book on Ludwig II of Bavaria. He had seen the war as one of civilizations mutually hostile and the Germans as 'the infidels of the twentieth century'. In the 1930s he hoped that Germany and Russia would fight each other to a standstill to save France from the inexorable fact that 'the Germans covet Gaul' (Brogan).

By nature both a sceptic and a pessimist, Bainville believed that only through absolute monarchy overcoming the inherent decadence of a republic could France achieve both internal stability and international respectability. By the end of his life an essential realism had led him to reject monarchism as the *sine qua non* of a French revival but loyalty to his colleagues prevented him from making his beliefs public. Bainville died on 9 February 1936 in Paris, having been denied the sacrament of extreme unction on his death bed by Cardinal Verdier, following the condemnation of Action Française in December 1926 by the Pope, and the inclusion of the journal *l'Action Française* on the Papal Index. Canon Richard, a supporter of the organization, performed it despite the prohibition, and also presided at Bainville's funeral.

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BAKY, László (1898–1946)

Hungarian National Socialist and leading participant in the compulsory deportation of Jews from Hungary.

Born on 13 September 1898 in Budapest, Baky was the son of a county chief auditor. After graduating from a military academy, he served in the counter-

revolutionary army of Szeged in 1919. He was a member of one of the officers' units which pillaged and murdered their way across Hungary in 1919 and 1920. His affable manner concealed a depraved and sadistic anti-Semite.

In 1925 he was appointed a gendarmerie officer and by 1935 had become the gendarmerie liaison officer in the Ministry of the Interior Public Security Department. He simultaneously belonged to several of the extreme right officers' associations which flourished at this time. Baky had a huge appetite for conspiratorial activity and relished the role of informer in many of the organizations with which he was associated. Otto Winkelmann, the German Higher SS and police leader, in 1944 testified that Baky had offered his services to the Germans while still in the gendarmerie. He continued to work for the German RSHA to the extent of passing on to his masters details of Foreign Affairs Committee proceedings under the Kallay regime in 1943.

In 1938 he resigned his gendarmerie post as major-general in order to free himself to join the Hungarian National Socialists. It may have been that Szálasi (*q.v.*) had already persuaded Baky to join the Hungarist movement in 1937 and it is certain that he was involved in the attempted coup in February 1938 during which he was to use his influence in the gendarmerie. He left the Hungarian National Socialist Party–Hungarist Movement according to his own testimony on 27 November 1938. In the May 1939 elections he was one of eleven deputies (he was elected for a seat in Abony) that formed the United Hungarian National Socialist Party–Arrow Cross Front Group. Baky already had close relations with the Germans and in 1938 had been appointed to the board of the journal *Magyarország*, which was in effect an instrument of German foreign policy.

In July 1940 Baky formed a group with Count Pálffy (*q.v.*) which invited General Ruskay to be their leader; this group has been called by Macartney 'the contractual agent of Germany' in Hungary. Ruskay fused his group with Szálasi's in September 1940, and on 12 September 1941 the Baky/Pálffy group reconstituted Pálffy's Hungarian National Socialist Party and formed an alliance with the more conservative Imredists as the Party Alliance of the Party of Hungary Renewal and the National Socialists with Baky serving on the Executive Committee.

On 28 March 1944 Baky was elevated to the Ministry of the Interior and with Endre (*q.v.*) and Jaross (*q.v.*) was responsible for the ghettoization, and then the deportation to death camps of large numbers of Hungarian Jews; Baky was in charge of Department XX giving him control of gendarmerie and police.

On 30 June he was relieved of his duties relating to Jews but kept on as a Secretary of State until his resignation on 2 September. He continued the deportations even after Regent Horthy had officially ordered them to cease. 'I made my job', he was to declare, 'dependent on the final and total liquidation of left-wing and Jewish mischief in this country.' In spite of his hostility to Szálasi, he resumed his tenure in the Ministry of the Interior after the latter's coup in October 1944. Taken prisoner in Austria, Baky was hanged on 29 March 1946 in Budapest after the liberation.

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BALBO, Italo (1896–1940)

Italian fascist leader, aviator, ras of Ferrara and Minister of Aviation.

Balbo was born on 5 June (according to his birth certificate, although he celebrated his birthday on 6 June) 1896 in Quartesana (Ferrara) into a family which had declined considerably in social status; his parents were both school teachers but his maternal grandmother had been a countess. His father was a monarchist and liberal politically but a stern disciplinarian in the family. Brought up in a republican and revolutionary milieu (one brother was a Mazzinian republican, the other a revolutionary syndicalist), Balbo was not a diligent student, preferring café society. Unlike many fascist leaders, he preferred the classicism of Carducci to the decadence of D'Annunzio.

In 1911 he joined Felice Albani's Partito Mazziniano; in Mazzinianism he saw a 'permanent protest against the actual state of things'. As a journalist he wrote for *La Voce Mazziniana*, for the syndicalist *La Raffica*, and for *La Provincia di Ferrara*. A fervent interventionist he first met Mussolini in autumn 1914 in the office of *Popolo d'Italia*. He volunteered when Italy entered the First World War and fought in the 8th Alpini 'Pieve di Cadore' battalion from May 1918, which as a lieutenant he commanded. In autumn 1917 he took a course as a pilot in Turin.

After the war he edited the '*combattentistica*' journal *l'Alpino* (Udine) which was a vehicle for anti-socialist propaganda. In October 1920 he was

awarded a degree for his thesis on the economic and social thought of Mazzini. Balbo joined the fascists in February 1921 when he was appointed political secretary of the Ferrara *fascio*, having returned to the city in December 1920 still a republican. His diary for 1922 describes his radical disillusionment with Italian society but naturally does not mention the more mundane motivation resulting from his need to find a suitable career; he was guaranteed a post in a bank after a fascist victory. By June 1921 Balbo was the provincial secretary and it was he who took over the fascist squads and, through his courage, energy and organizational ability a force was created which set out to destroy the socialists around Ferrara on behalf of the agrarian interests, the sugar refiners and the hemp manufacturers. This alliance, which made Balbo a wealthy man, was described by a fellow fascist as 'agrarian slavery'.

The spread of *squadristi* activity to surrounding areas with the aim of conquering the state rather than in the search for a social revolution resulted in the March on Ravenna in September 1921, an act of defiance against the Pact of Pacification with the socialists, a pact which Balbo rejected out of hand. However, as Lyttleton has written he was an 'extremist in method and temperament, not in his political aims'. Balbo with Perrone Compagni (q.v.) and General Gandolfo in January/February 1922 laid down the structure for converting the squads into a fascist militia in time for the March on Rome in October. Balbo took part in the March as one of the quadrumvirs with De Bono (q.v.), De Vecchi (q.v.), and Bianchi (q.v.). It was Balbo who played the most important role in the planning. Ruthless and self-confident though reputed to be a man of considerable charm, he retained his control over the militia, the MVSN founded in February 1923.

On his return to Ferrara he founded the journal *Il Corriere Padano* which was to gain a reputation for independence. Earlier, in August 1923, he was forced to resign as head of the militia after charges of moral responsibility for the death of an anti-fascist priest, Giovanni Minzoni, had failed to evaporate; after various inquiries he was exonerated of direct involvement. In October 1925 he was recruited to deal with the intransigents of Florentine fascism and his success in this endeavour earned him a post as Undersecretary in the Ministry of National Economy. He was later appointed Undersecretary for Aviation, and on 6 November 1926 he was put in command of the Italian Air Force. The acme of his career was reached when he was made Minister of Aviation (1929–33). Balbo tried to implement the theories of the aviation expert Giulio Douhet (1869–

1930) but his success in establishing the priority of air needs over those of the army and the navy was limited.

He had declared in 1929 that 'politics no longer interests me' but his glamour and popularity seemed to increase in inverse proportion to his political concern. After 1926 he gravitated from what Segré has called his 'princely dissidence' and from what Lyttleton refers to as 'the varnish of radicalism' he had given Ferraran fascism towards a more moderate and philo-constitutional stance. Always an enemy of the more social and corporatist aspects of fascism, he turned to more technical matters, the building of the Italian Air Force, to aerial exploits like the *crociere* (mass training flights), to pioneering transatlantic flights, and in January 1934 to the task, as Governor, of making Libya 'an integral part of the national territory' through military and economic development.

Balbo became ever more hostile to Mussolini's racism, to his anti-Semitic campaign in the late 1930s (an opposition he demonstrated in a Fascist Grand Council meeting in 1938), and to the increasingly cordial relations with Germany. By the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 he had come to favour a neutralist position. He was quite willing, however, to command the Italian forces in North Africa in June 1940 and rumours that Mussolini had engineered his death were firmly discounted after he was shot down by his own aircraft guns in Tobruk on 28 June 1940. Ironically Mussolini described him after his death as 'the only one who could have been capable of killing me'. Of all the *gerarchi* (the 'hierarchs' or old guard of the movement, the leaders) he was probably the nearest to the ideal of the *homo fascisticus*. Panunzio (q.v.) spoke of his 'irrepressible need to overturn the reality of fact'.

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BARBÉ, Henri (1902–66)

French communist leader and metal-worker, Secretary General of Doriot's (q.v.) PPF and Secretary of Déat's (q.v.) RNP.

Born on 14 March 1902 in Paris out of wedlock, Barbé had little formal education and as a mechanic

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joined the Jeunesses Socialistes in Saint-Denis in 1917. In 1921 he was involved with the Young Communists as a worker in various metallurgical plants in Paris. He served on the Central Committee of the Young Communists from November 1924 and was Secretary in 1926. From 1925 he was a member of the Central Committee of the PCF itself and from 1930 on the Secretariat. In 1928 he was entrusted by the Comintern with the reorganization of the French party as a member of the Barbé-Celor group which carried out the 'class against class' tactic of the party. The Barbé-Celor group fell out of favour with its masters in Moscow and was succeeded by the single leadership of Maurice Thorez. Barbé lost all his party offices in August 1931 and was expelled from the party on 12 September 1934. In 1929 he had become deputy mayor and municipal councillor in Saint-Denis. He spent some time in prison in 1933 after his arrest by the authorities for his failure to carry out his duties as a military reservist while he had been in Moscow.

In June 1936 he cast in his lot with Doriot's Parti Populaire Française rising to be its secretary-general until, in October 1939, he fell out with his leader for personal reasons and went on to found the Comité de Lutte Anticommuniste. In February 1941 he moved over to Déat's Rassemblement National Populaire and became its secretary. Determined to forge a united force out of the disparate elements of the collaboration after the failure of Déat's attempts, he formed the Front Révolutionnaire National in February 1943 to unite the Ligue Française, the Milice, the PPF, the Francistes and the RNP. He escaped a communist assassination attempt but failed to bring about reconciliation and harmony within the extreme right on the basis of anti-Bolshevik action, a united Europe and the acceptance of a social programme. Doriot and Barbé were reconciled in 1942 and in August 1944 Doriot expected to persuade him to serve in his shadow, paper administration-in-exile as a 'minister' but Barbé decided not to flee Paris.

Imprisoned in Fresnes after the war, he was released in 1949 and until his death on 24 May 1966 wrote for journals of the extreme anti-communist right like Souvarine's *Est-Ouest*, *Itinéraire* and also occasionally for *Figaro*.

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BARBIE, Niklaus (Klaus) (1913–)

German Gestapo chief in Lyons during the Second World War.

Barbie was born in Bad Godesberg on 25 October 1913, out of wedlock; his mother later married his father, an office clerk and primary teacher. Klaus was educated at Karl Marx's old school the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasium in Trier from Easter 1925. At first a devout Catholic, Barbie belonged to various Catholic youth groups. In April 1933 he joined the Hitler Youth and worked as a youth leader with the Deutsche Jungvolk for boys between the ages of 10 and 14. Until October 1937 he worked in the Nazi voluntary work camp at Niebüll in Schleswig-Holstein as his contribution to the labour service. In Trier-Central Barbie became adjutant to the organizer of the Nazi Party headquarters, Karl Horrmann. It has been rumoured that Barbie even in his school-days worked for the NSDAP as an informer but it is clear that from February 1935 he worked unofficially for the security service, the SD.

On 26 September Barbie joined Himmler's (*q.v.*) SS as member No. 272,284, attached officially to the SD where he was assigned to Section II as an assistant in the Berlin Main SD Office. Barbie took a special training course as an investigator and an interrogator in October 1936 in Düsseldorf. Not a member of the NSDAP at this time, he corrected this anomaly when he became member No. 458085 on 1 May 1937. He moved to Dortmund in October 1939 after leaving the SD school in Bernau. In April 1940 Barbie graduated from the security police leadership school in Berlin-Charlottenburg as an expert on centre and right-wing opposition groups. He was promoted to second-lieutenant.

In Holland from May 1940 in the SD's Bureau for Jewish Affairs centred in The Hague, he took part in the deportation of Dutch Jews to concentration camps in the East. After this Barbie worked in Adolf Eichmann's (*q.v.*) Department IV-B4 operating from a confiscated masonic lodge in Berlin charged with the task of encouraging Jewish 'emigration'. In May 1942 he was transferred to a Gestapo outstation in Gex on the Swiss border and then to Lyons in France, after the German occupation of Vichy France in November 1942, where he was appointed Gestapo chief for Lyons and the surrounding area with headquarters in the Hotel Terminus. His main duty was to oversee the destruction of the local Resistance. 'I proved', he later said, 'to them [the French] that they were stupid.' At some point the reserved and devout Catholic youth had metamorphosed into a brutal sadist who liked to beat and

torture his prisoners and took a detached and clinical interest in the behaviour of his victims. His most famous victim whose heroic death fascinated Barbie for the rest of his life was Jean Moulin (Max), who died in custody in July 1943. But it was his deportation of the Jewish children of Izieu and their eventual deaths in Auschwitz which was to bring Barbie to belated justice.

Barbie employed not only an SS Einsatz-Commando of forty men but also local French PPF and milice thugs like Litzrodt. Barbie was decorated with the Iron Cross First Class with Swords on 9 November 1943. Barbie left Lyons on 23 August 1944 and was wounded after returning to fight a rearguard action against the advancing allies. On 9 November he was promoted to captain. Leaving Halberstadt where he had been in hospital in February 1945, he was eventually captured by the Americans near Hohenlimburg but escaped. From January 1946 he lived in Marburg where he earned his living as a black marketeer and forger before being recruited in April by the American CIC who were anxious to use the expertise of ex-SD men in their new anti-communist crusade. Working for the Bureau Peterson network Barbie was protected by CIC officers like Robert Taylor. Barbie had been condemned to death *in absentia* in Lyons in 1947, a fact well known to the Counter-Intelligence Corps who offered Barbie immunity. With American connivance and the assistance of the murderous Croatian Ustačš priest Kunoslav Draganovi, he was sent down the so-called Rat Line via Salzburg, Trieste and Genoa to end up eventually in Bolivia.

Under the alias Klaus Altmann, Barbie ran a shipping business in La Paz, became an arms dealer, a security adviser to the Bolivian security service under the dictator General Hugo Banzer, taught them torture techniques including the use of electrodes and was involved in drug trafficking and other dubious activities. As a member of the neo-Nazi Fiancés of Death he continued his political activities in company with neo-fascists like Stefano delle Chiaie (*q.v.*). Largely through the efforts of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Barbie was eventually extradited from Bolivia to France in February 1983 and held in Montluc prison and then in St Joseph. Defended unsuccessfully by Maître Jacques Vergès at his trial, which began on 11 May 1987, for crimes against humanity, consisting of the arrest and deportation of 86 Jews in January 1943, the deportation of 44 Jewish children and 5 adults, and on 11 August 1944 of 650 Resistance and Jewish people who ended in Auschwitz, Barbie was sentenced to life imprisonment on 3 July.

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BARDÈCHE, Maurice (1909–)

French right-wing intellectual and film critic, and friend of Brasillach (q.v.).

Born on 1 October 1909 in Dun-sur-Auron (Cher), the son of a road inspector of republican sympathies, Bardèche began a life-long friendship with Robert Brasillach in the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris. He married Brasillach's sister Suzanne in July 1934. Receiving his higher education in the École Normale Supérieure in 1928, he was eventually appointed Professor of French Literature at the University of Lille (1942–4) during the German occupation, after a temporary tenure in the Sorbonne (1940–1). He collaborated with Brasillach on the *Histoire du Cinéma* and on *Histoire de la Guerre d'Espagne* (1939). He wrote critical works on Stendhal, on Proust, which won the Grand Prix de la Critique Littéraire in 1971, and on Balzac on whom he wrote his thesis in 1941.

His earliest literary experience was as a contributor to the dissident royalist journal *L'Étudiant Français* in 1930. From 1938 he wrote for the fascist journal *Je Suis Partout*. The execution of Brasillach in February 1945 had a profound and lasting effect on Bardèche and turned him to politics in the post-war period. His book, *Lettre à François Mauriac* (1947) was an apologia for the collaboration and a scathing attack on the process of *l'épuration* after the Liberation. As a Pétain supporter, although not a very active one, he had been arrested after the Liberation and imprisoned in Drancy for a few months. His next book *Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise* (1948), a condemnation of the war crimes trials, earned him a year's imprisonment (which he never actually served) and the spiritual leadership of the post-war French neo-fascist movement. He was one of the founders (with Mosley (*q.v.*), Priester (*q.v.*) and Engdahl (*q.v.*) and also vice-president of the Mouvement Social Européen founded in 1951 and known eventually as the Malmö International. The same Europeanist neo-fascism was expressed in his journal *Défense de l'Occident*, which he directed from 1952 to December 1982.

His outlook was perhaps unique in that he was quite unequivocal about his loyalty and dedication to

fascism as expressed in his *Qu'est-ce que le fascisme?* (1961) in the preface of which he wrote, 'I am a fascist writer.' However, he was far from being a rigid and incorrigible nostalgic, preferring to take as his starting-point the social fascism of Mussolini's Salò Republic of 1943–5 and attempting to create what he has called a *fascisme améliorée*, still corporatist but based on contemporary conditions. On the question of Algeria he recognized that there could be no perpetual French occupation and in his *Histoire des Femmes* he expressed a certain fashionable feminism. In one field in particular he has proved a predictable neo-fascist, namely in his support for the process of historical revisionism which in its most extreme form, as in the works of Paul Rassinier and Robert Faurisson, has denied the very occurrence of the Holocaust. Bardèche was managing director of the publishing house Les Sept Couleurs from 1948 to 1978.

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BARRÈS, Auguste Maurice (1862–1923)

French writer, journalist, politician, Boulangist, socialist, then anti-Dreyfusard, radical nationalist and conservative parliamentarian.

Born in Charmes-sur-Moselle (Vosges) on 19 August 1862, the son of a prosperous civil engineer, Barrès was brought up in a traditional provincial Catholic milieu. The family was forced to flee from Prussian troops in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1; this was to make an indelible impression on the young Barrès in the shape of a life-long revanchism and an attachment to his native Lorraine. Educated in the Faculty of Law at Nancy from 1880 after a hated interlude in a boarding school, the Collège de la Malgrange from 1873–7, he arrived in Paris in 1882 where the young literary non-conformist dilettante entered the literary life as a symbolist and a decadent. In 1884 he founded the journal *Les Taches d'Encre* which lasted for only four issues. This was the period of his trilogy *La Culte du Moi* beginning with *Sous l'Oeil des Barbares* (1888) in which he defines barbarians as those who would impose controls over the desires and actions of the sovereign individual. Believing that the self was the only reality, that feelings had precedence over ideas, Barrès waged war

against the barbarians in power: 'All men appear', he averred, 'like brutes to sensitive souls like me.'

With his conversion to Boulangism, first apparent in an article in *La Revue Indépendante* in 1888, the iron entered his soul and he discovered a solution which led from his 'thinking in solitude' to his 'thinking in terms of national solidarity'. Paradoxically, he found in his commitment to the negative authoritarian populism of Boulangism a positive antidote to his solipsistic narcissism. Having rediscovered the collectivity, moved from his ivory tower to social concerns and satisfied his need for a hero and a strong man, Barrès stood for the Chamber on 22 September 1889 for Nancy as a left Boulangist on a platform of socialism and nationalism. For the first time he used anti-Semitism as a unifying factor both to overcome social conflict and as a political tactic to mobilize the little man on behalf of his national socialism. 'Barrès gave the flunkies and menials of the Jewish High Bank the tongue-lashing they deserved', said the local paper. Over the next decade Barrès was to develop his doctrine of '*la terre et les morts*' as 'the organic foundation of inescapable affinities set against an abstract humanity', as Weber described it, with the nation as the ultimate reality, the individual as a function of the group, and human reason so determined that there could be no personal ideas only a process of recovery and reanimation from the storehouse of our ancestors.

In 1889 Barrès was a founder member of the Ligue de la Patrie Française. He failed to be re-elected for Nancy in 1893 due to the loss of the left centre vote and he failed later as a socialist in Neuilly in 1896. He continued his anti-Semitic nationalism in *Le Courier de l'Est* and in the daily *La Cocarde* founded in 1894 combining 'the social values of the Left and the political ones of the Right' (Sternhell). 'Parliamentarism is a poison of the brain like alcoholism, lead poisoning, syphilis.' He now came to believe in indirect action and an appeal to the masses without the mediation of a corrupt parliament, a campaign he capitalized on during the Panama affair. In 1897 he published the first novel in his new trilogy *Roman de l'Energie Nationale, Les Déracinés*, with its glorification of the common ties of blood and soil, which was to have such an effect on youth. In February 1898 he was marginally involved in Déroulède's (*q.v.*) abortive coup. A few months later in May 1898 he failed to be elected to the Chamber for Nancy with a programme combining his most recent national socialist obsessions under the auspices of a National Socialist Republican Committee. Barrès' attacks on Jews, who through 'greed, speculation, and cosmopolitanism were emptying the

country of substance', were not enough to win him the seat against his opponent Gervaise who was even more outspokenly anti-Semitic than Barrès.

From 1899 to 1901 Barrès was on the executive committee of the Ligue de la Patrie Française. A vehement anti-Dreyfusard he declared: 'that Dreyfus is capable of treason, I deduce from his race.' It was at this time that he met Maurras (*q.v.*) with whom he had ambivalent relations, fearing that Maurras' narrow outlook would produce 'hard, little souls'. In 1902 appeared Barrès' collection of essays, *Scènes et Doctrines du Nationalisme*, attacking internationalism in the name of 'the blood of men and the soil of the country'. A year later he failed to be elected to Parliament for the 4th arrondissement in Paris, but in 1906, having abandoned the anti-Dreyfusards, he won a seat for the 1st arrondissement. He was to remain in Parliament until 1923, growing progressively more conservative, losing his anti-parliamentarism, and pledging to 'defend the interests of business and work'. His later compromise with establishment politics and his trans-party interest in national unity, perhaps, justify Weber's description of his earlier socialism as 'a rich boy's philosophy'.

By the end he had become a pillar of the establishment, a supporter of Briand, Poincaré and the Bloc National, and concerned to preserve a neutralized Rhineland as a buffer against a resurgent Germany. *Les Diverses Familles Spirituelles de la France* (1917), with its acceptance of the Jewish contribution to French life, demonstrates his change of heart. Barrès died on 4 December 1923 in Neuilly but his potent influence lived on in writers like Montherlant, Aragon and Gide, who in retrospect (in 1930) was to speak of 'the pernicious, the deplorable influence of Barrès'. Georges Valois (*q.v.*) acknowledged that *La Cocarde* was 'the preface of our work created by republicans, royalists, and socialists'. His latest biographer Broche has restored some balance in favour of Barrès, the writer, against a barrage of Franco-American anti-Barrès in establishing his hero as 'the all but official champion of all the great French causes' who can legitimately be seen as the father of Gaullism, fascism or existentialism according to taste.

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BARROSO, Gustavo Dodt (1888–1959)

Brazilian journalist and leading pro-Nazi Integralist.

Barroso was born in Fortaleza on 29 December 1888, the son of a German mother from Württemberg. As a journalist he wrote his first article for the *Jornal da República*. He was for a time a member of the socialist Clube Maximo Gorki. In 1912 he was awarded a degree from the Faculty of Law in Rio de Janeiro where he had moved in 1910. As editor of the *Jornal do Comércio* in Rio he was a member of the Partido Republicano Federal. Appointed Secretary of the Interior and of Justice for Ceará state in 1914, he was elected in the following year as federal deputy for Ceará. In 1919 his diplomatic career blossomed when he became secretary of the Brazilian delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. His novel *Terro de Sol* (1912) had been written in praise of the tenacious virtues of the backlanders of north-east Brazil. Between 1919 and 1922 Barroso worked as a school inspector in the Federal District and from 1922 became director of the National Historical Museum.

When he joined Salgado's (*q.v.*) Ação Integralista Brasileira in 1933, the neurotic but intelligent Barroso was at the pinnacle of his career, President of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, active lawyer in Rio and Secretary-General of the International Committee of Legal Advisers. Inspired by European fascism, the green-shirted Integralist Movement was authoritarian, corporatist and extremely nationalist. Barroso, who represented the extreme pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic current within the movement, was head of the militia from March 1934 to June 1936 and from then a member of the Supreme Council. In his books *O Liceu do Ceará, Brasil: Colonia de Banqueiros*, *Historia Secreta do Brasil* (1936–8) and many others, and in his periodicals *Fon-Fon* and *Século XX*, he proved himself the Julius Streicher (*q.v.*) of Brazil.

A seductive orator, the moody and temperamental ideologist known as a man of great learning, wore his green uniform, pith helmet and shoulder holster with pistol to meetings of the Brazilian Academy, an organization he tried to impel in the direction of Integralism. Salgado, who favoured the ballot box over the revolutionary methods of Barroso, was, in the end, forced to ban Barroso temporarily from the journal *A Ofensiva* because of his virulent anti-Semitism. Barroso, who had been the translator of the *Protocols of*

the *Elders of Zion* into Portuguese, had also proposed the setting up of camps for 'Jewish communists'.

With the foundation of Vargas' Estado Novo in November 1937 and the banning of political parties, Barroso became director of physical education with the successor to the AIB, the Associação Brasileira de Cultura. Although he was heavily implicated in the coup of May 1938, he was not brought to trial for lack of evidence. He retired from political life to resume his activities with the Brazilian Academy and the National Historical Museum but from 1940 fulfilled a number of representative roles for the Vargas regime. In 1952 he was appointed a special ambassador to Uruguay and in 1954 to Peru. Barroso died on 3 December 1957 in Rio, having received an honorary degree from the University of Ceará earlier that year.

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BARTELS, Adolf (1862–1945)

German völkisch author and harbinger of National Socialist anti-Semitism.

Born on 15 November 1862 in Wesselburen (Schleswig), the son of a locksmith, Bartels went to school in Meldorf and then studied literature, philosophy and art in Leipzig and Berlin between 1885 and 1887 and from 1895 worked as a free-lance writer and scholar. Between 1889 and 1895 he travelled extensively in southern Germany and Italy. After editing and writing in Berlin and in Frankfurt-am-Main he eventually settled in Weimar in 1895 where he lived until his death. His earliest literary works were his historical novels, lyrical poems and plays. One of the founders of the *Heimatkunst* movement, Bartels pioneered certain völkisch and racist themes which were eventually to lead in 1942 to his honorary membership of the NSDAP on his 80th birthday.

An anti-Semite who made a distinction between the creative, blood-conscious German spirit and the cosmopolitan, contaminated, unproductive Jewish spirit, he accused many writers, including the Mann brothers, of having Jewish blood merely because he disapproved of their work. In works like *Deutsche*

Dichtung der Gegenwart (1897), he fulminated against Jews and those he took to be philo-semites. In his *Heinrich Heine auch ein Denkmal* (1906) and *Heine Genossen* (1907) he denied that Heine could ever be a great lyrical poet of the German language because of his origins; *Die Jude ist kein Deutscher und kann nie ein Deutscher werden*, 'The Jew is not a German and can never become German' he declared in 1919. He received the title of Professor in 1905 from the Grand-Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*) dedicated a volume on Goethe to Bartels whom he considered a leading influence on the völkisch movement. As far back as the 1890s he had been involved with Lange (*q.v.*) in the Deutschbund and in the circle around the *Täglicher Rundschau*.

Bartels was particularly exercised by a sense of German decadence and by the need to return from the present materialist age to 'ideals in a particularly German sense'. He was a member of the German Christ movement which rejected the Jehovah of the Bible in favour of an Aryanized Christ. He was a lifelong enemy of naturalism and what came to be known as 'asphalt literature'. In 1912 he cooperated with Alfred Roth (*q.v.*) in the anti-Semitic Reichskammersbund and after the First World War was a member of the governing body of the Deutsch-völkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund which he conceived as a vehicle for his anti-Semitic propaganda. The influence of Bartels in Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia was an important element in the preparation of rural opinion for later nazification. Bartels met Hitler, who was favourably impressed by his work, and visited him in Weimar in 1926.

A doctor of philosophy from the University of Leipzig in 1933, Bartels was granted the Eagle Shield of the Third Reich on his 75th birthday. He was a member of the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur, the National Socialist cultural organization, with authors like Hans Grimm (*q.v.*) and Hans Johst (1890–1978). Bartels died on 7 March 1945 in Weimar.

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BARTHÉLEMY, Victor (1906–)

French communist who converted to fascism.

Born on 21 July 1906 in Ajaccio (Corsica), the son of

an ardent socialist, Barthélemy was, while at lycée in Aix-en-Provence, a supporter of Action Française; but when he moved to Marseilles in 1925, he joined the Young Communists. He found his vocation in the Secours Rouge International, a communist aid organization. A product of the Communist Party school at Bobigny, he visited Russia in 1928: 'my confidence in the Bolshevik revolution was unshaken,' he wrote in his memoirs. On his return to France he was employed by the International as an agent for sensitive missions to Spain and Italy.

Regretting the departure of Doriot (*q.v.*) from the party in 1934, he nevertheless refused to follow him until 1936 when increasingly discouraged and disillusioned by the failure of the Comintern, he denied the 'revolutionary value' of the communist movement and became attracted by the 'revolutionary authenticity' of fascism and National Socialism. 'The defence of the Soviet Union had ceased to appear to me as the alpha and omega of every good Communist.' On 28 June 1936 he completed his political *volte-face* and joined Doriot's PPF; from October he served as the Federal secretary of the party for the Alpes-Maritimes, centred in Nice. In November 1936 he was offered a place on the central committee of the PPF, on the political bureau in June 1938 and in November 1939 he succeeded Barbé (*q.v.*) as secretary-general of the party, having remained faithful to Doriot during the mass defections of late 1938 and early 1939.

Now installed in Paris, Barthélemy served briefly in the artillery before the German invasion and after the armistice resumed the secretaryship of the PPF and represented it in Vichy in the attempts to unite the extreme right in a single party, the so-called Comités des Singes in August 1940. Barthélemy followed his leader Doriot in his fidelity to Marshal Pétain's National Revolution. He moved to Marseilles where he led the PPF in the unoccupied zone and in North Africa before returning to Paris in June 1941 as Secretary-General for both zones. He was a regular contributor to the PPF journal *L'Emancipation Nationale* until his return to Paris. In the unoccupied zone the PPF had been forced to operate as Les Comités des Amis de l'Emancipation Nationale and Les Comités pour la Révolution Nationale. Barthélemy was to serve on the central committee of the anti-Bolshevik Légion des Volontaires Française. During 1941–4 he has written that he was more totally involved 'for better or worse' in collaboration than he had been with the PPF in 1936 or in 1940.

Fleeing from Paris before the advancing Allied armies on 6 August 1944, he continued as a PPF militant in exile in Germany. In November 1944 he

was chosen as PPF representative to the government of Mussolini's Italian Social Republic and after Doriot's death with Sabiani (*q.v.*) and Marcel Marchall he formed a triumvirate at the head of the People's Party. Barthélemy moved on to Milan in April 1945 and was arrested on 2 May, tried by a military tribunal and sentenced to several years' imprisonment. After his release he was associated with the neo-fascist European Social Movement in 1951, was on the board of Bardèche's (*q.v.*) journal *Défense de l'Occident*, and was a member of the Front National pour l'Algérie Française. A member of Tixier-Vignancour's (*q.v.*) Comité TV for the December 1965 presidential elections, he was then on the National Council of TV's L'Alliance Républicaine. Between 1960 and 1964 he had supported the Secours Populaire pour l'Entraide et la Solidarité whose purpose was to aid OAS prisoners. In 1974 his political sympathies led him to become administrative secretary of Le Pen's (*q.v.*) Front National. (He was replaced in May 1978.) In 1978 his memoir *Du Communisme au Fascisme* was published, perhaps the most interesting and revealing of all the accounts of political conversion from extreme left to extreme right and a vital source book for the history of the PPF.

Barthélemy retired to the south of France and was believed to be still living there in 1988 (the mairie of Ajaccio had no record of his death in December 1988).

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BASTIANINI, Giuseppe (1899–1961)

Italian fascist diplomat.

Born in Perugia on 8 March 1899, Bastianini volunteered in 1917 in the First World War and became a second lieutenant in the Arditi. On his return to Perugia he joined the R. Istituto Superiore di Agraria where he obtained a degree in agricultural science in June 1923. Actively involved in politics with the Fasci di Combattimenti, he was one of the founders of Umbrian fascism in the autumn of 1920. He was appointed regional secretary of the local *fascio*. On 20 August 1921 he began to publish the weekly *L'Assalto* and in September was reappointed

as a member of the executive committee of the PNF; in November he took over as the vice general-secretary of the party. He took part in the preparations for the March on Rome.

In April 1923 he became Consul-General of the fascist militia, the MVSN, and president of the provincial council of Perugia. In 1924 he helped to reorganize the Neapolitan fascists. From 1923 until November 1926 he was head of the Italian Fasci dell'Estero (the Fascists Overseas), an organization which took on a certain importance under his direction. At this time he met Hermann Göring (*q.v.*) who made a great impression on him. In April 1924 he was elected fascist deputy for Perugia.

Bastianini continued to gain influence in the councils of the party and already from December 1922 a member of the Fascist Grand Council, he became, on 16 November 1926, undersecretary in the Ministry of National Economy. Turning to the diplomatic arena, he served first in Tangier and from August 1928 as minister plenipotentiary in Lisbon; from November 1929 he was in Athens. On 25 August 1932 he was appointed ambassador in Poland (until 1936) and from 11 June 1936 to February 1939 was undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry under Ciano (*q.v.*).

In March 1939 he joined the National Council of Chambers of Fasci and Corporations. Returning to diplomacy as ambassador to London in September 1939, he strove to avoid war between the two countries through an accord between Britain and Italy. On 7 June 1941 he succeeded to the Governorship of Dalmatia, a post he held until February 1943. When in the 'changing of the guard' he took over as Undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry working directly under Mussolini who had taken over responsibility for foreign affairs, Bastianini grew progressively more disenchanted with Hitler's 'New Order', especially in relation to the treatment of the small satellite states of Eastern Europe and the Balkans whose independence had been destroyed or compromised by the Germans. By July 1943 he had begun to have contacts with the British through Lisbon and on the night of the Grand Council meeting of 24/5 July 1943 he supported Grandi's (*q.v.*) motion opposing Mussolini (although he was not strictly a member of the Grand Council he was allowed to vote). After Mussolini's arrest he was offered the ambassadorship in Ankara but declined following anti-fascist opposition.

Hiding out in Tuscany after his condemnation to death by the Verona Tribunal on 10 January 1944, he later took refuge in Switzerland but then returned from exile to a hideout in Calabria. In 1947 he was

acquitted by a special court in Rome although the Yugoslavs wanted him extradited as a war criminal. He became administrative delegate to a company which produced cellulose from eucalyptus trees and died on 17 December 1961 in Milan.

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BENN, Gottfried (1886–1956)

German expressionist poet and essayist who flirted with National Socialism.

Benn was born on 2 May 1886 in Mansfeld (Brandenburg), the son of a Lutheran pastor. He was educated in Sellin (Neumark) and Frankfurt-am-Oder and then in the University of Marburg where he studied theology and the Kaiser Wilhelm Academy in Berlin where he studied military medicine. In 1912 he embarked on his literary career as an expressionist when he wrote *Morgue*, a book concerned with the physical decay of the flesh. After the war in which he served as a medic (he attended the execution of Edith Cavell and worked for a time as a physician in an army brothel), he settled in Berlin as an expert on sexually transmitted diseases and dermatology. It was during the 1920s that he wrote the works for which he is rightly admired: *Schutt* (1924), *Betäubung* (1925) and *Spaltung* (1925), but the deep paradox associated with Benn was his ability to separate his work as a doctor who was attracted by the Nazi concepts of race hygiene and eugenics, from his poetic life in which he defended Dadaist writers like Mehring and Herzfelde against obscenity charges.

An enemy of 'metropolis, industrialism and intellectualism', there was, as Michael Hamburger has written, 'a perpetual struggle between his ego and the external world'. An egocentric who expressed the superfluity and the superfluidity of the self and a return to a pre-rational, atavistic world, he arrived at an irrational nihilism of primal instincts which led him to oppose modern cults of humanitarianism and science as expressed by the leading character Rönne in his drama *Ithaca*. His desire for liberation from intellectualism is embodied in Rönne's murder of his professor who has exalted science to the supreme value. Although he claimed an apolitical position as an artist and a hostility to political activism, his antagonism to the Weimar Republic and to the Left was clearly demonstrated in his 1929 debates with

the leftists Johannes Becher and Egon Kirsch, in which his idea of history as meaningless chaos and his aestheticization of politics is apparent, along with his rejection of Marxism and of 'Americanism' alike. As early as 1927 his antipathy towards the Weimar Republic was expressed in *Art and State*. In 1931 he attacked both left and right but by February 1933 he began to sympathize with the Nazis as a revolutionary force. The old materialist values exemplified in liberalism and Marxism would be replaced by a new metaphysic.

Elected to the poetry section of the Prussian Academy in 1932, Benn played a leading part in the 'coordination' of the Academy into the Nazi regime. He gave a famous radio broadcast in 1933 in reply to Klaus Mann's open letter asking how he could support such a regime; Benn's reply attacked the literary exiles including Mann and affirmed his enthusiasm for Hitler's revolution in biological and metaphysical terms. He reinforced those views with works like *Der Neue Staat und die Intellektuellen* (1933) and *Kunst und Macht* (1935). However, Benn never fully identified himself with the Nazis nor was his approval of the new state an inevitable outcome of his earlier development and by 1936 he had become disenchanted and cynical. His expressionist and experimental work was to be turned against him and in 1936 the SS journal *Das Schwarze Korps* attacked his work as degenerate, Jewish and homosexual.

From 1935 to 1945 he worked as an army doctor thereby indulging as he said in 'an aristocratic form of emigration'. From July 1937 he worked in the Ministry of Defence in Berlin. In March 1938 he was expelled from the Reichsliteraturkammer (Reich Literature Chamber). After the Röhm purge he began to have an inkling that the *Machtstaat* which he had learnt from Nietzsche was the only one capable of 'the ever-renewing creation and forming of genius', was also capable of tyranny, a process that reached its fulfilment in his *Behenntnis zum Expressionismus* when he finally acknowledged the fact.

Benn continued to practise medicine after the war and also to write. The title of his apologia of 1950, *Double Life*, perhaps summarizes the paradox at the heart of his work and of his life – on the one hand, his frank support of the Nazis, and on the other, his conception of himself as a pure, apolitical artist. He died on 7 July 1956 in Berlin.

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BENOIST, Alain Marie de (1943–)

French journalist and intellectual, founder of GRECE, the leading organization of the Nouvelle Droite.

Born in Saint-Symphorien (Inde-et-Loire) on 11 December 1943, the son of a company inspector, Alain de Benoist studied at the Louis-le-Grand lycée in Paris and at the Faculty of Law and Letters in the Sorbonne. He began his journalistic career with Henry Coston's (*q.v.*) *Lectures Françaises* in 1960 writing under the pseudonym Cédric de Gentissard. He was a student member of Sidos' (*q.v.*) Jeune Nation, then associated with the Fédération des Étudiants Nationalistes founded in May 1960, an anti-communist and pro-Algérie Française organization. Benoist was the editorial secretary of the FEN organ *Cahiers Universitaires* from 1962 to 1967. From June 1966 his political sympathies led him to join the Mouvement Nationaliste du Progrès, the latest front for Venner's (*q.v.*) Europe-Action for which Benoist wrote under the pseudonym Fabrice Laroche, a name he was to use frequently. From 1966 to 1968 he was chief editor of *L'Observateur Européen*, the continuation of *Europe-Action Hebdo*. Giving thematic unity to these consecutive movements was the thread of racism or 'biological realism' as Europe-Action preferred to call it. Benoist himself co-authored a pro-apartheid pamphlet *Vérité pour l'Afrique du Sud*.

Many of the future luminaries of GRECE and of the Nouvelle Droite emerged from this ideological background, a number of them members of the Rassemblement Européen de la Liberté, an organization created by Venner for the elections of March 1967, Benoist himself, Jacques Bruyas, Roger Lemoine, Jean Mabire and Jean-Claude Valla. The first manifestation of the Nouvelle Droite, very much a consequence of the abject electoral failure of the Vennerites in May 1967, was the journal *Nouvelle École* founded in February/March 1968; Benoist became chief editor in 1969. The immediate catalyst of the new *mouvement* was a row which split the MNR/REL.

The Nouvelle Droite found its institutional embodiment in the Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (GRECE), established in May 1968 but not having official status until January 1969. Its aim was no less than to make the extreme right respectable through a 'Gramscism of the right', a 'cultural project' devoted to the pursuit of cultural power, an extreme right freemasonry armed with a strategy of entryism. In 1973 the journal *Éléments* was added to the ND stable; its editorials were written by Benoist under the pseudonym of Robert de Herte. Benoist hoped to overthrow the accepted

left consensus and through a reorientation of élites alter the prevailing societal values. This cultural revolution was to take place through a congeries of affiliated societies and related organizations such as the Cercle Galilée of Dijon, the Cercle Henry de Montherland in Bordeaux, and many other local and provincial groups; the best-known of these groups was the Club de L'Horloge founded in 1974 whose connection with GRECE is one of personnel rather than of institutional structure.

The ND has made use of discoveries in differential psychology, sociobiology, genetics, physical anthropology and other disciplines in its construction of a *Weltanschauung* looking back ultimately to the theoreticians of the conservative revolution in Germany, Spengler (*q.v.*), Moeller van den Brucke (*q.v.*), Jünger (*q.v.*) and Von Salomon (*q.v.*), to the Indo-European historian and linguist Georges Dumézil and to the anti-democratic, anti-egalitarian, anti-Semitic, élitist philosophy of Louis Rougier (1889–1982). From Dumézil Benoist has taken the tripartite division of Indo-European society into the religious, the military and the economic with the lowest function assigned to the production of wealth; he has used this concept to develop a critique of western capitalist materialism and as the basis for the rejection of the whole Judeo-Christian tradition with its assumption of the equality of all before God. Under the motto *la droite à la différence*, Benoist has sought to restore hierarchy, to undermine egalitarianism and to elevate the idea of life as combat in the spirit of Mussolini's famous encapsulation of fascism in the phrase, 'We are against the easy life'. There is a sense in which Pierre Milza's characterization of the movement as 'walking in the midst of a cemetery of ideas' is appropriate, troubled, one might add, by the unbending shades of Evola (*q.v.*), Günther (*q.v.*) and Vacher de Lapouge (*q.v.*).

Alain de Benoist has written for many of the journals of the right, including *Valeurs Actuelles*, *Western Destiny*, Bardèche's (*q.v.*) *Défense de l'Occident*, *Ordine Nuovo* and a host of others but most successfully in *Figaro-Magazine* published by Robert Hersant and given a new right turn by Louis Pauwels whose subsequent conversion to Catholicism led to the eviction of Benoist from its columns. Benoist has been a prolix author of works like *Morale et Philosophie de Nietzsche* (1974), *Vu du Droite* (1977), awarded the Grand Prix de l'Essai from the Académie Française in 1978, *Les Idées à l'Endroit* (1979), *Comment peut-on être païen?* (1981) and *Orientations pour des Années Décisives* (1982). In addition, he has enlisted two publishing houses in his cultural onslaught, Copernic (1977–81) and Labyrinthe

(1982–). An excellent stylist, cultivated and highly intelligent (a Mensa member), Benoist denies that his neo-pagan, anti-humanist, Social Darwinist struggle against the 'reductionist' democratic mystique constitutes any revival of fascism: 'the Nazis, they were excessive and stupid' but perhaps significantly he does not add immoral, murderous and cruel. The 'liberal' camouflage cannot disguise what is at the root of the ND, its fears of a betrayal of the white race and of mass immigration and miscegenation, nor can the rejection of the materialist values of both American capitalism and of Soviet communism, the anathema on Freudianism, or the call for an end to homogenization hide the fear of transcendence behind it.

Benoist has had close relations with the Nordic League and with fringe elements like Dr J. Bouge-Prévost from the Institut Supérieur des Sciences de Québec, author of pseudo-scientific racist texts. Towards the Front National he has taken an enigmatic and ambiguous stance but its rival, the Parti des Forces Nouvelles, Benoist has served as a member of the Comité de Soutien International which set up the Eurodroite alliance in 1978 with similar movements like the Italian MSI. Since the media discovered the ND in 1979, it has suffered something of a decline with the loss of the Copernic publishing house and the loss of members to the FN and CNIP. In 1983 Benoist announced a new orientation rejecting the 'dualist vision of the world' in favour of 'the conciliation of contraries to reconcile body and spirit, immanence and transcendence, thought and action, revolution and conservation, identity and difference', which he calls the 'European way'.

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BENOIST-MÉCHIN, Jacques Michel Gabriel Paul (1901–83)

French journalist and military historian, partisan of Franco-German collaboration, member of Doriot's (q.v.) PPF.

Born in Paris on 1 July 1901, Benoist-Méchin was educated in Britain, Switzerland and in the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, followed by the Sorbonne.

From 1921 to 1923 he served in the French occupation forces in the Rhineland. From 1924 to 1927 he worked for press agency International News Service and in 1930 was appointed editor of *L'Europe Nouvelle*. In the 1930s he wrote his famous two-volume *Histoire de l'Armée Allemande* and was connected with the journal *L'Intransigeant*.

As an enthusiast for Franco-German rapprochement, cooperation and understanding he joined the Comité France-Allemagne and impatient with the democratic process's inability to bring this about adhered to Doriot's Parti Populaire Français in 1936. He met Ribbentrop (q.v.) in November 1938 at a conference on the two armies. In 1939 he was mobilized, taken prisoner and freed from the POW camp in Voves in the late summer of 1940. On 11 December he became chief of the diplomatic mission for the prisoners of war in Berlin and worked under Scapini for the negotiated release of the prisoners. As an Undersecretary of State in the Darlan administration from February to June 1941 he was in charge of administrative affairs and from June was Secretary of State to the Vice-Presidency of the Council in charge of Franco-German relations and of Vichy's diplomatic negotiations. He was one of Darlan's team, along with Pucheu (q.v.), of 'young cyclists'. Although one of those of the most extreme collaborationist tendency, like Darlan he favoured bringing the Vichy regime into the war against Britain but only by increasing operations in North Africa. He later described Vichy government policy as evolving between French inertia and German suspicion. For a brief period in June/July 1941 Benoist was Vichy ambassador to Turkey.

He continued to write for the *Cahiers Franco-Allemande* and for *La Gerbe* and was head of the central committee of the Légion Tricolore which was absorbed by Laval into the Anti-Bolshevik Legion to become the LVF in January 1943. Having resigned from the government in September 1942 (he was replaced by Brinon (q.v.) after Laval began to fear a possible coup attempt by Benoist with his ally Doriot), Benoist had talks with Darnand, after the German invasion of the free zone in November 1942, about the possible take-over by a triumvirate; for some time Benoist had acted as a PPF presence in the government.

Earlier with Pucheu and Marion (q.v.) he had been the author of the *Plan pour un Ordre Nouveau en France* which put forward the idea of a European economic community to ambassador Abetz (q.v.). After the war he was sentenced to death in June 1947 but this was commuted to life imprisonment in Fontevault near Saumur and, in fact, he was amnestied and released on 14 July 1953. Before and after his release he continued to write for the extreme right

press including *Écrits de Paris* and *Paroles Françaises*, journal of the anti-Resistance Parti Républicain de la Liberté. He was a leading member of the Union des Intellectuels Indépendants and a patron with Bardèche (q.v.) of L'Union Réaliste a neo-Vichyist organization which in the words of its secretary-general wanted revenge on behalf of Vichy. He tried to defend the record of Marshal Pétain and, in an interview with David Pryce-Jones, denied he was ever a Nazi or a fascist, only a believer in *Realpolitik* which called for a Franco-German rapprochement. He was the author of numerous historical and other works including *La Moisson de Quarante* (1941), a journal of his time as a POW, *Sixty Days that Shook the West* (1963) and an interpretation of *Mein Kampf*. Bennoist-Méchin died on 24 February 1983 in Bichat Hospital in Paris.

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BERGER, Gottlob (1896-1975)

German SS general and founder of the Waffen-SS.

Born in Gerstetten on 16 July 1896, Berger was the son of a saw-mill owner and peasant. A volunteer in the First World War he reached the rank of second lieutenant and was severely wounded. After the war he became an athletics and gymnastics instructor. Having joined the SA he was brought before an SA arbitration court in spring 1933 for a quarrel with another SA officer and was forced to resign. After the Röhm purge he moved to the SS where in 1933 he became responsible for recruitment in the organization among other functions. In 1938 he was promoted to head of the recruiting office in the SS-Hauptamt and on 15 August 1940 head of the SS-Hauptamt (Main Office) itself. Appointed SS Ober-gruppenführer on 21 June 1943, he was Himmler's (q.v.) Chief of Staff of the Military SS and thus chief adviser to the Reichsführer-SS. Known as Himmler's poodle and the 'Duke of Swabia', he was thoroughly disliked by professional SS officers for his vulgarity and subservience, his vanity and his colossal arrogance. As head of the Main Leadership Office (SS-Führungsamt) he was

entrusted with a sizeable sector of the SS empire.

One of his main claims to notoriety was as founder of the Waffen-SS, involving the recruitment of foreigners of 'Germanic blood' into the SS, particularly from the Balkans and the Nordic nations to serve as replacement units denied him by the Wehrmacht. In July 1942 he was appointed Himmler's liaison officer with the Ostministerium, the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Territories in the East, headed by Rosenberg (*q.v.*). Himmler wanted Berger as state secretary in Rosenberg's Ministry but after much protest the plan was dropped, but in August 1943 Berger was given, by Rosenberg, the post of director of the political operations staff of the Ostministerium; in the same month he was appointed to the Reichstag.

In August 1944 he took over the task, as commanding officer responsible for dealing with the anti-Nazi rising, of 'pacification' in Slovakia and in October was made Inspector-General of Prisoners of War. He resigned from the Ostministerium in January 1944 after quarrelling with Rosenberg; he headed one letter to Rosenberg with 'Reich Minister for the No-Longer Occupied Territories'.

In 1949 Berger was sentenced to 25 years in prison but released from Landsberg after the sentence had been commuted to ten years on 31 January 1951. He was connected with the East German attempt to recruit ex-Nazis in the cause of a neutralism which served the aims of Soviet foreign policy through the Führungsring Ehemaliger Soldaten which received East German subsidies. Berger died on 5 January 1975 in Stuttgart.

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BERGERY, Gaston Frank (1892–1974)

French radical politician turned Vichy supporter.

Born on 22 November 1892 in Paris, the illegitimate son of a German Jewish financier, Bergery studied law. He served with distinction as a lieutenant in the First World War and was badly wounded in the Champagne country in September 1915 and thereafter was on a French military mission to the British army. After the war at the Versailles Peace Conference he inclined to the Keynesian position and as a deputy general-secretary to the Reparations Com-

mission came to the attention of the radical leader Henriot. Elected to the Chamber for the Cartel des Gauches in 1924, he was appointed chief of the cabinet to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Henriot himself. Repelled by Henriot's capitulations to the Banque de France over some fake balance-sheets, Bergery resigned but in April 1928 he was re-elected as deputy for Mantes on behalf of the Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste and gravitated towards the 'Young Turks' on the left of the party.

In the early 1930s accused of being a 'radical-Bolshevik', he tried to persuade his party to leave the Union Nationale and go into opposition with the socialists. Re-elected in May 1932, Bergery opposed Henriot's foreign policy, espousing a more general disarmament. In March 1933 he left the Radical Party to work for a realigned left which would be committed to a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and its successors and an annulment of reparations. In June he created his own Front Commun Antifasciste with *La Flèche* as its organ; it was to become the Front Social in November 1934 and late in 1936 the Parti Frontiste. In February 1934 Bergery resigned his seat in protest at the Doumergue cabinet; nevertheless he was re-elected in May 1936. Close to the communist Amsterdam-Pleyel movement, Bergery united dissident radicals, communists and socialists in an anti-fascist, pacifist, anti-capitalist and increasingly anti-parliamentary movement whose aim was to replace democracy with a government founded on a base of workers organized in trade unions and cooperatives. As Burrin has graphically shown, an early if subconscious attraction to fascism led from early support for the Popular Front government through a movement to the centre when the slogan 'neither left nor right' became paramount to the dropping of all 'ouvrierist' leanings. Although there was no moment of Damascene conversion that could be detected, other Pauline processes were subliminally at work to enable Bergery to arrive at the apparent paradox of an anti-fascist fascism. Still in 1938 denouncing fascism for 'seeking scapegoats in war-mongering and racism' he was in August 1939 one of the Committee of Liaison of deputies against war and was the sole member of the Chamber to vote against war credits instituted by the Daladier government in September 1939.

After the French defeat he voted for full powers for Pétain and announced himself in favour of collaboration and a new French order though one not a mere copy of German National Socialism. Unlike Déat, whose single party idea he at first supported, Bergery remained loyal to the Marshal in spite of his desire for a French 'National Socialism' based on

social justice and 'natural hierarchy'. Bergery served Vichy in a diplomatic capacity first as ambassador to Moscow (April–June 1941) and then in Ankara (1942–4); he was offered a number of appointments on special commissions and on the National Council.

Arrested after the war he spent five months in detention but was acquitted at his trial in February 1949 and resumed his vocation as a lawyer. In 1957 he took over the editorship of *Paris-Presse-l'Intransigeant*. Bergery died in Ankara on 10 February 1974.

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BEST, Karl Rudolf Werner (1903–)

German National Socialist SS leader and Reich-Plenipotentiary in Denmark during the occupation.

Born in Darmstadt on 10 July 1903, the son of a senior Hessian postal official, Best received his schooling in Dortmund and Mainz. He then studied law in Frankfurt-am-Main, Freiburg and Giessen from 1921 to 1925 and took a doctorate from Heidelberg in 1927. He then entered the legal profession. Politically active from an early age, he was a member in Mainz of the National Youth League and involved with the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. In 1923 and 1924 he fought in the resistance against the French occupation of the Ruhr and was twice imprisoned for his activities. On 9 July 1924 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In 1925 he campaigned actively for the nationalist coalition, the Nationalblock, in Hesse.

From September 1929 to December 1931 he was employed as a district judge in the Hesse judicial service. On 1 November 1930 he joined the NSDAP and in 1931 the SD (his SS no. was 23,377). In December 1931 Best was found to be the author of the so-called Boxheim document containing the plans for a Nazi take-over and he was dismissed from his judicial post. Tried for high treason, the court accepted in mitigation that he had believed a communist coup to be imminent and he was released for lack of evidence. In the same year he also served as a representative in the Hesse provincial parliament. The paradox of his life was to be the tension between his legal instincts and training and the temperament of a Free Corps activist.

Best was appointed on 6 March 1933 as special police commissioner by Heinrich Müller (*q.v.*) in Hesse and in July he was persuaded to become provincial police president in the Hesse state ministry. In 1934 he came to work for the Bavarian SD, a post in which he first demonstrated his extreme usefulness as a legal expert in the National Socialist revolution. He moved to Berlin in January 1935 to join the Gestapo as a legal adviser and as head of the Hauptabteilung; as SS-Standartenführer he played an important function in the creation of the vast SS network. As head of the Office of Administration and Law in the headquarters of the security police, Best, with Heydrich (*q.v.*), was the virtual creator of the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) of the SS. He became a close collaborator of Heydrich for whom he performed the important task of removing legal obstacles to his operations. As the interests of the national community were exalted so those of the individual under the old Prussian code became eroded; Best believed that the more perfect the authority, the more perfect the state.

During the Polish invasion Best was in the rear and was later charged with complicity in mass murder. At this time he was the head of Office I (Law and Administration) of the RSHA, a post he retained until June 1940 when he was forced out of office by Heydrich, who did not approve of Best's residual concern for legal niceties and for his legalistic mentality. Transferred in August 1940 to France to run the administrative staff section which coordinated all civilian matters in the German occupation administration (in the Majestic Hotel in Paris), Best resigned when he lost control to SS General Carl Oberg. In November 1942 he was dispatched to Denmark as Reich-Plenipotentiary, entrusted with the task of persuading the Danes to accept native Nazis in the cabinet. He came to an understanding with the Danes, against Hitler's wishes, which entailed the reinterpretation of Himmler's plans to exterminate Danish Jews who were mostly allowed to escape. Nevertheless Best was to be condemned to death in Denmark on 4 September 1948.

A cynical opportunist, particularly in his decision to help to give legal respectability to SS activities, he was highly ambitious, unpredictable, complex, amoral, fanatical and highly intelligent (see the testimony of Walter Bargatzky in Pryce-Jones). His death sentence was commuted to twelve years' imprisonment, and Best was freed in 1951 and returned to Germany where he became legal adviser to Stinnes and Company in Mühlheim in 1955. As early as 1951 he had lobbied in the interests of a general amnesty for all war criminals and was close to

the Naumann circle which tried to infiltrate the major parties in the Federal Republic with unrepentant Nazis. Best worked as office manager for a neo-Nazi Landtag deputy who had entered the FDP. In February 1972 he was charged with responsibility for mass murder but freed on health grounds, surprising perhaps in view of the fact that he was still alive in August 1988.

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BIANCHI, Michele (1883–1930)

Italian fascist who began as a revolutionary syndicalist.

Born in Belmonte Calabro (Cosenza) on 22 July 1883, Bianchi was educated in the Law Faculty of Rome University. He did not complete his studies but instead worked from 1905 as Genoa correspondent of the socialist journal *Avanti*; he also joined the *Unione Socialista Romana*. He was a delegate to the Socialist Congress in Bologna in 1904. Adopting the revolutionary syndicalist position he wrote for *Divenire Sociale*. In June 1905 Bianchi wrote an important doctrinal article on the basis of revolutionary syndicalism in this journal. In July he became director of *Gioventù Socialista*, the organ of the Young Socialists then under syndicalist control. As secretary of the local chamber of revolutionary workers in Genoa in December 1905 and director of *Lotta Socialista*, he tried to turn the socialist movement in a syndicalist direction. In the following year he was in Savona, in 1907 in Ferrara, and in 1908 was caught up in the great wave of agrarian strikes and hay burnings in Parma. Returning to Ferrara, he became editor of *La Scintilla* in 1910, but was forced to leave the city in August 1912 after an attack on the armed forces in connection with the Libyan War, which Bianchi opposed. His anti-militarism had been a consistent theme in his journalistic pieces although, in general, his interests lay in organization and tactics rather than in ideological matters.

In 1914, having moved to Milan to take over as leader of the local *Unione Sindicale*, Bianchi was drawn as political secretary into the *Fascio Rivoluzionario d'Azione Internazionalista* and was one of the signatories of the Interventionist Manifesto of 5 October 1914. Between April 1913 and

September 1914 he had been converted from anti-militarism to interventionism to such an extent that he joined the infantry in May 1915 and served in the war as a warrant officer and later as a sergeant in the artillery. He was briefly editor of *Popolo d'Italia* after the war in late 1918 and in 1919 he was one of the founders of the *Fasci di Combattimento* which pledged to 'continue the war against internal enemies'. Known as 'Michelino', Bianchi was appointed a member of the executive committee of the Milanese *fascio* on 21 March 1919. Two days later he took part in the gathering in the Piazza San Sepolcro and was elected to the central committee of the *Fascio di Combattimento* in charge of propaganda and the press.

Bianchi, who had never investigated the theory of syndicalism very deeply, did not see the new movement as either anti-working class or a deviation from his earlier syndicalism. In the great debate on the future of national syndicalism he sided with Grandi (*q.v.*) against Rossoni (*q.v.*); Bianchi favoured strong ties between the *fasci* and the national syndicates rather than allowing the latter to develop independently. In November 1921 he was elected a member of the new PNF central committee and secretary of the PNF. After playing a major role in the March on Rome as one of the *quadrumvirs* whose responsibility was both to liaise with outside political forces and to build up the party in the under-represented south, he emerged as a radical voice counselling Mussolini to take power alone and not in alliance with Luigi Facta (1861–1930) or other right-wing elements. He attempted to hand in his resignation in October 1922 as a protest against Mussolini's new cabinet but it was not accepted. On 4 November 1922 he was appointed secretary-general to the Ministry of the Interior. In January 1923 the secretaryship of the party was divided between Bianchi, Bastianini (*q.v.*) and Sansanelli for the political side and Marinelli (*q.v.*) and Dudan for the administrative.

In Calabria Bianchi strove to create a clientelist power base; such was the extent of his power of patronage that he assumed a role as the appointer of prefects. His efforts on behalf of economic development in Calabria were considerable. As a member of the Fascist Grand Council he was one of the commissioners appointed to advise on the new electoral laws in 1923. In May 1924 he was elected as a deputy and resigned from his post as secretary-general to the Ministry of the Interior. On 31 October 1925, the 'Richlieu of the regime' was appointed Undersecretary for Public Works and in March 1928 Undersecretary once more in the Interior Ministry. Finally

on 12 September 1929, he was promoted to Minister of Public Works. However, his health had always been poor, the result of tuberculosis, which gave him a haggard appearance and he died a few months later, on 3 February 1930 in Rome.

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BIÉTRY, Pierre (1872–1918)

French 'yellow' trade union leader and founder of an early National Socialist Party.

Born in Fêche-L'Église (Belfort) on 9 May 1872 into a poor family, Biétry was brought up in Algeria before returning to France at the age of 13. He worked in Germany and Switzerland before finally returning to France where he was converted to Guesdite socialism. He organized a number of strikes and in November 1899 a march on Paris from Audecourt (Belfort). He was sentenced in August 1900 to a month in prison for his industrial agitation. A member of the Parti Ouvrier Français he represented Le Doub and Le Haut-Rhin at POF congresses. It was at the POF Congress in Ivry in September 1900 that he publicly opposed the idea of a general strike as an industrial and political weapon. A powerful personality and a courageous leader, Biétry was expelled from the POF and proceeded to work for class collaboration and for an entente between employers and workers. In his attempt to find a non-political union, he joined the Bourse Indépendante of Paul Lanoir and became general secretary of the Union Fédérative des Syndicats. (Lanoir had been ousted from the Paris Bourse du Travail with his union of railwaymen for his failure to accept the new syndicalist line.)

Breaking with Lanoir, who later proved to be a financial fraud, early in 1902, Biétry launched in April, the Fédération National des Jaunes de France, a federation of 'yellow' unions. At its peak from 1904 to 1907 it posed a distinct if unrealized challenge to the orthodox Confédération Générale du Travail. In 1903 the organization became the Union Fédérative des Ouvriers et Syndicats Professionnels Indépendants and held congresses in 1904, 1906, 1907 and 1909. There was a forlorn attempt to found a Parti Socialiste National which foundered as

early as 1903. However, the movement did receive some support from ex-left Boulangists like Rochefort and from Drumont (*q.v.*) and was subsidized by local industrialists and by the Duchesse d'Uzes. Many nationalists saw it as a natural successor to the patriotic leagues as the saviour of France.

Elected deputy for Brest in May 1906, Biétry suffered much abuse from the left and, indeed, he was not a resounding success in parliament. Although Maurras (*q.v.*) saw the Jaune movement as providing a possible social dimension for the Action Française, after some initial contacts the AF withdrew support, considering Biétry not to be reliable. He was upstaged by revolutionary syndicalists like Valois (*q.v.*) and those around the magazine *Terre Libre*. In May 1908 the Jaune movement was split between the trade union and the new Parti Propriétiste which by 1909 had taken over Drumont's anti-Semitic programme. Biétry believed workers should become property-owners and that the real problem was to increase their access to property. Marxism as an international conspiracy and socialism as a 'Jewish microbe' could never achieve this. This early prophet of popular capitalism was in his economic prescriptions a pioneer of what Valois (*q.v.*) and even to some extent what Doriot (*q.v.*) later tried to achieve.

Embittered and disillusioned, Biétry had ceased all political activity by March 1912. He left for Indo-China and died in Saigon on 3 December 1918.

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BIGGINI, Carlo Alberto (1902–45)

Italian fascist academic, intellectual and Minister of Education.

Born on 9 December 1902 in Sarzana (La Spezia), Biggini's higher education in Genoa was interrupted by compulsory military service in 1922. It was to be 1928 before he was awarded a law degree from the University of Genoa and in 1929 a politics degree from the University of Turin. Biggini had been associated with the fascist youth movement in October 1922 in Genoa but did not actually join the PNF until May 1928. From 1926 to 1928 he contributed

to the journal *Pietre* in Genoa which took a cool view of fascism, a fact later exploited by Biggini's opponents. As a disciple of the fascist philosopher Gentile (*q.v.*), Biggini contributed many scholarly articles to philosophical and legal journals. He studied the theory of corporatism at the University of Pisa, a university of which he was to become rector between 1938 and 1941.

A member of the local directory of the party from 1931 to 1934 and a deputy in 1934, he compensated for his earlier lack of total commitment to fascism by becoming a genuine admirer of Mussolini. From 1932 to 1938 he occupied the chair of constitutional law at Sassari University in Sardinia. He volunteered for service in the Ethiopian War and served as a lieutenant in the 'Gavinana' infantry division. He later won the bronze medal in the Greek campaign during the Second World War. A conservative and a moderate within the fascist movement, Biggini was appointed inspector-general of the PNF on 19 December 1942 and in February 1943 Minister of National Education. He was also a member of the Grand Council and of the PNF national directorate. In the vote of 24/25 July 1943 in the Grand Council meeting he remained loyal to Mussolini and disputed the constitutionality of those who voted to curtail the dictator's powers. Under German pressure he accepted the post of Minister of Education under the Salò regime, although reluctantly because of his conservative and monarchist prejudices.

As a moderating influence, he managed to outrage the radicals like Pavolini (*q.v.*) by measures such as his protection of school teachers from being obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the regime. He was known to have contacts with the opposition and with the anti-fascist resistance, who reciprocated by protecting him during his terminal illness. He died in a hospital in Padua, where he had been taken under the false name of Professor de Carlo, on 19 November 1945.

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BINET, René Valentin (1914–57)

French racist and neo-fascist journalist.

Binet was born on 16 October 1914 at Pornichet near Saint-Nazaire. At the age of 16 he was a member of the Jeunesses Communistes but was expelled

in 1934. In that year he moved to the Trotskyist Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire and contributed to its organ *Commune*. It was these years that saw the beginnings of his anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic attitudes which reached their apogee in the post-war *Nouvel Ordre Européen*. Mobilized in 1939, he spent some time in a German POW camp. In 1944 he volunteered for the 33rd Panzergranadier Division SS Charlemagne of the Waffen-SS.

In the spring of 1946, Binet became an early neo-fascist as the founder of the clandestine journal *Le Combattant Européen* and was jailed in 1946 for his initiative in constructing a party for National Socialist Revolution. In the summer of 1946 he was among the leaders of the Parti Républicain d'Unité Populaire which fused with the Forces Françaises Révolutionnaires in 1947. In the following year he founded a new organization, the Mouvement Socialiste d'Unité Française, dissolved in March 1949. It was already clear that his main interest was in a biologically-based racism and anti-Semitism. This tendency was apparent in the underground *La Sentinelle* (1949–52) and in *Le Nouveau Prométhée* (founded in July 1950).

Binet was active in 1951 with Bardèche (*q.v.*), Amaudruz (*q.v.*) and Priester (*q.v.*) in the formation of the neo-fascist Malmö movement and its embodiment in the Mouvement Social Européen. He was to leave the organization with Amaudruz and other extremists after failing to have the concept of racial purity installed as the keystone of the movement. Binet, Amaudruz and others left the MSE to form the *Nouvel Ordre Européen* in Zurich, based on a doctrine of 'social racism' and incorporating the idea of European superiority and a profoundly anti-democratic theory of the domination of government by a racial élite. In 1952 he was involved with Charles de Jonquières in the Mouvement National Progressiste.

Binet was a touchy and dictatorial personality who was described by Bardèche as 'a fascist of a puritan type who spends his life founding parties and publishing roneotyped newsletters'. He admired Tito and wrote an article in *L'Unité* asking if Tito was the Slavic Doriot (*q.v.*). Binet was the author of *Théorie du Racisme* (1950), *Socialisme National contre Marxisme* (1978) and *Contribution à une Éthique Raciste* (1975). He died in a car accident on 16 October 1957 near Pontoise; there were rumours that he may have been murdered by rivals on the extreme right.

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BLOKZIJL, Marius Hugh Louis Wilhelm (known as Max) (1884–1946)

NSB general secretary for press affairs and hated figure during the German occupation of the Netherlands.

Blokzijl, the son of a lieutenant in the infantry, was born in Leeuwarden on 20 December 1884 and in 1903 began to work for the liberal *Algemeen Handelsblad* in Amsterdam. Between 1908 and 1913 he travelled widely as foreign correspondent in the Dutch East Indies, Siberia, China, Japan and other parts of Europe and Asia. In 1913 he was appointed Berlin correspondent of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*. Towards the end of the First World War he was war correspondent in northern France, Poland and the Ukraine. From 1918 to 1940 he worked as a journalist in Berlin and was president of the Nederlandsche Bund in Deutschland and of the Vereins der Ausländischen Presse zu Berlin.

He joined the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in 1935 and on the invasion of the Netherlands in 1940 came out openly in support of the occupiers. It was his mission to assist the propaganda activities of his National Socialist masters. In February 1941 he became advisory editor of *De Standaard* and in July took over the press department of the Volksvoorlichting (Popular information). Already the NSB's Secretary for Press Affairs he graduated to virtual supervisor of the Dutch press with an extensive intimidatory apparatus at his command. As a speaker on Radio Hilversum who gave over 800 talks, he practised his vehemently anti-British rhetoric as a notorious mouthpiece for the Germans. After the war he was tried, found guilty of treason and executed on 16 March 1946 in Scheveningen prison, The Hague.

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BLUNCK, Hanz Freidrich (1888–1961)

German völkisch and National Socialist poet, novelist and dramatist.

Born on 3 September 1888 in Altona, the son of a teacher, Blunck was educated at the Universities of Kiel and Heidelberg where he studied law. In 1903 while still at school he had founded *Die Germanen*, a back-to-nature youth journal, and he was a frequent contributor to youth movement journals and to Stöcker's (*q.v.*) anti-Semitic journals. Blunck fought as an officer in the First World War from 1914 to 1918. In the 1920s he worked as town clerk of Hamburg and from 1935 as a free-lance writer from his estate Mölenhoff near Grebin in Holstein. For a time in the 1920s he was connected with Jünger's (*q.v.*) journal *Arminius*. He served the Nazis from 1933 to spring 1935, in his search for 'a mystical, utopian solution to Germany's problems' (Ritchie), as president of the Reichsschrifttumskammer (Reich Literature Chamber), an organization for cultural and literary control under Goebbels (*q.v.*); he was also a member of the Reich Culture Senate and of the Senate of the Academy of Letters. In 1938 he won the Goethe Medal.

After the war a Kiel denazification commission in March 1949 classified him as a Nazi fellow traveller and he was fined 10,000 DM. Like many others in his position he claimed to be an anti-fascist. Many of his novels, sagas and fairy tales were republished after the war by Christian Wolff in Flensburg and by P. Vink in Bonn. The theme of much of his output was Germanic mythology and the necessary return to the ethics and customs of the old Norse peoples; history was simply a matter of a succession of heroic leaders and a process of *Volkwerdung* (the growth of national consciousness and racial awareness). Blunck, who wrote in neo-Nazi journals like *Der Weg* (Buenos Aires) and in the *Deutsche Soldaten-Kalender*, was concerned to restore the old German gods in place of a Judaic Christianity. His memoirs *Unwegsame Zeiten* (Impassable Times) demonstrated that his uncritical attitude to the Third Reich had scarcely evolved in any significant respect. 'None of the young SA men marched through the streets without the spirit and intellectual baggage of the so-called *bündisch* movement and therefore of the earlier youth movement,' he wrote. Blunck died on 26 April 1961.

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BOCCHINI, Arturo (1880–1940)

Italian fascist chief of police.

Born on 12 February 1880 in San Giorgio la Montagna (Benevento), the son of a landowner with little ambition, Bocchini took a law degree from Naples University in July 1902. He joined the Ministry of the Interior as a civil servant in 1903 and served in various capacities to August 1914 when he went to Rome to work for the main office of the Interior Ministry. In 1919 he was appointed vice-prefect and inspector in charge of the 5th section of the general administration of public security.

In 1921 on his way up the administrative ladder, Bocchini became head of personnel in the first division of the Ministry. On 21 December 1922 he succeeded De Martino as prefect of Brescia and on 16 December 1923 was transferred to Bologna. In Brescia, Farinacci (*q.v.*) was an important influence on his administrative activities and it was his influence which secured Bocchini's advancement to Bologna. Bocchini moved on 24 October 1925 to become prefect of Genoa. Although he was a tough disciplinarian, he was a traditional bureaucrat concerned with administrative rather than political considerations though it is true that in Bologna he was caught up in a controversy over the fairness of the elections and in Genoa clashed with the Italian Federation of Labour. It was largely through his close relations with Farinacci and in Brescia with Turati (*q.v.*) that he became known as a friend of fascism.

Appointed on 23 September 1926 by Mussolini as chief of police after the anarchist Lucetti had thrown a bomb at him, it was as much for his capable administration as for his friendship to fascism. Bocchini was to remain in that position until his death. He was no ideological fascist and he refused to appoint obvious fascist enthusiasts to posts at his disposal. He often acted with moderation, intelligence and wisdom, concerned with defusing situations or preventing them from arising or from escalating where possible, in place of repressive measures which he, however, did not hesitate to use if necessary. Bocchini not only destroyed the Communist Party and drove it underground but helped to control dissident fascist intrinsics. He was totally successful in protecting the Duce and became known as 'the Shield of Mussolini'

in charge of his special *squadra presidenziale*. By his loyalty to Mussolini directly, he maintained the independence of the police from party control; Mussolini in his turn relied on Bocchini's huge information network.

In 1927 Bocchini created the special inspectorate of police which laid the foundations for the secret police, OVRA, originally popularly known as the Organizzazione Vigilanza Repressione Antifascismo. On 19 June 1926 he had become a member of the Council of State. Although he was one of the old-school bureaucrats to whom the office of prefect carried a certain honour and dignity, it did not prevent Farinacci from describing the OVRA personnel as 'the worst elements of society', nor did it dissuade Bocchini from his pursuit of power or from his pleasure in womanizing. On 16 November 1933 he was made a senator.

Bocchini disliked the racist and anti-Semitic legislation of the late 1930s and was convinced that the Jews were no threat and although in April 1936 he came to an agreement with Himmler (*q.v.*) in a pledge to use both police forces to destroy freemasonry and communism, he did not care much for the Germans. In 1939 he presented Mussolini with reports suggesting opposition to Italian entry into the war. He was personally opposed to the war and told Mussolini that in the event of a neutralist agitation he could not exclude the possibility of the carabinieri and police siding with the people. In May 1940 Buffarini Guidi (*q.v.*), whom Bocchini detested, ordered Bocchini to prepare concentration camps for the Jews. Bocchini died suddenly of a cerebral haemorrhage on 20 November 1940 in Rome. Himmler and Heydrich (*q.v.*) both attended his funeral.

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BÖCKEL, Otto (1859–1923)

The 'Hessian peasant-king' who organized the anti-Semitic movement in Central Germany in the 1880s and 1890s.

Böckel was born in Frankfurt on 2 July 1859; his father was a strict disciplinarian who earned his living in the building trade. Educated at the Universities of Giessen and Heidelberg, he also studied law and languages at the Universities of Leipzig and

Marburg. He obtained a doctorate in 1882. Working as an assistant archivist in the University of Marburg, his major interest was in folk-lore. Elected to parliament in February 1887 as an anti-Semite, he won the seat of Marburg from the Conservatives. Böckel had studied rural conditions and had come to 'the conclusion, based on misleading data, that the Jews were responsible for the discontents of the peasants and he began to propagate the myth of the Jew as alien exploiter and enemy of the eternal values of the landed peasantry. His most popular pamphlet was entitled *Die Juden: die Könige unserer Zeit* (The Jews: the Kings of our Time). The populist campaign of this handsome and charismatic archivist earned him the title of the Hessian peasant-king.

Böckel had an almost instinctive feel for what would move the peasantry and the most effective political organization to bring it to political success. His Hessian anti-Semitic party, strong in the backward Hesse countryside, was affiliated to Theodor Fritsch's (*q.v.*) parent organization. A disciple of Wilhelm Riehl (1823–97), Böckel, who used the pseudonym of a fifteenth-century Franciscan anti-Semite Dr Capistrano, made effective use of the slogan 'against the Jews and Junkers'; his radical programme looked back to the revolutionary concerns of 1848. He castigated bankers, lawyers, bureaucrats and other establishment figures, and called for democratic electoral reforms, progressive taxation, civil freedom and other economic reforms of benefit to the lower rural middle classes.

As the youngest member of the Reichstag, in which he served until 1903 and again in 1907, he appealed to the local patriotism of Hesse employing some of the dynamic techniques later used by the Nazis, torchlight processions and Lutheran hymns. As head of the Central German Peasant Association (which he founded in 1890), which reached its zenith from 1893 to 1897, and as editor and director of the *Reichsherold*, Böckel attempted to set up various rural cooperative ventures including banks designed to bypass the middlemen. Helped by the climate of agricultural depression, the movement went into decline when agricultural prices picked up and the government with its protectionist policy proved more accommodating to the rural classes. Böckel too went into decline after he fathered an illegitimate child and in 1893 amalgamated the Antisemitische Volkspartei (founded in 1889 in Erfurt) with Oswald Zimmermann's group under the name Deutsche Reformpartei. Accused by Stöcker and the conservatives of the anti-Semitic movement of being a 'socialist', there was a sense in which his anti-capitalism overcame his anti-Semitism: 'the money-greedy capitalist, never

mind whether Jew or non-Jew, is the destroying angel of our people'. However, in 1909, he left active politics except to speak for the Conservatives and the Agrarian League which had absorbed the remnants of the Böckel movement in 1904.

The maverick outsider failed in his final assault on the hustings in 1912 and he returned to Michendorf in Brandenburg where he died on 17 September 1923, having lost his faith sometime earlier in the democratic process. 'World history is made with the sword and the plough, not the tongue,' he had said in 1902.

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BOMBACCI, Nicolò (1879–1945)

Italian socialist who became a fascist.

Born on 24 October 1879 in Civitella di Romagna (Forlì) into a family of small farmers, Bombacci worked as an elementary school teacher in the same area in Romagna as Mussolini. After studying at the Scuola Normale di Forlì for a teaching certificate, he worked on the periodical *La Piacenza Nuova*. As a maximalist socialist he was in 1911 a member of the National Council of the CGL and supported the pacifist position of the maximalists at the time of the interventionist agitation in 1914 and 1915. On the revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party, he was arrested on 24 January 1918 and on 27 February sentenced to two years and four months in prison for 'defeatism', but in the event served less than a month.

At the Bologna Congress of the Socialist Party in 1919 he was elected vice-secretary and in November of the same year became a deputy for Bologna. At this Congress he took the Bolshevik line and in July/August 1920 was part of the Italian delegation to the Second Congress of the Comintern. In January 1921 Bombacci was one of the founding members of the Italian Communist Party at its Livorno Congress and became a member of the Central Committee. Bombacci was the director of various communist newspapers including *Comunista* (Bologna) and *Avanti Communista* (Rome). However, his adherence to communism was as much based on subjective hatreds and visceral loyalties as on intellectual analysis.

A man of ideological instability and polemical talent, Bombacci was often motivated by a sort of

unreflecting dynamism of thought and by 1924 he was talking about a convergence of the 'two revolutionary creeds', communism and fascism. His relations with the ICP were in a state of constant turmoil; he was expelled then readmitted in 1925 and again ousted in 1927 for 'opportunism'. He had not been asked to be a candidate in the April 1924 election. His disgust with the sectarianism of his Marxist colleagues grew and he developed a personal loyalty to Mussolini who, after referring to him as a man with 'the poor brain of a failed seminarist', helped him out after a series of family scandals. By December 1931 his conversion to fascism was complete as a letter of that date to Mussolini testifies. In 1936 he obtained permission to publish the 'leftist' journal *La Venta* (1936–43) for which he received a government subsidy and which had a number of ex-anti-fascists in its ranks. In 1934 Bombacci had worked for the International Cinematographic Office as director.

It has to be admitted that his fascism remained of a revolutionary and 'leftist' character; he continued to be anti-bourgeois and often referred to Italy as one of the proletarian nations. In 1939 he was refused a party card but after September 1943 gave his loyalty to the Salò Republic. He contributed as Giramondo to *Corriere della Sera*, advised the Ministry of the Interior on social questions, advocated 'socialization' of the factories and of the economy in general, put himself forward as an unofficial proletarian spokesman and, indeed, had an influence on the drafting of the Charter of Verona although it was Pavolini (*q.v.*) who was the main architect of the document. Armed, as Deakin has said, 'with his shop-soiled baggage of catch-phrases', Bombacci, with his prominent shock of white hair and beard cut something of an eccentric figure. Towards the end he looked desperately for an accommodation with the Committee of National Liberation. He was killed in Dongo on 28 April 1945 after his capture by partisans. He shouted 'Long live socialism!' just before his execution.

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BONNARD, Abel Jean Désiré (1883–1968)

French writer and journalist who moved from Maurrasianism to a more overtly fascist position.

Bonnard's father was the director of prisons in Vienne. Bonnard himself was born on 19 December 1883 in Poitiers. In 1905 he won the First National Prize for poetry and became a journalist for *Figaro*. Although he claimed that up to 1914 he had been apolitical, it was clearly the apoliticism of a confirmed man of the right. After a visit to China (1920–1), he wrote *En Chine*, comparing French colonialism favourably with the exploitative British variety. In 1925 he was connected with Georges Valois (*q.v.*) and was on the editorial board of his *Le Nouveau Siècle*; by this time his anti-Marxist and anti-parliamentary views were already firm but he continued to write purely literary pieces for *Revue de Paris* and other journals. In 1932 he was elected to the Académie Française.

During the 1930s his political concerns became more apparent and he was a leading supporter of the Cercle Fustel-de-Coulanges, a society for the dissemination of Maurrasian ideas in intellectual circles. He favoured an alliance with fascist Italy and was an intellectual adherent of the 'green' fascism of Dorgères (*q.v.*). Bonnard was one of the signatories of the manifesto of French intellectuals calling for the 'defence of the West and the peace of Europe'. He believed that Franco-German friendship was essential for this peace.

Still a convinced royalist (he contributed to *Le Courier Royal* founded by the Comte de Paris), he wrote in 1936 *Les Modérés*, an attack on weak and vacillating moderates and liberals. In March of the same year, he was a fellow member with Rebattet (*q.v.*) of the Comité de Vigilance contre la Guerre founded by Maxence (*q.v.*) and Maulnier (*q.v.*). He now began to reject the explicit anti-Germanism of his master Maurras (*q.v.*). Although taken up by certain intellectuals (Gaxotte called him 'notre maître' and the *Je Suis Partout* team placed him in their Pantheon along with Margaret Mitchell!) Bonnard was not universally popular, he was later known as 'Gestapette', a reference to his homosexuality.

At heart a romantic Catholic (he wrote a biography of St Francis) who worshipped the peasantry, he never fully made the transition to fascism, too burdened by a monarchist past. He became an enthusiastic collaborator who was to say that he greeted with joy the sight of Jews wearing the yellow star. He wrote for *La Gerbe*, was an honorary patron of Chateaubriant's (*q.v.*) Groupe Collaboration to which as Minister of Education from 18 April 1942 he gave subsidies, was on the National Council and was a member of the Comité d'Épuration de la Race Française. He was also on the committee

which served the anti-Bolshevik volunteers. In general he was one of the ultras opposed to Laval; he continued to write for *Je Suis Partout* and represented France at the Weimar Congress of writers in 1941. Bonnard fled to Germany in 1944 and in 1945 was expelled from the Académie Française. He was condemned to death *in absentia* (he was in Spain) on 4 July 1945. Returning to France in 1958, he was condemned in March 1960 to ten years' exile. He died in Madrid on 3 May 1968.

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BORGHESE, Junio Valerio (1906–74)

Italian naval officer and neo-fascist.

Born in Rome on 6 June 1906 into an aristocratic family, Borghese joined the navy in June 1928 after attending the Royal Navy Academy in Livorno. He was a descendent by different lines of Pope Paul V and of a sister of Napoleon. His father was a diplomat. Junio Valerio served in the Spanish Civil War as a submarine commander and from February 1937 was in charge of the *Inide*. As a commander of the *Vittor Pisani* in June 1940, he took time off to attend the German naval school in Memel to study submarine warfare. In March 1941 he was in command of the submarine section of X MAS, the Decima Flottiglia Motoscafi Antisommergibili (Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron). At the Italian armistice in September 1943, Borghese, now in command of X MAS, was in the naval base of La Spezia and took 1,300 of his men over to the Germans. Raising 4,000 recruits he took charge of a small force of submarines and motor torpedo boats under Mussolini's Salò Republic; this was to form the whole of the RSI navy.

Borghese transformed his crack anti-submarine battalion into a counter-revolutionary force which not only aroused the jealousy of his colleagues for its freedom from control but also annoyed the Germans for its indiscipline in the anti-partisan struggle. Borghese formed the San Marco division for land warfare in what amounted to 'a personal war against

the partisans'. He was appointed an undersecretary in the Salò administration. Mussolini was to refer to him as 'a condottiere of the last hour'. At the end of the war Borghese was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in October 1945 by a tribunal. After serving less than four years in Padula and Regina Coeli he was released on 17 February 1949; he was given some credit for his part in saving northern industry from the destructive impulses of the Nazis. He became prominent as the head of the Federation of Ex-Servicemen of the Italian Social Republic and as a member of the neo-fascist MSI; he was elected president of this latter party in 1952.

In 1962 Borghese left the MSI in protest against Michelini's (*q.v.*) accommodations and founded the more extreme National Front with himself as president; this organization grew out of the veterans of Decima MAS group, the Circolo dei Salvaggi. The anti-parliamentary NF was active with Pino Rauti (*q.v.*) in the protests that took place in Reggio Calabria and Pescone in 1970 and in February 1971 in connection with the proposed relocation of the capital city. It was Borghese who engineered the plot of 7 December 1970 to overthrow the government with the extremist Ordine Nuovo. After a brief occupation of the Ministry of the Interior the coup collapsed. Borghese fled to Spain in March 1971, first to Madrid and then to Marbella; he died in exile in Cadiz on 27 August 1974. In September 1978 a number of sentences were handed out to SID secret servicemen for conspiracy against the Republic as members of the NF. In November 1984 the Rome Appeal Court acquitted forty-four neo-fascists and secret servicemen sentenced in July 1977. The court claimed there had been no such conspiracy in connection with the so-called *Golpe Borghese*. In the 1960s Borghese had been president of the *Credito Commerciale e Industriale*.

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BORMANN, Martin (1900–45)

The eminence grise of the National Socialist regime, second only to Hitler in importance towards the end.

Bormann was born on 17 June 1900 in Halberstadt, the son of a soldier who played in military bands and later worked as a senior postal official (he died when

Martin Bormann was 3). Martin had little education in schools in Eisenach and Weimar. In June 1918 he joined the Naumberger Field Artillery Regiment no. 55. After being discharged from the army in August 1920 he was employed making oil cakes for cattle feed and although he later became a supervisor, he was never as he claimed the general manager of a Mecklenburg estate near Parchim. Bormann spent two years with Rossbach's Free Corps in Mecklenburg as paymaster and administrator rather than an active fighter and was involved in the Feme murders by secret tribunals of vigilantes. He was sentenced in March 1924 to one year's imprisonment for his part in the murder of the suspected informer Walther Kadow; Bormann had, in fact, issued the instructions for the attack. Released in February 1925 he returned to the Gut Herzberg near Parchim and joined the Thuringian Frontbann founded by Röhm (*q.v.*).

At this time he contributed to the production of the weekly *Der Nationalsozialist*. It was partly Bormann's counsels which persuaded the local Frontbann to join the NSDAP. Bormann himself signed up as member no. 60,508 on 27 February 1927 (he had earlier been a member of an offshoot of Wulle's (*q.v.*) and von Graefe's Deutschnationale Volkspartei). In April 1928 he progressed to Gau business leader and in November regional press officer. In the same month he was called to SA headquarters in Munich first as a petty functionary dealing with SA insurance and then after 1930 as administrator of the aid fund for injured SA men. Bormann began his rise from obscurity to become the brown eminence, the 'Secretary' who exercised hidden powers limited only by the Führer when he was appointed on 1 July 1933 Chief of Staff to Rudolf Hess (*q.v.*), whose duties at the time were not well defined, and on 10 October when he was appointed a *Reichsleiter*.

Bormann, short and stocky, cunning, flexible, blessed with a superb memory and entirely without charisma, had in 1929 married Walter Buch's (*q.v.*) daughter Gerda. In November 1933 he added a seat in the Reichstag to his *curriculum vitae*. Through his diligence and hard work, his lack of moral inhibition, his interest in the reality rather than the trappings of power, and through a relentless ambition, he learnt under Hess to master the labyrinthine bureaucratic machinery of the Third Reich, to milk the system which multiplied and overlapped party and state authorities. All this Bormann did by stealth. He had as Hess's deputy few definite functions except to administer Hitler's personal finances and to keep a check on those of the gauleiters and *Reichsleiters*. As Wulf has written, 'he was very determined, yet de-

ceptive in strengthening his position according to his own concepts; nobody around him was aware of it.' Much of his success lay in a mutual respect between Bormann, whom Hitler called 'the most loyal of comrades', and Hitler, whom Bormann described in the following fashion: 'He towered over us like Mount Everest.'

Bormann was an enemy of Christianity who believed it to be incompatible with National Socialist concepts. His first assignment other than as 'Secretary' was as deputy Minister of Churches in 1935 and the driving force behind the *Kirchenkampf* against organized religion. On 9 May 1941 Hitler signed the decree which gave Bormann 'the authority of a Reich Minister'; after Hess's flight to Scotland Bormann took over the majority of the former deputy's functions. Although the deputyship formally lapsed, Bormann's control of the Party Chancellery gave him even greater powers than Hess had had. Never officially more than director of the Party Chancellery and Hitler's secretary, he was widely detested and feared by all, subordinates and colleagues alike, the ideological pragmatist in ill-fitting uniform, without scruples or outside interests, capable, according to Treasurer Schwartz, of liquidating all his old colleagues. Bormann reached the apogee of his secret power on 12 April 1942 with his appointment as secretary to the Führer with almost limitless sovereignty to act in Hitler's name in virtually every department.

In July 1943 Bormann drew up a list of the responsibilities of the secretary which included the sole mediation between the dictator and the government, the party and the people; in practical terms this ensured that no party appointments could take place without his approval. The extent of his power was demonstrated in his capacity to have the gauleiters Adolf Wagner (*q.v.*) and Bernhard Rust (*q.v.*) removed from office. As one of the committee of three (with Lammers (*q.v.*) responsible for the government sector, Keitel for the military and Bormann for party affairs), Bormann invoked and implemented Hitler's will. He acted as a valve between Hitler and the outside world keeping bad news from him, and rigidly controlling the right to see him. Visitors were forced to explain the purpose of their visit.

For 36 hours after Hitler's suicide, Bormann found himself the supreme commander of the Third Reich. Previously he had signed Hitler's political testament and witnessed his marriage to Eva Braun. At the end he was a 'telex general', encouraging struggle to the bitter end as head of the ramshackle people's army, the *Volkssturm*. It has now been all but proved that Bormann died in the early hours of 2

May 1945 on the Invalidenbrücke. Hitler's chauffeur Kempka had reported seeing Bormann hurled sideways by an explosion while escaping from the Reich Chancellery near the Friedrichstrasse underground station. Facial reconstruction and dental investigation of a skeleton exhumed in this area in the early 1970s have identified it almost certainly as that of Bormann.

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was the purchase of some second-hand, comic-opera staff officers' uniforms. The subsequent revolt of 1 May 1936 in Nagyhorös was quelled with little difficulty and its leader sentenced to two and a half years in prison although he pleaded insanity. Böszörmény was allowed to escape to Germany in 1938. In 1945 he petitioned the communist leader Rákosi to be allowed to return as a Communist Party member. It is probable that he died in Germany.

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BÖSZÖRMÉNY, Zoltán (1893–?)

Leader and founder of the first National Socialist party in Hungary.

Born on 5 January 1893, the son of a bankrupt landowner, Böszörmény was involved in the counter-revolutionary activity of 1919. He studied at the University of Budapest where he became the leader of the state student movement under the influence of Gömbös (*q.v.*) and in December 1931 he met Hitler (*q.v.*), an encounter of which he was to remain proud. He had already at this point issued a derivative National Socialist manifesto and founded the Hungarian National Socialist Workers' Party using the Scythe Cross as a symbol. It later became the Kaszáskeresztes Mozgalom (the Scythe Cross Movement) directed at some of the more hopelessly, abjectly poor peasants along the River Tisza. At its height it boasted a membership of some 20,000. It was Gömbös himself, jealous of any rival fascist movement, who denied him the appropriate mandate necessary to stand as an electoral candidate. The government used litigation and informal pressure to suppress the movement's journal and to stifle the unwanted revolutionary activity on the right.

Böszörmény was a failed poet, verbose and given to windy, biblical rhetoric. He combined in his programme a pronounced anti-Semitism with an appeal for social justice and land reform on behalf of the dispossessed peasants. The Tisza area was in ferment for a number of years despite the attempts by Gömbös's gendarmerie to suppress the movement. Böszörmény, fantasist as he was, planned a bizarre march on Budapest on the lines of Mussolini's on Rome to create a fascist dictatorship. The only serious planning that went into the projected rising

BOTTAI, Giuseppe (1895–1959)

Leading Italian fascist.

Bottai was born in Rome on 3 September 1895 into a modest family of 'long-standing revolutionary tradition'. His father was a wine merchant and his mother may well have been Jewish. During the First World War Bottai served as a sub-lieutenant from 1915 and was by 1917 in an elite Arditi assault battalion. He was wounded and highly decorated. His experience in the war was closely linked with his political evolution from a republican to a fascist in 1919. Returned from the Front in November 1918, he took a degree in law, became Rome editor of Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia*, and joined the Futurist movement, where he was a close collaborator of Mario Carli. Bottai directed the periodical *Roma Futuristica*. As one of the creators of fascism in Rome, of the first action squad in Lazio, and Inspector-General of the Marches and Abruzzi, he saw corporatist fascism as a kind of more perfect democracy which would replace the liberal version in a world utterly changed by war.

Bottai was elected a deputy in 1921 (and was to continue to be re-elected until the 30th legislature) but his main contribution at this time was a journalistic one; he contributed to *Corriere Italiano*, to *Gazzetta di Puglia*, *Resto del Carlino*, and other journals and in 1923 launched *Critica Fascista* which survived until 1943 as an organ for cultural and youth questions and as a polemical advocate of revisionist fascism, independent of the party. In 1923/4 he formed a group of revisionists with Grandi (*q.v.*) and Massimo Rocca (1884–1974) who called for the creation of a select elite party as a nucleus for an exclusive fascist ruling class working

within a system of 'limited pluralism'; the mass mobilizers in the party were referred to as 'cattle-raisers'. As De Grand has pointed out, there was 'a constant war in Bottai's personality between his liberal and his authoritarian instincts'. Although he believed in 'discussion, criticism, revisionism', he also believed in a strong state. He saw the fundamental dilemma of fascism: 'while strong feelings are active, it is possible to unite different types of men; calm revives their disagreements' and was afraid that the provincial dynamism of the intransigents would be neutralized before the vital creation of a new elite. At the same time his moderation demanded at least semi-legal methods.

On 6 November 1926 he was appointed Under-secretary in the Ministry of Corporations and on 12 September 1929 Minister. Bottai had a role in drawing up the Charter of Labour. His corporatist views were mid-way between those of Rocco (*q.v.*) supported by Confindustria and the leftist syndicalists. In the years 1927 to 1932 his experiment in corporatism was the only serious one undertaken during the fascist regime. Starting from the assumption that the interests of the individual should coincide with those of the state, he attempted, through the inadequacy of the bureaucratic machinery of the Ministry of Corporations, to set parameters within which employers and workers could operate. Bottai regarded with distaste the populism of the left syndicalists and attacked Rossoni's (*q.v.*) confederation of workers' syndicates and his 'integral syndicalism'. In his view the unions should be led by managerial experts and technocrats; he himself was an expert in labour law. In 1927 Bottai founded *Il Diretto del Lavoro*, in 1930 *La Scuola di Perfezionamento di Scienze Corporative* and the *Archivio di Studi Corporativi*. In 1928 he was appointed professor of corporative politics and economics at the University of Pisa and of corporative law in the University of Rome in 1936. He was also a lieutenant-general in the militia and a member of the Fascist Grand Council.

In July 1932 he relinquished his post of Minister of Corporations having failed as a fascist planner in the face of Mussolini's indifference and the industrialists' hostility. He served in 1933–4 as president of the National Institute of Social Security and in 1935–6 as a Governor of Rome. He then volunteered for service in Ethiopia and was created Governor of Addis Ababa. The intellectually dynamic Bottai continued his constructively critical attempt to reform cultural and educational institutions in his various journals with a particular recognition of the generational problem of fascist 'youth'. Bottai was at the forefront of the Universal Fascism movement of youth whose aim was to spread the doctrine abroad. On 15 November 1936

his interest in youth and cultural questions led to his appointment as Minister of National Education.

As minister he was in something of a dilemma; some of his populist, egalitarian instincts survived but he generally conformed to the ruralist, racist, homogenizing climate of the late 1930s and brought in acts of discrimination against Jewish students and applied the 1938 racial laws in the schools. In 1939 he introduced the *Carta della Scuola* which tried to bring schools closer to the world of work by introducing manual training and establishing technical and craft schools. Bottai was an opponent of the cult of the Duce. In his journal *Primato* (March 1940–3), for which both Pavese and Gadda wrote, he promoted modern artists and strove to spread 'revisionism' into the intellectual community. In these years he was leader of the 'loyal opposition'. He was to justify his stance later by arguing that 'it was simply not enough to have been cynical and critical in the privacy of one's bedroom'. He served briefly in the Alpini on the Albanian Front in 1941.

In July 1943 Bottai supported Grandi's anti-Mussolini motion at the Fascist Grand Council meeting. Arrested by Badoglio on 27 July, he was released in September from Regina Coeli prison and then hid in a Rome convent. He was condemned to death by the Verona Tribunal in January 1944 under the Salò regime. He left Italy in late 1943 to join the French Foreign Legion in Sid-Bel-Abbès in Algeria under the false name Andrei Bataille (Andrea Battaglio) and took part in the Allied landings in the south of France in September 1944. Sentenced to penal servitude by the High Court of Justice in Rome in May 1945 in *absentia*, he was amnestied in November 1947, returned to Italy in August 1948, and retired from politics although he resumed his journalistic career. He launched the journal *ABC* in which he continued to discuss the problems of syndicalism until his death in Rome on 9 January 1959.

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BOUHLER, Philipp (1899–1945)

German National Socialist who was head of Hitler's Chancellery.

Born on 11 September 1899 in Munich, the son of a military officer, Bouhler served in the Bavarian Cadet Corps and in the First Bavarian Foot Artillery during the First World War. In July 1917 he was promoted to lieutenant. Bouhler was wounded near Lens. After a short term working for the publisher Lehmann as an apprentice, he studied for four terms in Munich University but left in November 1921 to work in an editorial capacity for the *Völkischer Beobachter*, having already joined the NSDAP in 1920. In September 1922 he was appointed a *Geschäftsführer* (business leader). Involved in the Munich *putsch* of 1923, he served for a time as business manager of the organization which took the place of the banned NSDAP, the Greater German Racial Community. In 1925 back in the NSDAP he was made *Reichsgeschäftsführer* (until 1935). In the following year as general secretary of the Reich Directorate of the NSDAP he performed an ill-defined function, but in 1933 found himself not only a member of the Reichstag but also *SS-Gruppenführer* and *Reichsleiter*.

Although an efficient manager, Bouhler had demonstrated no outstanding leadership qualities but was nevertheless appointed chief of Hitler's private Chancellery and Staff Office in November 1934 when Hitler insisted on having a private Chancellery in addition to the Presidential Chancellery of the Head of State. On 16 April 1934 Bouhler became head of the party's Investigating Commission for the Protection of National Socialist Literature and later editor of the official *National Socialist Bibliography*.

In September 1939 until August 1941 he was charged with Hitler's secret euthanasia programme with Professor Karl Brandt. About 100,000 mentally handicapped people were put to death by gassing. Bouhler became increasingly disillusioned with the constant friction with Bormann (*q.v.*) who eventually reduced Bouhler's responsibilities to the processing of pleas for clemency. He spent less time in the office in the Voss Strasse and an increasing amount on his private estate near Rosenheim. When Bouhler's department finally disappeared into the Reich Chancellery, he still hoped that Hitler would allow him to indulge his ambitions in the colonial field. His sole real initiative the so-called Operation Sisal was scotched by the capture of East Africa by the Allies. When the Americans attempted to arrest Bouhler at Fischhausen near Zell-am-See in Austria on 10 May 1945 he ended his life with a cyanide pill.

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BRASILLACH, Robert (1909–45)

French literary critic, novelist, poet, journalist, anti-Semite, fascist and collaborator.

Born in Perpignan on 31 March 1909, Brasillach was the son of a military officer killed in Morocco in 1914. Robert had an idyllic childhood by the Mediterranean and in Sens before attending the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris from 1925 in preparation for the École Normale Supérieure which he attended from July 1928. Brasillach was a brilliant student with a penchant for the classics. He began a life-long friendship with Thierry Maulnier (*q.v.*) and Maurice Bardèche (*q.v.*) who were both to become intellectual luminaries of the extreme right and the latter his brother-in-law when he married Brasillach's sister Suzanne in 1934. His first important work was *Présence du Virgile* published in 1931.

Drawn to heroism, the idea of sanctity embodied in Joan of Arc, and the cult of the *patrie*, Brasillach gravitated towards the journal *L'Action Française* and came under the spell of Charles Maurras (*q.v.*), Léon Daudet (*q.v.*) and Jacques Bainville (*q.v.*). He was literary critic of *L'Action Française* from June 1931. In these early years he contributed to Henri Massis' *La Revue Universelle*, to Gaxotte's *Candide* and to Maxence's (*q.v.*) *La Revue Française* and from 1930 to *L'Étudiant Français*. To Brasillach, although he never actually joined Action Française according to the proceedings of his trial in 1945, the world of AF within which he moved was one of 'reason, precision and truth'. In November 1931 the young journalist began to write for the journal *Je Suis Partout* which was to become the major vehicle for literary fascism in France in the 1930s. Plump, rather owlish and effeminate, he remained an adolescent at heart, looking back with nostalgia to the camaraderie of his youth; it might be said that he had something of a Peter Pan complex. Nevertheless, he was a subtle critic, a competent poet, an excellent translator from the Greek, a novelist of tenderness and honesty, and a worthy biographer of Virgil and Corneille.

After 1933 Brasillach's writing took a more explicitly political turn away from the vague monarchism which had the advantage of allowing subjects free to be apolitical. As early as 1934 he had read *Mein Kampf*, a book which he called 'un grand monument de sottises' in August 1935, and prophesied Hitler's importance for the future of Europe. The events of 6 February 1934 when the extreme right threatened the very existence of the parliamentary regime, Brasillach described as 'a magnificent revolt'. In 1935 with Bardèche he wrote *Histoire du Cinéma*, a classic work on this subject, 'the world's

first attempt at a serious film encyclopaedia' (Kaplan).

1936 marked his increasing attraction to fascism; not only did he write for Maulnir's *Combat* but met and was impressed by the Belgian Rexist leader Degrelle (*q.v.*), about whom he wrote a book, and visited Italy and Spain. The vision of *Combat* was of a new order replacing a defunct capitalism and the class struggle with a hierarchical and authoritarian system for the whole nation. Impressed to the depths of his romantic soul by the defence of the Alcazar in Toledo, Brasillach called the defenders 'the Kronstadt sailors of fascism'. He was much taken by the idealistic Falangism of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). On 21 June 1937 he took over the direction of *Je Suis Partout*. His novel *Les Sept Couleurs* (1939) reveals the extent of his conversion to fascism, but still in September 1937 on a visit to Germany he was unsure what to make of National Socialism. He found Germany 'strange', 'a great historical curiosity' as he described it in *Les Sept Couleurs*; an eternal aesthete he noticed that the girls in uniform were graceless and his impressions of Nuremberg which appeared in *La Revue Universelle* as 'Cent heures chez Hitler' and later in *Notre Avant Guerre* (1941) are more concerned with the poetic than the doctrinal, taken with the 'cathedrals of light' rather than with ideology. His impression of Hitler was that the 'sad, vegetarian functionary' would not hesitate to sacrifice his dearest friends. Brasillach's real sympathy lay with the Italian *uomo fascista* and in France with Doriot (*q.v.*) and his PPF. Fascism 'is a spirit', he wrote in *Notre Avant Guerre* (a book which one writer has called 'a paean of praise for fascism'), one which was anti-bourgeois, anti-conformist and disrespectful; in short, Brasillach was seduced by a fascist mystique. Jean-Pierre Maxence's (*q.v.*) wife once remarked that Brasillach was 'a butterfly with variegated wings . . . he ought never to have gone in for politics'.

Opposed to war which he feared would be suicidal for France, he was none the less mobilized in August 1939 as a lieutenant and in June 1940 made a prisoner in the Vosges. Removed to camp Offlag VIA in Westphalia he played a part in the early collaborative efforts through one of the Cercles Pétains. On his release in April 1941 he resumed his activities as editor of *JSP* and from 17 December 1942 became the administrator of the *JSP* company. By now his last reservations about the Germans had disappeared. In October 1941 he represented France with Drieu (*q.v.*), Bonnard (*q.v.*), Jouhandeau and others at a Weimar writers' conference; once again he was impressed by 'this constant glory of adolescence' that was so apparent in Germany. As it appeared more

and more likely that the Germans would lose the war after the fall of Mussolini and the German invasion of the free zone of France, Brasillach became increasingly disillusioned while remaining 'germanophile and French' and 'more French than National Socialist' as he wrote to Rebatet (*q.v.*). He wrote his last article for *JSP* on 27 August 1943 and to the chagrin of his erstwhile colleagues left the journal persuaded that collaboration had been a personal decision, repelled by the unrealistic intransigence of the ultras and dismayed by the spreading Europeanization of French fascism.

Brasillach moved on to Lucien Combelle's *Révolution Nationale*, created his own monthly *La Chronique de Paris* and contributed to *L'Echo de la France*. After the Liberation, having refused a German offer of refuge, he was arrested on 14 September 1944, tried and condemned to death on 19 January 1945 and shot in the Fort de Montrouge on 6 February 1945. A petition for clemency signed by a number of important French intellectuals was rejected. As Kaplan is tempted to argue, his words at his trial did more than anything to condemn him when he said: 'Like it or not, we have lived together; French [men] of some reflection during these few years will have more or less slept with Germany, and the memory of it will remain sweet to them.' As Bernard Georges said of him, Brasillach had 'less a biography than a destiny'.

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BRESCIANI, Italo (1890–1964)

Italian fascist militant.

Bresciani was born on 28 October 1890 in Maenza di Priverno (Latina). In 1908 he moved to Verona to be a postal employee. As a syndicalist he was the organizer of the interventionist movement in

Verona in 1914. From 1915 to 1923 he was employed as a correspondent on *Popolo d'Italia*. After service in the war he took part in the famous fascist foundation meeting in the Piazza San Sepolcro in Milan, was one of the initiators of Verona fascism, and in May 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the party, the regional representative for the Veneto. Rumour had it that Bresciani was lending protection to a *maison de tolerance* (licensed brothel). He was heavily involved in *squadristi* actions against the socialists and trade unions, and in 1922 was appointed political secretary of the Verona *fascio*.

As Inspector-General of the Third Zone which covered the Trentino and Veneto areas, he was concerned with the detailed planning of the March on Rome. After January 1923 as a political commissioner of the PNF, he was accused not only of the misappropriation of funds destined for fascist headquarters but of running a clientelist system favouring his friends. He was, however, acquitted of such charges by a special committee. He was transferred to the Istituto Nazionale Luce's Office of Press and Propaganda in May 1926 as director.

In 1930 Bresciani became inspector of the national party. He was also a deputy in the 29th and 30th legislatures. A month after war broke out he was appointed a sequestrator for the Italian Rubber Industry Society of Milan, a post he held until June 1944. An adherent of Mussolini's Italian Social Republic in 1943, Bresciani was accused of having sought the protection of General Badoglio, a charge he did not deny. Arrested after the war in June 1946, he was tried but amnestied. Although he supported the neo-fascist MSI movement he was never a very active member. He died on 2 June 1964 in Rome.

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BRIGNEAU, François (pseud.) (Emmanuel Allot) (1919–)

French journalist and author of the extreme right.

Born in Concarneau in Brittany on 30 April 1919, Brigneau served in the collaborationist paramilitary Milice organization during the war as a young man. In December 1945 he was associated with André Mutter's Parti Républicain de la Liberté. He worked as a journalist on numerous newspapers and journals of the extreme right including *Paroles Françaises*, *Le*

Rouge et le Noir, *L'Indépendance Française*, and under the pseudonym Jullien Guernec worked in an editorial capacity and as a contributor to *Rivarol*. In the early 1960s he became connected with the journal *Minute* of which he was to become a leading editorial writer and later chief editor. A devoted supporter of the extreme right presidential candidate Tixier-Vignancour (*q.v.*) in 1965, he wrote highly polemical anti-Gaullist articles in journals like *Le Courrier de Clan* (1966–8), *La Chronique de Jean Brigneau* (1968–9), Holeindre's *Le Contre Poison* (1969), and *Minute*. He was active as a producer of anti-immigrant tracts sold at factory gates advocating 'stop à l'invasion algérienne en France'.

As editor of *Minute* and leading neo-Vichyist he gave firm support to the Ordre Nouveau of which he was one of the co-founders in November 1969. In May 1970 at a meeting of various nationalist groups and individuals including Duprat (*q.v.*), Malliarakis (*q.v.*), and representatives from *Rivarol* he said: 'it is necessary to create a revolutionary party, white as our race, red as our blood, and green as our hope'. Brigneau was one of the founders of the Front National on 5 October 1972 and standing for the new party in the National Assembly elections won 1,426 votes out of a total of 48,358 in March 1973 for Haut-de-Seine 8th district. He was to become first secretary-general and then vice-president of the Front but abandoned it in June 1973 to form the Faire Front committees with Alain Robert after accusing Le Pen (*q.v.*) of personal ambition. Brigneau was one of those (mostly ex-Ordre Nouveau militants after the banning of that organization) who on 11 November 1974 founded the Parti des Forces Nouvelles (supported by veteran film star Arletty among others). The PFN in 1978 formed a union with the Italian neo-fascist MSI and the Spanish Fuerza Nueva under the name Eurodroite. Brigneau left the PFN in 1981 after serving on its political bureau in order to rededicate himself to the charismatic Front National leader Le Pen whom he called the 'inspired prophet' and the 'Breton genius'.

Towards the end of 1981 he left *Minute* to join the journal *Le Présent*, a Catholic fundamentalist and integrist organ to which he contributed articles larded with anti-Semitism under the pseudonym Mathilde Cruz. He has also written for the journal directed by Jean Madiran, *Itinéraire*. At a meeting in October 1983 under the banner of a *journée de l'Amitié Française* at which were represented the CNIP, UNI, the Front National, and others, Brigneau castigated the Marxist, the freemason, the Jew and the Protestant as embodied in the ministers of

BRIGNEAU

the socialist government Fiterman, Hernu, Badinter and Rocard.

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BRINON, Fernand de (1885–1947)

French germanophile journalist and politician.

Brinon was born in Libourne (Gironde) on 16 August 1885, the son of a marquis. After taking a diploma in political science and a licentiate in law, he began work in 1909 on *Journal des Débats*. After service in the First World War in France and Italy, he then worked in the Ministry of War press service. In 1920 he was promoted to editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Débats*. As a specialist in questions concerning Franco-German relations, he was an enemy of what he saw as the attempt to impoverish Germany out of revenge. A germanophile, he travelled frequently in Germany. He became both foreign affairs adviser to André Tardieu, the conservative politician, and chief of the foreign affairs service of *L'Information*, the daily of the Banc Lazard.

He was the first journalist to interview Hitler after he achieved power; the article appeared in *Le Matin* on 19 November 1933. In 1935 he launched with Georges Scapini and Otto Abetz (*q.v.*) the Comité France-Allemagne of which he became vice-president. Of the German Führer he believed: 'the ambition of Hitler is to be the man who reaches agreement with France.' In 1939 he resigned from *L'Information* and retired to the Pyrenees to write. After the armistice he became Laval's representative to the German authorities in July 1940 and made contacts with his old friend Abetz. Made Vichy ambassador to the occupied zone, he achieved ambassadorial rank on 3 November and in December general delegate of the French government in the occupied territories. In November 1942 he was appointed Secretary of State without Portfolio.

During the period of collaboration Brinon made a personal fortune. He was also connected with the Légion des Volontaires Français contre le

Bolchévisme. Escaping to Germany in August 1944, he met Hitler on 1 September; Hitler preferred a Doriot (*q.v.*) government to one headed by Brinon. However, in the same month Brinon, still Vichy ambassador in theory, created, much against Pétain's wishes, a Governmental Commission for the Defence of National Interests, in effect a government-in-exile, with Déat (*q.v.*), Luchaire (*q.v.*), Darnand (*q.v.*) and others. He worked for the formation of French volunteer units to serve the Germans. Arrested in Bavaria, he was tried on 4–6 March 1947 and found guilty of 'intelligence with the enemy'. His last words before he was shot in Fort de Montrouge on 15 April 1947 were: 'The future will prove me right.'

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BUCARD, Marcel (1895–1946)

French founder of the Parti Franciste.

Born in St-Clair-sur-Epte (Seine-et-Oise) on 7 December 1895 into a prosperous petit-bourgeois family in which the head of the household was a rural dealer, Bucard received a religious education from a seminary before volunteering for the First World War with the 4th regiment of infantry in Auxerre; he was to be wounded three times and suffered particularly badly from ear drum damage inflicted near Verdun in 1918. He was deeply affected by the war, which he ended as a captain and a holder of the Légion d'honneur; he was impressed not only by the horror of war but by the spirit of camaraderie which it engendered. After the war he was concerned with the administration of the occupied Rhineland in Bonn and finally demobilized in 1923.

In 1924 he failed to be elected as a deputy for Seine-et-Oise on the Union Nationale et Républicaine ticket on the same list as André Tardieu. He lost his early interest in parliamentary politics in favour of more authoritarian models; he spoke for de Castelnau's Fédération Nationale Catholique as well as working for Valois's (*q.v.*) *Le Faisceau* and contributing to his journal *Le Nouveau Siècle*. In the *Faisceau* he earned a reputation for a dubious sexual and financial morality. He envisaged a large ex-

servicemen's organization but at this stage was content to work for Les Vrais du Front. After the Faisceau went into decline in May 1927, he was discovered by the perfume millionaire Coty (*q.v.*) who employed him on *L'Ami du Peuple*. Bucard continued his interest in veterans' organizations, not only being responsible for the journals *Les Étincelles*, later *La France Combattante* (1928–30), but also acting as a link between Coty and the ex-servicemen of the Croix de Feu.

With the Faisceau Bucard became a fine orator, a skill which he honed into excellence and then into an open imitation of the Mussolini style. In 1932 he co-founded the Milice Socialiste Nationale under the influence of Gustave Hervé (1871–1944), founder of an earlier Parti Socialiste National. On 29 September 1933 Bucard founded the Parti Franciste as a French fascist party to propagate *la religion de la France*; its organ *Le Franciste* had as its subtitle, *organ du fascisme français*. He attended the Montreux meeting of a Fascist International organized by CAUR in December 1934. With its high energy and violence, the Franciste movement operated until dissolved on 18 June 1936; Bucard himself spent a few days in prison in December 1935. With some 8,000 blue-shirted adherents, mostly in Paris, Francisme was reconstituted as Les Amis du Franciste in April 1937 and then in December 1938 as the Parti Unitaire Français d'Action Socialiste et Nationale (PUF). Anti-parliamentary, anti-communist, anti-Semitic, favourable to the fascist dictatorships, socially conservative and subscribing to the cult of the 'chef', the old Francisme gave way to the new PUF doctrine which had narrowed to concentrate on the issues of anti-Semitism, opposition to war against Germany, and a certain lip-service to a 'French socialism'.

In October 1939 Bucard joined the 8th army and fought near Belfort. In December 1940 he was interned in Switzerland and re-entered France. Under Guiraud's (*q.v.*) prompting, the Franciste movement was reconstituted, supported by a German subsidy. Bucard became an active collaborator and a founder of the Anti-Bolshevik Legion. From the high point of the party congress in July 1943, Bucard and his movement fell into a terminal decline. He struggled to retain the loyalty of his members many of whom joined the milice and other collaborationist formations. In July 1944 he was imprisoned in La Santé for looting the property of a Jewish jeweller. Released on 29 July he fled to Baden-Baden and then to Sigmaringen where, after Doriot's (*q.v.*) death he formed with Déat (*q.v.*), Darnand (*q.v.*) and Luchaire (*q.v.*) an anti-Brinon (*q.v.*) group. Arrested on 30

June 1945 in Merano in Italy, he was tried in February and shot at the Fort du Châtillon on 19 March 1946.

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BUCH, Walter (1883–1946)

German National Socialist, supreme party judge.

Born in Bruchsal (Baden) on 24 October 1883, the son of the president of the Senate in the Baden provincial court, Buch was trained as an army officer but left the army in December 1918 as a major after serving in the First World War; on its outbreak he had been a regimental adjutant with the 114th infantry regiment. In 1922 he joined the NSDAP as member no. 7732 and in August 1923 was SA-Führer in Nuremberg of the Gau Upper Bavaria-Schwabia and later of Munich. He had declined to join the police because it would have involved swearing loyalty to the hated republic. After dabbling in a smallholding and in accountancy, he became DNVP secretary in Baden and contributed to a *völkisch* Karlsruhe newspaper. It was Buch who organized in September 1923 the *Deutscher Tag* when 100,000 nationalists came to Nuremberg from all parts of Germany.

In November 1927 Buch was made chairman of Untersuchungs-und Schlichtungsausschuss (Uuschla), the powerful national NSDAP investigating committee which acted as a tribunal to regulate party conduct. In 1928 he was elected to the Reichstag. Buch believed that Hitler was 'the man whom God has sent to us' and not only did the Führer respond by promoting him in November 1934 to SA-Obergruppenführer but also by creating him in his capacity within Uuschla and its successors as supreme party judge despite his lack of formal judicial training. Although after 1936 his star waned, he continued to head the supreme party court until the bitter end in 1945.

In 1934 Röhm's (*q.v.*) homosexual behaviour had been too much for the rigid, puritanical Buch who plotted to have Röhm removed and then gloated over his execution and the elimination of the

brownshirts closest to him. Although Buch was Bormann's (*q.v.*) son-in-law, and even though he was supreme party judge, Bormann insisted on written approval before he would allow his father-in-law to conduct a hearing. This conduct led to bitter enmity between the two men. In July 1949 Buch, a violent anti-Semite, was classified as a major offender by a denazification court and he committed suicide by drowning in the Ammer Lake on 12 November 1949.

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BÜRCKEL, Josef (1895–1944)

German gauleiter and Governor of Austria.

Born on 30 March 1895 in Lingenfeld (Pfalz), Bürckel attended a teachers' training college in Speyer from 1909 to 1914 and then volunteered for service in the First World War. After the war he taught for a time in Rodalben in 1920 near Pirmasens and in 1921 joined the NSDAP which he rejoined in 1925 after the ban on the party was lifted. In March 1926 he was appointed gauleiter of the Rheinpfalz after giving up his teaching post. As gauleiter, he was in the initial period a supporter of the Strasserite heresy. He proved to be a dynamic organizer who increased the number of district groups within the party by 1933 to some 30. He was the editor of the gau journal *Eisenhammer*. In 1930 he was elected as Reichstag member for the Saar region and in 1934 the highly ambitious gauleiter was appointed Plenipotentiary for the Saar Palatinate and after the plebiscite in that territory, for the favourable result of which Bürckel was in no small measure responsible, became its Reich Commissioner.

In 1937 he conducted a zealous campaign against the Palatinate Church. In the same year he was promoted to *SS-Gruppenführer*. Having gained a reputation as an expert on the problems of territorial reorganization and the incorporation of new areas into the Reich, Bürckel was given the task of re-modelling the old Austrian state after the Anschluss; for this purpose he was appointed on 23 April 1938 gauleiter of Austria in succession to Globocnik (*q.v.*) and Reich Commissioner for the Reunification of the Ostmark (Austria) with the Reich. He proved to be a bitter enemy of Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*).

From 1939 to 1940 Bürckel was *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Austria. During his tenure of office he used his dominating personality to prevent the private exploitation of anti-Semitism and gained an even greater reputation as a specialist in integrating annexed territories. On 2 August 1940 he was transferred to Lorraine to become chief of the civil administration and in December *Reichsstatthalter* in the Westmark (the Saar-Palatinate plus Lorraine). In October 1940 he was responsible with Robert Wagner (*q.v.*), gauleiter of Alsace-Baden, for the deportation of Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate into Vichy France. Bürckel committed suicide on 28 September 1944 in Gernersheim after being censured by Bormann. He was driven to his death, which was officially put down to pneumonia, by Bormann (*q.v.*) after his precipitate flight from Metz when the deputy Führer had ordered the defence of the city to the death if necessary.

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BUFFARINI-GUIDI, Guido (1895–1945)

Italian fascist Minister of the Interior.

Buffarini-Guidi was born on 17 August 1895 in Pisa. He was a volunteer in the First World War from 24 May 1915; a captain in 1917 he remained on active service until 1923 but was able to study jurisprudence and classical and historical studies in the Faculty of Law in the University of Pisa. One of the organizers of the Pisa *fascio* and a squad leader, he was often employed as a legal expert to defend fellow *squadristi* involved in trouble. In 1922 a local councillor, he was elected in April 1923 as Mayor of Pisa (until June 1924); he was a deputy for Tuscany from the 27th to the 29th legislature.

Podestà of Pisa and Federal Secretary from 1929 to 1933, Buffarini was also an honorary consul in the MVSN fascist militia. He acquired something of a reputation as a moderate who opposed the worst of the squad violence. On 4 May 1933 he succeeded Arpinati (*q.v.*) as Undersecretary of State and became effective Minister of the Interior by exerting great influence on Mussolini to whom he reported on the

state of public opinion and the strength of opposition. Buffarini benefited from a racket involving the sales of exemptions from the anti-Jewish laws of 1938–9. Through his power over the prefects he was able to control the system of administration for some ten years. He was later to be a useful source of information to Himmler (*q.v.*).

Although he claimed to oppose the anti-Semitic measures under the influence of a Jewish mistress, he declared them essential on the grounds of 'biological, political, and even religious necessity'. However, it is clear that he had a distaste for the extreme anti-Jewish measures of Farinacci (*q.v.*) and Preziosi (*q.v.*). Buffarini had made many enemies through his many corrupt practices (he was involved in dubious financial schemes with Mussolini's mistress Clara Petacci) and on 12 February 1943 was dispossessed of office although he remained on the Fascist Grand Council where he gave his vote to Mussolini on the famous night of 24–5 July 1943.

Arrested by order of Badoglio and imprisoned in Fort Boccea, he was released by the Germans on 12 September and flown to Munich. As Minister of the Interior in Mussolini's Italian Social Republic he was known as 'the little Talleyrand of the provinces'. His son Glauco said that politics was like a drug to which

he was addicted. Cynical, corrupt, cunning but with a certain bonhomie in keeping with his appearance, as a German observer put it, of 'a Jewish cattle dealer', his task was to strengthen the police force and to organize the administration of the anti-partisan campaign. Denounced by Preziosi as a 'Jew-lover' and perceived by others as completely submissive to the SS and in particular to Karl Wolff (*q.v.*), the German military governor of northern Italy, Mussolini said of him: 'He is hated even more than me.' As chaos increased, brought on by the warring factions, Buffarini became no more than a figurehead and found himself by-passed by Mussolini who went directly to the prefects and heads of provinces. Dismissed on 12 February 1945, Buffarini was arrested by Italian finance guards near Porlezza, released, recaptured and after attempting suicide was shot on 10 July 1945 in the prison of San Vittore in Milan after being condemned to death by a special court of assize.

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C

CAETANO, Marcelo José das Neves Alves (1906–80)

Portuguese integralist, deputy to Salazar (q.v.) and President from 1968 to 1974.

Born in Lisbon on 17 August 1906 into a humble family, the son of a primary school teacher, Caetano was educated as a lawyer in the University of Lisbon. As a student he was a leader in the Catholic social movement and a member of Integralismo Lusitano. An integralist of 'synthesis', he was close to Sardinha (q.v.) whom he called 'our dear friend' and 'for ever a guide to our thought'. Caetano contributed to Sardinha's journal *Nação Portuguesa*, resurrected in 1922, with articles in support of Salazar in 1928. He had graduated from the Faculty of Law in Lisbon in 1927. With the new guard of Integralists represented by Teotonia Pereira and others, Caetano favoured a more moderate version of integralism based more on the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* than on fascism. However, it is perhaps fair to describe his doctrine as that of a 'counter-revolutionary reactionary', anti-modern, anti-liberal and anti-democratic.

Appointed as legal adviser to the Minister of Finance, Caetano became the legal brains behind the constitutional apparatus that was to become Salazar's Estado Novo. A member of the executive committee of Salazar's União Nacional in 1933, he had a profound influence on the wave of legislative changes of that year. Gradually over the years he was to evolve towards a more moderate centre-left position but as a leading constitutional lawyer, professor of constitutional and administrative law at Lisbon University (from 1933) and adviser to Salazar in his drive towards corporatization, Caetano in 1940 was appointed to be head of the Mocidade state youth movement, Vice-President of the Corporative Chamber (*Camãra Corporativa*) in 1942 and from September 1944 to February 1947 was the Minister for Colonies who introduced the organic law creating the colonies as 'provinces' of Portugal.

Caetano was next given the task of breathing life into the União Nacional as President of its executive committee and in the following year became Presi-

dent of the Corporative Chamber. From 1948 to June 1951 he was administrator of the Banca Nacional Ultramarina, in 1952 a member of the Council of State, and in 1955 Minister of State to the Presidency. Salazar trusted Caetano implicitly and treated him virtually as his deputy prime minister until August 1958 when the two fell out over the renewed policy of corporatization and Caetano was dismissed. Returning to academic life in January 1959 as rector of the Universita Classica in Lisbon, Caetano was to be shortly restored to the government as Minister for Communication and Foreign Affairs only to resign as rector in April 1962 in protest against the entry of police onto the Lisbon campus to break up a student meeting. Caetano became a company lawyer and with General Botelha Moniz and Craveiro Lopes began to prepare for Salazar's removal.

Caetano, articulate, practical and intelligent, took over the premiership on 26 September 1968 and initiated a policy of accommodation, of 'evolution within continuity' but his policy of cautious liberalization with the basis of Salazar's corporatist structure preserved could not disguise his own ultra-conservative instincts. His attempts at reinvigoration while retaining stability, his slow, cautious relaxation of human rights restrictions and censorship, and the removal of symbolic provocations (the security service PIDE was renamed General Directorate of Security, the Estado Novo, the Estado Social, and the UN, the Acção Nacional Popular) succeeded only in raising expectations against a background of lack of direction and vacillation. Unable to hold back the dam of opposition and beset by the terrible colonial wars he had inherited, Caetano discovered he could not return as he did in 1970–1 to the old repressive ways. In many ways it was only the style that changed (a peasant was heard to remark, 'I like this Salazar better than the old one').

With the revolution of April 1974 Caetano was deprived of all his functions and offices and forced to flee to Madeira and then on to Brazil. In exile in Rio he became director of the Institute of Comparative Law of the private Gama Filho University. Caetano died on 26 October 1980 in Rio.

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CANARIS, Wilhelm Franz (1887–1945)

German admiral and head of the German Abwehr during the Second World War.

Born on 1 January 1887 in Aplerbeck (Westphalia), the son of a chief engineer in a smelting works, Canaris attended school in Duisberg and then joined the Navy in April 1905 as a cadet. In the Naval Academy in Kiel in 1906–7, he later served on the light cruiser, the *Dresden*, during the First World War and was interned in Chile. After his escape he worked for naval intelligence in Spain and in October 1916 was assigned to the Inspectorate of Submarines in the Mediterranean. He also commanded a U-boat in the Mediterranean.

After the war, Canaris saw at first hand the horrors (to a man of his conservative political opinions) of the revolution in Kiel. In the shadowy world of Free Corps intelligence, Canaris was praised by Waldemar Pabst (*q.v.*) as 'my best man'. As liaison officer of No. 3 Naval Brigade and adjutant to Captain Ehrhardt (*q.v.*), the commander, Canaris sympathized with the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* of 1920. He had earlier been suspected of involvement in providing assistance to the killers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919 and spent a few days in Moabit prison although he was later cleared of complicity. On 23 July 1920 he was transferred to Baltic station headquarters in Kiel as a naval staff officer grade 1 to assist in the build up of the German Baltic fleet.

In 1923 as executive officer of the training cruiser *Berlin*, Canaris struck up a friendship with a fellow naval officer Reinhard Heydrich (*q.v.*) and kept himself informed about a revolutionary nationalist movement in Bavaria under Adolf Hitler. Canaris in the next few years carried out confidential missions in Japan and Spain and in October 1931 was promoted to captain for a post as chief of staff North Sea Station. His attitude to the Nazis at this time was ambiguous; he approved their authoritarianism and extreme nationalism but deplored their plebeian image. Any movement which would end demo-

cracy, free Germany from the thrall of Versailles, particularly from the constraints on naval construction, which would end the threat of Bolshevism was to be welcomed. In September 1932, by the time he came to command the battleship *Schlesien*, he was an 'enthusiastic National Socialist' and as Werner Best (*q.v.*) has testified, he came to believe that the new Nazi regime after January 1933 was infinitely better than anything before.

When called upon to be head of the army intelligence service, the Abwehr (a section of the Reichswehr Ministry) in January 1935, Canaris was fortress commander in Swinemünde. Anxious to preserve the sovereignty of his 3,000-strong department against Gestapo encroachment, he used his friendship with Heydrich which resulted in an agreement in December 1936 with Werner Best, head of the counter-espionage police, on the demarcation between the two services. After a period from December 1935 to March 1936 of very cordial relations with Hitler, Canaris gradually became disillusioned with the Führer's aggressive foreign policy and the drive to war. During this period he was quite happy to believe that there was a Jewish problem and suggested that the solution was the enforced wearing of the Star of David. However, Canaris was to become a confederate of Lieutenant-Colonel Hans Oster (1887–1945), soon to become prominent in the anti-Nazi resistance. During the Sudeten crisis Canaris was actually prepared to arrange the arrest of Hitler. From a convinced and loyal Nazi, the temperamental Canaris, whom a departmental chief called 'contradictory in his instructions, unjust, moody and unpredictable', became convinced that the British and French would fulfil their obligation to Poland and that the war would spell 'the end of Germany'.

In March 1938 the Abwehr had become the Amt Ausland/Abwehr des Oberkommando der Wehrmacht with what Schellenberg (*q.v.*) was later to call 'this huge over-inflated organization'. Schellenberg also claimed that Canaris had 'an almost mystical turn of mind' and that 'his methods were far too humane'. When war came the rivalry between Canaris and the RSHA intensified. Canaris opposed the activities of the Einsatzgruppen in Poland. Eventually, in March 1942, after a meeting with Heydrich in Wannsee, a suburb of Berlin, he was forced to relinquish some of the Abwehr's responsibilities including his exclusive control of foreign counter-espionage. In early 1943 Canaris's belief that the fate of Germany was more important than the survival of any particular regime led him to put out peace feelers to the Allies through neutral countries like Turkey

and Spain. A putative agreement with Allied spy chiefs on the basis of a ceasefire in the West, the removal of Hitler and the continuation of the war in the East was supposedly overruled by President Roosevelt. A series of fiascos within the Abwehr including a nest of traitors in Istanbul, the failure to predict the Anzio landings, and the Harnisch affair in Spain when a bomb exploded in a British ship in Cartagena as well as numerous breaches of discipline, damaged Canaris's reputation as the master spy beyond repair. Hitler lost patience and ordered Himmler to create one large intelligence service incorporating the Abwehr.

Canaris was sacked and the Abwehr absorbed by the RSHA in February 1944. Although he took no direct part in the anti-Hitler conspiracy of 20 July 1944, he was investigated and implicated in the resistance by Colonel Georg Hansen of the Abwehr. Schellenberg took him into custody on 23 July and while detained at Fürstenberg, incriminating papers were discovered at Camp Zeppelin, Zossen, dating from before the war. Canaris was hanged in Flossen-burg on 9 April 1945.

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CARLBERG, Carl Ernfried (1889–1962)

Wealthy Swedish civil engineer who supported Nazi and neo-Nazi causes.

Born on 24 February 1889 in Stockholm, Carlberg took his engineering exams in 1912 in Gothenburg after serving as an officer in the Royal Guards Regiment Göta and later made a fortune in the building trade. In the same year he won a gold medal in gymnastics at the Stockholm Olympic Games. He was to found a Gymnastics Institute in Lillsved and to develop a belief in renewal through sport as an antidote to the prevailing decadence of western values. To achieve this end he founded a Gymnastics Society and in 1928 launched a journal *Gym* whose motto was *Hälsa, Karaktär, Skönhet* (Health, Character, Beauty). In this ideology he was deeply influenced by the biological racial ideas of Elof Eriksson (*q.v.*); the political implications in terms of the supposed superiority of rural over urban values and the inferiority of the Jews were not lost on Carlberg.

In 1934 he founded the Samfundet Manheim whose *raison d'être* was the attempted coordination of

various diverse organizations and groupuscules of a National Socialist orientation. He also set up a bookshop and publishing house *Svea Rike* (Land of the Swedes) to disseminate National Socialist propaganda. He had earlier been the Swedish representative of the extreme-right Fichte Bund. After the outbreak of war he worked diligently for the German cause recruiting Swedes for both the German military and civil efforts, remaining in close touch with the German propaganda chief in Sweden Otto Mauer, publishing the illustrated journal *Signal* which appeared in some fifteen languages and managing the Stockholm Filmstudio showing German films censored in Sweden. His zeal on behalf of pro-Nazi organizations like the Svensk Opposition led the recipients of his bounty to refer to him as 'our millionaire'.

After the German collapse he set up a relief organization for German officers, the Hjälpkommitté for Tyslands. He also continued his propaganda efforts through the Svea Rike organization, now converted into a large neo-Nazi bookshop. On the international scene he became the single largest shareholder in the journal *Nation Europa* and in effect the joint owner. On 24 February 1959 he set up the Carlberg Stifelse (Carlberg Foundation) aimed at the conversion of youth to his cherished 'ideals' which clearly had not been dimmed as in the same year he wrote a notorious poem in memory of Hitler.

Carlberg was an active member of Öredsson's Nordisk Kamp. He died on 2 February 1962 in Stockholm. In his will he left his Stockholm apartment to the Foundation which was raided by police in May 1965 after they received information about a stock of arms and explosives collected by a secret right-wing organization.

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CARULLA, Juan Emiliano (1888–1968)

Pro-fascist Argentinian nationalist.

Born in Villaguay (Entre Ríos) on 20 July 1888, Carulla studied medicine at the National University in Buenos Aires from 1908 to 1914. He spent his professional career in various aspects of medicine

including a period teaching in the Faculty of Medical Science of the National University from 1920 to 1935. During the First World War he served as a volunteer in the French Red Cross from 1915 to 1917. His autobiography *Al Filo del Medio Siglo* (1951), one of the major documents of Argentinian nationalism, describes his passage from philosophical anarchism, through syndicalism to profound disillusionment, the result of his war experiences, with abstract principles such as vague humanitarianism. As for many French contemporaries his interest in Sorelian syndicalism entailed an espousal of the necessary revolution and led him towards the integral nationalism of Maurras (*q.v.*). These ideas began to appear in *La Voz Nacional*, the journal Carulla co-founded in 1925; it was germanophile and concerned with the search for sound government based on heredity and tradition.

Carulla became a member of the circle around the Irazusta brothers (*q.v.*) and contributed to the major journals of this tendency, *La Nueva República* (1927–31), *Criterio* (1928–39), and *Número* (1930–1). He was prominent along with the Irazustas in the plan to install an authoritarian government under General Uriburu. After Uriburu's coup in 1930, Carulla became one of his chief advisers. He was involved at this time with a number of rightist groups including La Liga Republicana based on Action Française, the Partido Nacional created with Alberto Viñas and Carlos Silveyra in 1930 and the Agrupación Teniente General Uriburu in 1932. The aims of most of these groups were to encourage economic nationalism and electoral reform in order to discourage the more democratic elements of the constitution. There was also a tendency in the journals of these groups to report the activities of European fascists and National Socialists in a favourable light although by the mid-1930s this influence had declined.

With Juan Molina, Carulla was concerned to unite the various extreme conservative and philo-fascist groups into the Legion Civica Argentina created in February 1931 as a paramilitary reserve in defence of uriburism. In *Bandera Argentina* (1932–?), Carulla came closest to outright support for the fascists in Europe and, in fact, some of the material used in the early part of the Second World War was official Nazi propaganda. In the late 1940s Carulla abandoned his pro-fascist outlook. He died on 20 November 1968.

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CÉLINE, Louis-Ferdinand (pseud.) (Louis-Ferdinand Destouches) (1894–1961)

French novelist, doctor and obsessive anti-Semite.

Born on 27 May 1894 in Courbevoie, a Paris suburb, the son of an insurance employee and a mother who ran a lace boutique, Céline paints an unpleasant picture of his early upbringing in his novel *Mort à Crédit* (1936). Céline was to become a paradoxical figure, a lover of cats and ballet dancers, and yet a vicious and unremitting anti-Semite and pro-fascist. In his youth he worked at various odd jobs, including errand boy, after his return from Germany and England where he had been sent to learn the languages. In 1912 he enlisted in the cavalry in Rambouillet and was severely wounded near Poelkapelle on 25 October 1914 during the fighting on the Western Front. Invalided out with a broken shoulder and a perforated eardrum, which was to leave him with tinnitus, he was also obliged to undergo trepanation. After a period of exile in England and in the Cameroons, Céline passed his *baccalauréat* in 1919 and took up medical studies in Rennes University, qualifying as a doctor in 1924; his dissertation was a biographical study of Philippe Semmelweis (1816–65).

His experiences of war left him a life-long pacifist and a believer in reconciliation with Germany. From 1925 to 1928, Céline was employed by the League of Nations, travelled extensively and spent some time studying social problems in Ford's Detroit plant. On his return to France he set up in medical practice in the rue d'Alsace in Clichy and from 1931 to 1938 worked in the municipal clinic where he demonstrated a 'total commitment to the relief of illness' and a selfless concern for those who could not afford first-class medical treatment.

He came to literary prominence with his extraordinary novel *Voyage au Bout de la Nuit* (1932); Dr Destouches now became Louis-Ferdinand Céline. He forged an audacious and quite unique literary language which in the later novels he uses to plead, complain, whine and finally to assault the reader. Nicholas Hewitt has revealed the extent to which he saw the *belle époque* before 1914 as a golden age: 'with no future to look forward to and no past to which to return, Céline simply lashes out at the present'. A visit to the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s left him with a taste of reality which guaranteed his rejection of communism. His impressions are contained in *Mea Culpa* (1936). There followed the period of the notoriously anti-Semitic works, *Bagatelles pour un Massacre* (1937), *L'École des Cadavres* (1938) and *Les Beaux Draps* (1941). In *Bagatelles*, so intense and obsessive is the anti-Semitism that Gide

believed that the exaggerations and contradictions served to subvert his apparent purpose. It is possible to see it as a parody in the sense of Swift's *A Modest Proposal* or to read for Jewry, the establishment, or simply to explain it in terms of his war injury with Céline, *tout court*, as Arendt would have us believe 'a crank and a charlatan'. Whatever the correct interpretation, the delirious and crazed imagery of these works makes Drumont's (*q.v.*) *La France Juive* appear like a 'glass of orange-blossom water' as Léon Daudet suggested. Céline's anti-Semitism combined with his pacifism and with a strange anti-humanistic 'socialism' born of his awareness of the pervading social injustice in a kind of plebeian fascism. As Kaplan has argued: 'but what Céline is offering the fascist right . . . is a chance to differentiate itself from that basically classical Maurrasian right, from right-wing aristocracy and right-wing lucidity.' According to Sartre his anti-Semitism was one aspect of a Manichean obsession and certainly he was to describe concrete anti-Jewish measures taken during the occupation as 'life-saving measures taken against a deadly parasite'. These biological and anatomical images of disease were to pervade his work. His character, Bardamu, confesses that when he has trouble with rich people, he undresses them and sees the maggots underneath (curiously similar to Heydrich's (*q.v.*) prescription for dealing with Himmler (*q.v.*)).

Politically Céline was naive: 'I've never voted in my life,' he admitted, but as the international crisis developed in 1938 he castigated the Jews for dragging France into another war. 'War on behalf of the Jews? Never. Let them all die, them first, then we'll see.' In 1939 he volunteered for the armed forces but was rejected because of his war wounds. Employed as a ship's doctor, he was torpedoed aboard the *Shella* by a German U-boat. During the war and the German occupation he did not play a very active political role, choosing rather to continue his medical work in a dispensary in Bezons from 1940 to 1944. However, his sympathies were entirely clear; he mixed in anti-Semitic circles, wrote for the most scurrilous part of the collabo press, *La Gerbe*, *Je Suis Partout*, *Au Pilon*, and *L'Appel*, cultivated his friendships with the ultras Déat (*q.v.*) and Rebatet (*q.v.*), and continued to castigate his 'numerous imaginary enemies' (Rebatet), and in the *Royaume d'Otto* (Otto Abetz (*q.v.*)) as he called occupied France, proved to be with the Germans 'cul et chemise' (Tournoux). Vichy's measures against Jews he found too kind. In his *Les Beaux Draps* he fulminated: 'more Jews than ever in the streets . . . in the press . . . at the bar . . . in the Sorbonne . . . in medicine . . . in the theatre, opera, at Français . . . in industry, in the banks.'

With the Liberation, Céline settled in Germany in July 1944 with the actor Le Vigan and with his cat Bébert. He set out first for Baden-Baden, then settled in a castle north-west of Berlin, and finally in the castle at Sigmaringen, a place he was to immortalize in *D'un Château l'Autre* (1957). On 27 March 1945 he escaped to Denmark and on 19 April the Seine Court of Justice issued a summons for his arrest. Protected in Copenhagen by a lawyer, Thorvold Mikkelsen, he was nevertheless arrested in December 1945 and spent a year in Veterfangel prison until February 1947. He then lived in a small hut in Kørsor until June 1951 when he returned to France after an amnesty had been arranged. He settled in Meudon near Paris where he wrote four further books chronicling his war and post-war experiences: *Féerie pour une Autre Foi*, Part 1 (1952), *Normance* (1954), *D'un Château l'Autre* (1957), and *Nord* (1960).

Frequently denounced by some (even his correspondent Milton Hindus described him as 'worse than loony'), like Heidegger (*q.v.*) and Pound (*q.v.*) he had loyal defenders although he was, perhaps, his own most effective self-justifier in his self-created role as victim. Obsessed anew by the swamping of the white race by the yellow, Céline died in Meudon on 1 July 1961. 'You have to blacken everything and yourself along with it' might have been his own epitaph. His literary influence on writers like Kerouac, Burroughs, Henry Miller, as well as on a host of French authors like Sartre, has been well documented.

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CELMINŠ, Gustavs (1899–1968)

Latvian founder of the Pērkonkrust (Thunder Cross) movement.

Celminš was born on 1 April 1899 in Riga, the son of a bank director and property owner. He fought in the War of Liberation of 1918–20 and then studied

in Riga University. He worked in the Latvian Finance Ministry as a civil servant. In the 1920s he was associated with the Latvian National Clubs movement which united ex-students and those who had fought in the struggle for independence. Celmiņš was one of a group of radicals who out-distanced more moderate nationalists like A. Bergs, the editor of the journal *Latvis* to which Celmiņš contributed.

The outcome was the Pērkonkrust movement (earlier called Ugunkrust (Fire Cross)) for which Celmiņš served as president from 1930 to 1934. This movement, whose paramilitary order wore grey shirts and black berets, was opposed to Marxism and internationalism, freemasons, Jews and other minority groups in Latvia including the Germans, and opposed foreign control of Latvian resources. Its slogan was 'Latvia for the Latvians'. It favoured the replacement of the democratic 1922 constitution by one based on the Führerprinzip, a parliament organized vertically along occupational, corporatist lines, and the introduction of anti-Jewish legislation.

Celmiņš felt that the Pērkonkrusts could learn from the similar movements in Germany and Italy, especially as Germany was the centre of the anti-Semitic struggle, but felt there could be no wholesale transfer of National Socialism into the Latvian context. The Ugunkrust had been banned in March 1933 and the Pērkonkrust was similarly proscribed by the Ulmanis regime. Celmiņš was arrested in 1937 and deported to Italy; he then moved to Switzerland, Romania and Finland, where he fought as a lieutenant in the Finnish Foreign Legion in the Winter War of 1939, forming part of the Sisú International Brigade.

Celmiņš reached Germany in 1940 where he had contacts with the SD secret service and was conveyed back to Latvia after its conquest by permission of the Foreign Department of the Abwehr who had been working closely with the Pērkonkrust exiles. Having returned to Latvia on the coat-tails of the *Oberkommando* of the Wehrmacht, he became one of the leaders of the voluntary home-guard and head of the committee in charge of voluntary enlistment of Latvians in the German war effort including the Latvian SS. Tiring of the German occupation, he joined the resistance and on 14 March 1944 was arrested by the Gestapo and sent on 15 April 1944 to Flossenbürg concentration camp and then to Dachau. He was finally moved to Innsbruck from where he was released by the advancing Americans on 5 May 1945. He sought asylum in Italy and in 1947 wrote his memoirs *Eiropas Krustceļos* (Europe's Crossroads). In 1954 he was in Tuxpan (Vera Cruz)

in Mexico and in 1956 moved to Texas where he worked in Trinity College Library in San Antonio and in various academic posts. He died in San Antonio on 10 April 1968.

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CHAMBERLAIN, Houston Stewart (1855–1927)

Leading British-born völkisch propagandist recognized by Alfred Rosenberg (q.v.) as a pioneer of National Socialism. Born in Southsea on 9 September 1855 into an upper-class English family, the son of an admiral, Chamberlain spent much of his youth in France, Germany and Switzerland: from 1867 to 1870 he was educated at Cheltenham College. From 1879 to 1885 he studied botany in Geneva University and received a doctorate in 1897. Chamberlain had lost his mother at an early age and suffered as a child and a youth from emotional and nervous troubles which were particularly acute during his period in England. His life-long germanophilia stemmed from his first visit to Germany in 1870 through his tutelage under the theologian Otto Kunze from 1871 to 1874 to his removal in 1885 to Dresden. These convictions of German cultural superiority were reinforced by his early negative experiences of the uncaring atomism of English society. In 1876 he had come into contact for the first time with the world of Wagnerism and he became an enthusiastic member of the Bayreuth circle. With Edouard Dujardin (1861–1949) he launched the *Revue Wagnérienne*.

Attracted by Wagner's idealism and by his philosophy of redemption, Chamberlain was to adopt the composer of *Parsifal* as the 'sun of his life'. His most important work, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*), a synthesis of his Wagnerism with an older Pan-German nationalist and racist tradition, appeared in 1899. This 'Iliad of conflict between German and Semite', as a German critic called it, this 'hymn to Germanism' as the Kaiser called it, was to be an immense popular success. In England no less a person than Lord Redesdale, grandfather of Unity Mitford and Diana Mosley, was Chamberlain's translator. An attack on scientific rationalism and 'Jewish

materialism', the *Foundations* is at the same time an exaltation of Germanism, a paean to Protestantism, a defence of monarchism and traditional values, an assault on un-German liberalism and socialism, and, unlike Spengler's (*q.v.*) later *Decline of the West* whose defeatism Chamberlain was to reject, an optimistic affirmation that decadence could be overcome. In December 1908 Chamberlain married Wagner's daughter Eva and settled in Bayreuth. One of his major concerns after the *Foundations* was to pursue his idea of an 'Aryan' Christianity stripped of all Jewish influence, a quest which culminated in 1921 with his *Mensch und Gott* and his synthesizing of a Germanic Christianity as a national religion.

From 1912 Chamberlain was constrained by a nervous complaint which increasingly threatened paralysis. His political views evolved from a traditional Wilhelmine monarchism towards a more radically *völkisch* stance, a tendency which ended in outright support for Hitler and the National Socialist Weltanschauung. In 1916 he took German citizenship and won the Iron Cross for a series of pro-German war-time pamphlets. In 1917 he became an editor of *Deutschlands Erneuerung* whose editorial board included Heinrich Class (*q.v.*); Chamberlain had joined Class's Pan-German League in 1916.

Chamberlain completely rejected the Weimar Republic and on 6 October 1923 visited Hitler. 'In truth, you are no fanatic . . . at a single stroke you have transformed the state of my soul,' he wrote in a letter to Hitler on the following day. He had 'faith in the conquering power of [Hitler's] cause'. Hitler was reported to have reacted to the letter with the pure joy of a child. His *Mein Kampf* was to be deeply influenced by Chamberlain's ideas although it is virtually certain that Hitler had never read the *Foundations*. Rosenberg too wrote in his memoirs that 'like so many others, I received the decisive stroke from the *Foundations* of H.S. Chamberlain'. By his death on 9 January 1927 in Bayreuth, Chamberlain had come to see National Socialism as the doctrine of the future for Germany's renovation, having already embraced a corporatist alternative to party democracy. 'An iron broom must sweep in Germany: whoever has the courage to wield it will find all popular forces behind him,' he had written during the war.

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CHARBONNEAU, Henry (1913–82)

French militant member of Action Française, clandestine Cagoulard, then in the collaborationist MSR, Milicien and supporter of the extreme right to his death.

Born in Saint-Maixent (Deux-Sèvres) on 12 December 1913, the son of a General, Charbonneau was educated in a Catholic school and in 1930 moved to Paris where his father was garrisoned after his return from Guiné. An adherent of Action Française in which he saw 'a kind of religion with an ethic of life', he was with Jean Filiol (*q.v.*), Jean de Castellane and other militants a violent and enthusiastic member of AF's strong-arm militia the Camelots du Roi. In 1930 he was co-editor with Coston (*q.v.*) of the journal *La France Ouvrière*. He then joined in 1932 the Ligue des Contribuables, a pioneer Poujadist movement opposed to heavy taxation. In 1937 he met Eugène Deloncle (*q.v.*) whose secretary he was to become when the latter was imprisoned in Santé prison. With Deloncle and other former AF militants he engaged in clandestine and violent revolutionary activity in the Comité Secréte d'Action Révolutionnaire, known as the Cagoule, which carried out terrorist bombings and assassinations among them the murder of the anti-fascist Roselli brothers; their purpose was to secure an anti-communist, authoritarian state.

When war broke out Charbonneau joined the 1st Regiment of Zouaves in Casablanca but returned to France in summer 1941 when he joined Deloncle's new revolutionary nationalist organization the Mouvement Social Révolutionnaire. Within the movement he formed part of the Filiol faction, one of three distinct groups within the MSR which jockeyed for power. By early 1942 both Charbonneau and Filiol had turned against Deloncle's leadership which they found unbelievably high-handed. Charbonneau later joined the Milice, run by his uncle by marriage, Darnand (*q.v.*), which served as an auxiliary force for the Vichy regime. Charbonneau became editor of the Milice journal *Combats*, a forum for his literary aspirations, to which Bonnard (*q.v.*), Marion (*q.v.*) and Henriot (*q.v.*) contributed. Before this he had served as a captain in the Phalange Africaine, recruited mostly in Tunisia under Laval's inspiration.

Severely wounded in an engagement with the Limousin Marquisards in May 1944, he recovered in time to be moved to Berlin where he was given the responsibility of organizing propaganda among the French prisoners-of-war and volunteer workers. After a few months in Sigmaringen with the escapees from l'Épuration, he moved to Milan and then to

Switzerland from where he was deported to France. Released from Frèsnes where he was imprisoned for a time, he remained faithful to the old ideas and wrote for *Carrefour*, *Valeurs Actuelles*, Holeindre's *Le Contre Poison* (1969–) and for the royalist *Ouest-Tradition* (1973–) which he served on the editorial board. He was a member of *Ordre Nouveau* and later of the *Parti des Forces Nouvelles*. He often wrote under the pseudonym Henri Charneau. According to Soulès (*q.v.*) he saw politics as a children's party which he had been allowed to attend at somebody else's expense. Known as Porthos, truculent and quarrelsome, Charbonneau was noted for his gluttony and for his inevitable obesity. He died in La-Roche-sur-Yon on 2 January 1982.

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CHATEAUBRIANT, Alphonse de (1877–1951)

Breton Catholic novelist and Hitler apologist.

Born in Rennes (Brittany) on 25 March 1877, Chateaubriant was the son of a painter descended from an ancient aristocratic family. In 1911 he won the Prix Goncourt for his novel *Monsieur des Lourdes*. He developed a deep hatred for the Third Republic and looked back nostalgically to the reactionary Christian past interpreted along elitist and hierarchical lines by de Bonald and de Maistre. He was driven to pacifism by the horrors of the First World War in which he served as an ambulance driver. An overwhelming religious experience in 1915 was to dominate his thought in the years to come. In 1923 he wrote a much-admired poetic novel, *La Brière*, a development marking his alienation from the world of humanity and his embracing of the world of nature.

Long an enemy of the economic determinism of Marxism, he came to share the anti-materialism of Maurras (*q.v.*) whose journal *La Revue Universelle* he contributed to. In the mid-1930s he was associated with the cultural movement to promote Franco-German understanding, the *Comité France-Allemagne*. He bought a small cottage in the Black Forest and was deeply impressed by extensive trips he made to Germany and later to Austria. National

Socialism, he believed, was the human incarnation of the rebirth of God's work on earth representing the harmony of man in nature and a spiritual force, a response to the decline of 'soul' and to 'Aristotelian decadence', the scourge of a pervading rationalism and intellectualism.

In 1937 he wrote *La Gerbe des Forces*, a naive paean of praise to Hitler which provoked Brasillach (*q.v.*) to the epithet 'puerile' while Marc Augier (*q.v.*) called its author 'the prophet of National Socialism which cannot be born for a thousand years'. Full of rhetorical nonsense about Hitler embracing the masses with one hand while the other extended towards God, *La Gerbe* was an example in its simple-minded way of what Nolte has called the fear of transcendence and the clutching at any appearance of order and discipline, 'a green leaf appearing on the withered tree of Europe' as Chateaubriant described the new Germany. His interview with Hitler in *Le Journal* of 2 September 1938 became notorious.

On 24 September 1940 Chateaubriant and like-minded colleagues founded the *Groupe Collaboration*, the most intellectual and prestigious of the collaborationist umbrella organizations. The German ambassador in the occupied zone, Abetz (*q.v.*), turned first to Chateaubriant in his search for a pro-German press and the weekly *La Gerbe* became the vehicle to which most of the major collaborators contributed. Céline (*q.v.*), in his earthy manner summarized the relationship between the two when he said: 'if anyone says Abetz is in the shit-house, Chateaubriant makes a rush for the lavatory seat.' Chateaubriant's view of the Franco-German relationship was quite straightforward: 'Germany knows what France wants. She knows it sometimes better than France' (1942). In the search for the implementation of his 'ideal', he became a member of the *Comité d'Honneur* to sponsor the French volunteers for the Russian front, the LVF, and one of the founders, of the *Front Révolutionnaire* in 1943.

Escaping to Sigmaringen in Germany in July 1944, he eventually found refuge in Austria after the war. Condemned to death *in absentia* for 'intelligence with the enemy' on 25 October 1948, he continued to live in Austria under the name Wolf, a supposed Jewish refugee, unshaken in his belief that Germany had a greater sense of 'spiritual reality'. He wrote in 1951, *Lettre à la Chrétienté* and *Itinerarium al Lumen Divinum* (published in 1953). He died in Kitzbühl on 2 May 1951. De Rougemont believed Chateaubriant's case was not one of treason but of a fundamental misunderstanding of the gross reality of Hitlerism fuelled by romantic fantasies.

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CHESTERTON, Arthur Keith (1899–1973)

Second cousin of G.K. Chesterton, leading member of Mosley's (q.v.) BUF and one of the founders of the National Front.

Chesterton was born in 1899, the son of a mines supervisor who took his family to South Africa when Chesterton was very young. Chesterton remained in South Africa until the late 1920s with an interval for education in Berkhamsted School and in his later years spent at least half the year there. From 1915 he served with the Durban Light Infantry, winning a Military Cross for an action at Epéhy. As a reporter on the *Johannesburg Star* he took an active part in the suppression of the 1922 miners' rebellion on the Witwatersrand. He earned his living from 1921 to 1933 as an editor and journalist, from his arrival in England in the late 1920s, as chief editor of a Torquay newspaper group.

Chesterton joined the British Union of Fascists while employed at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford in 1933. Noted for his oratorical and polemical powers, Chesterton, who waged a constant struggle against alcoholism after his traumatic war experiences, moved from a generalized but strong patriotism and a cultural nationalism to a political commitment as a fascist, a development in which his trench experiences were crucial. In the BUF, he was Midlands organizer and then proved to be a zealous national inspector, often closing local branches for their lack of commitment to anything other than 'social' activities. A rabid anti-Semite, he found his natural allies in the Beckett-Joyce (q.v.) faction who favoured the conversion of the masses to a fascist ideology.

At first a profound admirer of Mosley as manifested in his hagiographic biography *Portrait of a Leader* (1937), a process of disillusionment soon set in over Mosley's leadership methods and defective sense of reality; in March 1938 Chesterton resigned from the BUF, a process he described in *Why I Left Mosley*. He continued to be involved with extreme right-wing politics in the shape of the Nordic League and as a contributor to Lord Lymington's *New Pioneer* but he recognized the threat from

National Socialist Germany after March 1939 and when war broke out he fought with the British army in East Africa.

In 1944 he founded the National Front after Victory Group which reunited some of the pre-war extreme right-wing zealots. After the war while remaining anti-Semitic he wrote with his friend Joseph Leftwich *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism* (1948) which recognized the appalling consequences of this form of prejudice. Denouncing the conspiratorial forces of international finance (mostly Jewish he believed) which had imposed the settlements of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks on the world, the last and most developed version of which appeared in *The New Unhappy Lords* (1965), he continued his political activities as editor of *Truth* (1944–53) and as friend of Otto Strasser (q.v.). In 1953 he was literary adviser to Lord Beaverbrook and in that year also became editor of *Candour* in which he transferred his racism to black immigrants and took up the cause of the defence of the Empire. In the following year the League of Empire Loyalists was launched as the political instrument for curtailing the 'treachery' of British politicians who would destroy the Empire and unleash a flood of black immigrants; the disruptive tactics used by the League were often successful in attracting media attention. Many of these activities were carried out with the aid of the proceeds of a legacy from an eccentric expatriate R.K. Jeffrey, who had mined nitrates in Chile. In 1967 the League amalgamated with other organizations of a more obvious neo-Nazi orientation to become the National Front, which Chesterton served as Chairman until he fell out with the thrusting newcomers with a more exotic ideology in 1970. Chesterton died on 16 August 1973.

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CIANETTI, Tullio (1899–1976)

Italian fascist union organizer, journalist, propagandist, deputy and minister.

Cianetti was born on 20 July 1899 in Assisi, the son of a small landed proprietor. His father died when he was 6 years old. A volunteer in the war of 1915–18

from 1917, he remained in the army as a lieutenant until March 1923. As a teacher in an Assisi boarding school, he was involved in the founding of the Assisi *fascio* in April 1921 and became political secretary in April 1922. Developing his interest in syndicalism, he took up the cause of the fascist syndicates and on 10 October 1924 was appointed regional secretary of the fascist syndicates. An active *squadrista*, he took part in various punitive expeditions and in the March on Rome in 1922. He did not break off his contacts with certain left-wing syndicalists and, in fact, had grave doubts about the ossification of the revolutionary impetus of the fascist movement. In 1924 he took part in a violent revenge raid on a landlord who had expelled some tenants.

Expelled from the PNF, he was later reinstated in June 1925 but expelled once again for duelling with the fascist deputy Passavanti. He also left the MVSN militia after the Matteotti affair. In Syracuse from August 1925 to March 1926 as provincial secretary to the fascist syndicates, he then moved to Carrara where he was considered by local fascist officials as 'socialistoid' and received little cooperation. He accused officials of an over-symbiotic relationship with local industrial concerns. Transferred to Medina on 5 August 1927 he wrote an article attacking 'plutocracy' which incurred the wrath of Rossoni (*q.v.*).

In 1929 he moved to Treviso as secretary of the agricultural syndicates and in February 1931 was Commissioner of the National Federation of Glass and Ceramic Industry Syndicate. As a journalist he worked on *Lavoro Fascista*. In April 1933 he moved to direct the Turin industrial syndicates and on 15 January 1934 was appointed President of the National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates (CNFSI). Although still the enemy of excessive bureaucracy, experience took the edges off his unorthodoxy and in time he became a pillar of the regime as a member of the administrative council of the Bank of Rome, member of parliament, member of the Fascist Grand Council in 1934, and in 1935 representative of the fascist syndicates at the International Conference of Labour in Geneva. In 1934 he was President of the Confederation of Industrial Workers.

As he became more reconciled to the Mussolini regime, he moved away from genuine syndicalism and in July 1939 was appointed Undersecretary in the Ministry of Corporations. An active propagandist, he became editor of *La Revista del Lavoro*. He embraced the anti-Semitic legislation of the late 1930s visting the German Streicher (*q.v.*) as early as 1937. Cianetti favoured the idea of work camps for

Jews. In April 1943 he reached the pinnacle of his corporative ambitions as Minister of Corporations. In the Fascist Grand Council vote of 24/5 July, Cianetti supported Grandi's anti-Mussolini motion but later wrote to Mussolini withdrawing his vote, an act of retrospective caution which did not save him from arrest in October 1943 and a thirty-year sentence at the Verona trial in January 1944. Freed by the Allies he emigrated to Mozambique where he set up in Lourenço Marques in the import/export business. He died in Mozambique on 7 August 1976.

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CIANO, Galeazzo, Count of Cortellazo (1903–44)

Italian fascist Foreign Minister and son-in-law of Mussolini.

Born the son of Costanza, a war hero, fervent nationalist and loyal fascist who had been nominated as Mussolini's successor, on 18 March 1903 in Livorno, Galeazzo moved with his family to Rome where he obtained a law degree in 1925. In his early years he began as an unsuccessful journalist on *inter alia*, *La Tribuna*, *Nuova Paese* and the intransigent fascist paper *L'Impero*, and an equally unsuccessful theatrical critic and dramatist (he had produced an Italian version of *Hamlet*). Vain and arrogant, 'shallow and rather vulgar' (Muggeridge), Ciano had a taste for adventure and danger and was at the same time highly ambitious. Entering the diplomatic service he served in a number of minor posts in South America, including a post as Vice-Consul in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, and he returned to Rome in 1929 as a member of the Italian legation to the Vatican. It was not until he married Mussolini's daughter Edda, in April 1930, that his career took on an accelerated momentum, beginning with his appointment as Consul-General in Shanghai in May, then in Peking as Minister Plenipotentiary. At this stage in his career his political inclinations were not entirely formed.

In August 1933 he was promoted to head of Mussolini's Press and Propaganda Office, then Undersecretary for Press and Propaganda in September 1934, and finally Minister in this area on 25 June 1935. As Minister of the Press he took a cynical delight in the control of journalists and the press world in which he had been only a marginal and insignificant participant.

His first major appearance on the world diplomatic stage had occurred in 1933 with his attendance of the World Economic Conference in London. In December 1935 he was appointed to the Fascist Grand Council. During the Ethiopian war he commanded the *Disperata* bomber squadron and was promoted to major in the Air Force. His life-style and his social life provoked much opposition, including from such elevated quarters as his mother-in-law, Rachele, and there was the constant buzz of rumour about his financial affairs.

At the age of 33 Ciano became (on 9 June 1936) the Minister of Foreign Affairs. His style of leadership in the Ministry was anathema to his corps of professional diplomats who perceived his efforts as amateurish and improvisatory, the result of his lack of both principle and discretion. His personal diplomatic friendships and enmities were elevated to the level of policy criteria: Hungarian-Italian relations, for example, were adversely affected by his hostility to the Hungarian minister, Count Stefan Csaky. Ciano, at first aware of his dependence on Mussolini, followed the deviations and indeterminacy of his erratic foreign policy without demur but on the question of Austria, Ciano's reign at the Foreign Ministry finally ended the idea of an Italian semi-protectorate in favour of the recognition of Austria as a German state. One of his major early successes was the lifting of sanctions against Italy by the League of Nations. However, his indecisiveness exacerbated the deteriorating relations with the western democracies without compensating with a whole-hearted support of Nazi Germany; as a result Italy bumbled into the Pact of Steel on 22 May 1939 which forced Italy into a military alliance with Germany.

Ciano recognized his country's lack of war-preparedness and eventually came to favour neutrality. In April 1939 he moved against Albania as the first step in the creation of a Balkan barrier to forestall increasing German power, and at the Salzburg Conference in August 1939 told the Germans that Italy would not be ready for war for 'two to three years' after affirming his basic support for Germany. The new policy of non-belligerency lasted only until June 1940 when Italy entered the war. Ciano reached the peak of his influence in the first months of neutrality after the outbreak of the Second World War with the formation of the 'Ciano cabinet'. He believed that after the sweeping successes on the Western Front, Germany would win the final victory and threw himself with enthusiasm into the war. In the Greek war, which he considered 'useful and easy' and which came to be known as 'Ciano's War', he participated as a lieutenant-colonel in the

bomber squadron. After the complete failure of the military initiative many of the *gerarchi*, including Bottai (*q.v.*), Grandi (*q.v.*) and Ciano himself were sent on active service, Ciano to a bomber squadron in Bari from January to April 1941. On his return to the Ministry his role until the end of 1942 was that of an 'observer, critical and pessimistic'.

At the end of 1942 he attempted, via the Italian embassy in Lisbon, to explore the possibility, with the Allies, of an agreed Italian withdrawal from the Axis. His diaries reveal that at this time he was plagued by a sense of hopelessness and by recriminations against Mussolini. On 8 February 1943 he became ambassador to the Holy See. In the conspiracy leading up to the critical vote in July 1943 in the Fascist Grand Council, Ciano was typically equivocal and Grandi, on the day before the meeting, was unsure of Ciano's support although when it came to the vote he duly approved the Grandi motion. He fled Rome in August going first to Monaco and then was spirited away by the Germans to Munich, ostensibly as a 'guest'. When the Salò Republic came into being, Ciano was incarcerated in the Scalzi prison in Verona. Tried in January 1944, he was found guilty of treason and shot in the San Procolo fortress in Verona on 11 January 1944, partly to prove Mussolini's loyalty to Hitler. His important diaries were smuggled out of Italy by his wife.

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CLASS, Heinrich (1868–1953)

German Pan-German politician.

Class was born on 29 February 1868 in Alzey (Rhein Hesse), the son of a lawyer whose motto was 'patriotism, tolerance, and humanity'. In 1887 he went to Berlin to study law and came under the influence of Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96) who confirmed him in his rejection of the family liberalism. Completing his studies at Giessen, he returned to Mainz in 1891 for practical training in the district court; he qualified at the end of 1894. Class was impressed by the slogan coined by Treitschke, 'Die Juden sind unser Unglück' ('the Jews are our misfortune'), and

continued to act in its spirit throughout his career. As a student he had joined the anti-Semitic agitation of Böckel (*q.v.*) during the 1890 election campaign for the Reichstag and in 1889–90 was a member of the League of German Students in Giessen. Although he supported the National Liberals during the 1893 elections, he became disillusioned with their leaders and moved over to join Friedrich Lange's (*q.v.*) anti-Semitic Deutschbund. In February 1897 the Mainz branch of the Deutschbund under Class switched over to form the main nucleus of the Pan-German organization.

It was largely through Class's efforts that the Pan-German League became an openly anti-Jewish organization. Becoming the deputy leader of the League in 1901, Class was made president in 1908, a post he retained until 1939. The Alld deutscher Verband, to give it its German name, envisaged itself as a national opposition campaigning for an imperialist policy, colonial expansion to the East in Europe and an increased naval construction. After the Moroccan crisis he wrote *Venn Ich der Kaiser War* (1912) (If I Were Kaiser) under the pseudonym Daniel Frymann in which he advocated curtailment of the Reichstag's powers. He claimed these had been captured by an alien Jewish clique overriding the traditional elite of the landed classes. Class was, in effect, advocating dictatorship as the last chance for German salvation. It was this book which Fischer called 'the first model for an authoritarian state', which was to become the foundation of the ideology of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund founded by Roth (*q.v.*) and Class after the First World War. Class's entire effort had been directed towards a reconstruction and unification of the radical right and the DVST was committed to the Alld deutscher Verband.

In February 1919 with the Bamberg declaration, Class made it clear that the main preoccupation of the League would be the 'Jewish problem'. He had shouted at a meeting, referring to the Jews: 'Kill them all. The rest of the world . . . will not ask your reasons.' A disciple of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*), Class was concerned to eliminate the 'Jewish spirit' from German society by the legalized exclusion of Jews (by means of double taxation) from cultural and economic life. In 1929 he supported the *Juden Ordnung* of Müller von Hausen. A close friend of Hugenberg (*q.v.*) and of German heavy industry, Class gave his endorsement to the Harzburger Front containing the DNVP and the NSDAP in 1931. In 1926 he had been part of the conspiracy to overthrow the Weimar state by the Berlin branch of the ADV and the Bund Olympia.

Although he considered Hitler a plebeian upstart, he sent him a telegram of congratulation after the *Machtergreifung* but subsequently disappeared into obscurity, although the ADV officially survived until 1938. He served the NSDAP as a member of the Reichstag from March 1933. Class died on 16 April 1953.

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CLAUSEN, Fritz (1893–1947)

Danish National Socialist leader and collaborator with the Germans after the occupation of Denmark.

Born on 12 November 1893 in Abenrå, then in German North Schleswig, into a family of Danish rather than German sympathies, Clausen went to school in Flensburg and then attended the University of Heidelberg to study medicine. In November 1914 he was called up for German war service on the Russian Front where he was taken prisoner in autumn 1915 and spent the rest of the war in a Russian POW camp. He returned home via Finland and then continued his medical studies, graduating in 1923. In 1924 he set up a practice in Boverup in 1924. He built up a loyal local following as an active participant in community activity, including playing the violin in a South Jutland orchestra.

His first political experience was in the *Dannevirkebevægelsen* which agitated to have South Jutland/North Schleswig incorporated into Denmark, which it was in 1920. He was a member of the conservative Folkeparti (People's Party) which he left as late as January 1931 to join the Danmarks National-Socialistiske Arbejder Parti which had been founded by Cai Lembcke (*q.v.*). Clausen became leader of the party in July 1933. The party programme was remarkably similar to that of the German NSDAP, in Danish terms 'to fight for Denmark's honour, freedom, and rights'. The Nazi *Blut und Boden* theories were of especial appeal to the rural soul. Most of the paramilitary trappings of Nazism were borrowed wholesale, including the *Horst Wessel Song* although Clausen tried to persuade himself that the origins of the party were Nordic in a truly Scandinavian sense. In the elections of April

1939 the party achieved only 31,000 votes. However, Clausen was elected and served in the Folketing until 1945.

During the occupation he made a futile attempt to attain power with German help by calling himself 'Hitler's apostle' and working to gain the support of the German Foreign Ministry. Plump, stolid, red-faced through alcohol and intolerant, with little trace of charisma, Clausen was quite incapable of persuading the Germans that he was a potential Danish leader and his signal failure both to build a mass following and to achieve even a respectable showing in the electoral process led to widespread use of the phrase, 'God save the King and Fritz Clausen'. The German Minister Renthe-Funk advised against using him and Hitler ordered that the idea of appointing him should be dropped. His desperate manoeuvrings to merge with the Agrarians were an ignominious failure and, accused of gross incompetence and corruption by Kay Gothenborg within his own party, he resigned officially as leader on 5 May 1944 although he had effectively ceased in October 1943 after a spate of resignations by colleagues. He was replaced by a triumvirate. Clausen died of a heart attack on 5 December 1947 in Vestre prison Copenhagen while awaiting trial.

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CLEMENTI, François Antoine (known as Pierre) (1910-82)

French founder of the collaborationist Parti Français National-Collectiviste.

Born in the 10th arrondissement of Paris on 28 May 1910, the son of an immigrant postal worker from Corsica who was killed in the First World War, Pierre Clementi worked as the sports editor of *La République*, the radical newspaper. After the events of 6 February 1934 he founded with Maurice Maurer and Mathieu Degeilh the Parti Français National-Communiste with its headquarters in the Boulevard de Sebastopol. As the director of the party organ *Le Pays Libre*, Clementi expressed an extreme French

chauvinism including the suggestion that Belgian francophone areas should be incorporated into France. For a time he was the political director of *La Libre Parole* of Henry Coston (*q.v.*), the founder of the original Franciste movement (not to be confused with that of Bucard (*q.v.*)). He shared many ideas with Coston, including a virulent anti-Semitism, a decided hostility to freemasonry and international organizations, anti-communism and opposition to the export of French capital and to 'financial speculation' even after his expulsion from the Francistes in November 1934.

In August 1937 he stood unsuccessfully in the legislative elections. In the summer of 1940 Clementi's party was renamed the Parti Français National-Collectiviste with its own paramilitary formation the Gardes Françaises under the control of the future Radical deputy Robert Hersant; with Hersant he led the Rassemblement Anti-Juif et Anti-Maçonnique. In 1942 *Le Pays Libre* moved to Lyons where Clementi pursued an energetic campaign against Doriot (*q.v.*) and others who opposed Laval. In theory it was the first political movement to appear in the occupied zone, although of little practical importance. It claimed to be a party for workers opposed to 'the potentates of Moscow as well as the City of London and the ghettos of New York'. It was Clementi's party which was largely responsible for the rampage along the Champs Elysée in August 1940 resulting in damage to Jewish property. The PFNC had by the end of 1941 lost almost all its members to other similar groups.

Clementi was an active member of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Legion (LVF) and in 1942 left for the Eastern Front where he fought against the partisans. After the war he escaped to Italy, returning to France to take up a career as a businessman. He returned to fascist politics with the neo-Nazi journal *Le Combat Européen* and as a follower of René Binet (*q.v.*). In 1946 he joined the Groupement Nationale de Pillés to protest against the seizure of collaborators' property. In 1969 he adhered to the most dynamic group on the extreme right, the Ordre Nouveau, after the demise of the Rassemblement Européen de la Liberté. Among his journalistic appointments after the war was the editorship of *L'Europe Réelle* based on Brussels and that of *L'Europe Nouvelle*. Clementi took part in Amaudruz's (*q.v.*) Nouvel Ordre Européen into which he took his *l'Action Européenne*, attended the NOE Lyons conference in 1974, and was connected with the later NOE journal *Courrier du Continent*. Clementi died on 16 April 1982 in Paris.

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CODREANU, Corneliu Zelea (1899–1938)

Founder, leader and inspiration of the Romanian Legion of the Archangel Michael (Iron Guard) known universally in the movement as the Captain.

Codreanu's mother was of Bavarian origin and his father, a teacher, had moved from Austrian Bucovina where his name had originally been Zelinski. Corneliu was born in Iași on 13 September 1899. The family moved to Huși in 1901. In 1910 Codreanu attended the Mănăstirea-Dealului military school and experienced the strict military atmosphere of the infantry school at Botoșani. His education instilled into the impressionable Codreanu a life-long mystical religious feeling and a respect for self-discipline. He tried to enlist in the Army during the First World War but was rejected as too young.

In the autumn of 1919 he moved to the Faculty of Law in the University of Iași. His political development was shaped by his reading of *Neamul Romanesc* and *Seminatorul*, the journals of Nicolae Iorga and Cuza (*q.v.*) and by the personal influence of the latter and of Constantin Pancu who initiated him into a strike-breaking organization, the Guard of the National Conscience. Codreanu set up with Pancu the organization National and Christian Socialism on 9 February 1920, an anti-socialist and anti-Semitic movement designed to wean the workers from the internationalist, pacifist tradition. Codreanu was sent down for political violence on 2 June 1921 but was reinstated after Cuza's intervention. Inspired by Cuza, he set up the Association of Christian Students and such was his charisma he was elected president of the Law Students Society.

In the autumn of 1922 Codreanu visited Berlin and Jena to enrol in the universities. He appeared on enrolment day in Berlin in full Romanian costume. Tall and handsome, a figure of startling physical appearance, 'he was only muscles, vibration, and elegance', according to one admirer. Horia Sima (*q.v.*), his successor as Legion leader, described him as 'a god descended among mortals'. Strongly authoritarian in outlook and violent in his convictions, Codreanu saw himself not as a purveyor of

rational and detailed programmes but as an avenging sword of God. In Berlin Codreanu heard about the activities of an obscure ex-corporal in Munich. He was to complete his doctorate in law in the University of Grenoble where he went with Moța (*q.v.*). He returned to Iași and then moved to Bucharest where he agitated for a student general strike.

On 4 March 1923 the League of National-Christian Defence (Liga Apărării Naționale Creștine) was founded with Cuza; the main aim of the new movement was to eliminate the Jews from the national life. Although LANC won ten seats in 1926 it disintegrated soon after this. In October 1923 Codreanu was arrested, accused of preparing a death list of Jews and Liberal politicians. Acquitted at his trial in March 1924, he shot Manciu, the police prefect of Iași after a number of Codreanu's student supporters had been killed by the police. At his second trial on 20 May 1925 he claimed that it could not be considered an assassination attempt as the date for a coup had not been fixed. He was acquitted after this piece of sophistry by a jury of whom a number openly wore LANC badges.

In prison Codreanu had worked out a plan for a youth movement dedicated to St Michael, an image of whom he had seen in the chapel of Văcărești prison. The new group was at first called the Frația de Cruce (Brothers of the Cross) under Moța's leadership. On 24 June 1927 the Legion of the Archangel Michael was founded by the old comrades of Văcărești. Motivated by religious mysticism, youthful idealism, a cult of death, by faith rather than programme (Codreanu had said, 'the country is dying for lack of men not programmes'), the new movement saw political life as a Manichean struggle between the forces of light and those of darkness. Many of the Legionaries wore around their necks bags of soil taken from historic Romanian battlefields. The elderly stood, according to Ion Banea, for 'stomach, entertainment and democracy'.

The Legion was banned by Mihalache in 1930 after the attempt on the life of a Bucharest journalist. Codreanu was arrested but acquitted once more. He was elected to Parliament in July 1931 for the Neamt constituency. In 1932 the Legionary candidates fought under the name C.Z. Codreanu group and in 1935 as Totul Pentru Țara (All for the Fatherland), a party formed in November 1934 with General Cantacuzino with the intention of taking power constitutionally. Jealous of the success of the Iron Guard (a general term used to cover the various Legionary manifestations but originally the name of its paramilitary formation founded in 1930), King Carol dissolved Totul Pentru Țara and Codreanu

found himself imprisoned in the Insula Șempilor, an islet in the mouth of the Danube. Accused of terrorism and conspiracy on behalf of a foreign power, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. His fate was sealed by a new terror campaign ordered by Sima during which an assassination attempt was made on the rector of Cluj University, a relative of the Interior Minister Călinescu. Codreanu was shot 'while trying to escape'; in reality, he was strangled in the back of a truck then shot. Acid was poured on his body in Jilava prison. His death took place in the wood of Tincăbeni near Bucharest on 29/30 November 1938.

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COLLINS, Seward B. (1899–1952)

American pro-fascist journalist.

Collins, the son of a wealthy Syracuse businessman, was educated at Princeton University. He bought *The Bookman* from George H. Doran in July 1927 and became its editor after the resignation of Burton Rascoe (died 1957) in 1928. A great admirer of Belloc and the philosophy of Distributism, Collins converted *The Bookman* into a forum for 'revolutionary conservatives' or 'radicals of the Right'. However, it was on his taking up the editorship of the *American Review* in April 1933 that Collins forged a vehicle for all shades of neo-conservative opinion he approved of from Irving Babbitt's New Humanists, through Southern Agrarians like Allen Tate and Neo-Thomists, to followers of the 'return to the Middle Ages' and of the Distributism of Belloc and G.K. Chesterton. *The American Review* collapsed due to a combination of financial problems and the withdrawal of the Southern Agrarians and New Humanists unable to stomach Collins' too explicit fascism. As early as 1933, Collins, in contrast to others of this disparate and often antagonistic group, was an admirer of Mussolini whom he called 'the most constructive statesmen of our age'.

During the 1930s he developed a peculiar species of 'Park Avenue' fascism which was able to incorporate a belief in the revival of monarchy and ancient guilds with a romantic veneration of the peasantry. The essence of fascism for him was 'the revival of monarchy, property, the guilds, the security of the family and the peasantry'. Too intelligent to accept the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as genuine, he nevertheless cultivated a particularly cynical form of social anti-Semitism. His *American Review* bookshop in New York sold a wide range of extreme right material.

Collins applauded Hitler for his removal of the communist threat. As War approached in the early 1940s his anti-British and pro-Axis views led him to work for the America First Committee. He moved to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, where he edited the Committee's journal *Scribner's Commentary*. At this time he was considered by many on the far right as an ally and a colleague; for example, he put up bail for the Coughlinite (q.v.) Allen Zoll when he was charged with extortion. Collins died at the age of 53 on 7 December 1952 in Laconia.

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COPPOLA, Francesco (1878–1959)

Italian nationalist journalist and later fascist academic.

Coppola was born in Naples on 27 September 1878. He was awarded a law degree from the University of Naples. His career as a journalist began in 1904 with his editorship of *Giornale d'Italia* (1904–8). From 1908 to 1914 he edited the nationalist *La Tribuna*. What had begun in 1904 with anti-socialism had by 1908 become a coherent nationalist creed. In 1910 he was, with Corradini (q.v.) and Federzoni (q.v.), one of the founders of the Italian Nationalist Association and in 1911 one of those who launched the journal *L'Idée Nationale* influenced by the integral nationalism of Maurras (q.v.) in France. Coppola was the leading nationalist who owed most to the example of Action Française. A brilliant political journalist, he accepted many aspects of Maurras' thought about which others were more sceptical, including his pronounced anti-Semitism; Coppola attacked 'International Jewry' for opposing the Libyan War of

1911/12, a war in which Coppola served. Not only did he reject socialism but also democracy, which he considered the partner of socialism.

An interventionist in 1914, he believed that a world war would break up the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires to the advantage of Italy in the Adriatic and in the eastern Mediterranean. He wanted Italy to secure cast-iron assurances that she would receive control of Albania and a colonial empire in Africa as the price for entering the war. In 1916 he was at the Front himself. He was an enemy of pacifism, of individualism, of the effects of German capital on Italy, of 'demo-socialism', and called for a 'spiritual renovation of the nation'. In 1917 and 1918 he served on diplomatic missions abroad and was at the Paris Peace Conference where he opposed the setting up of the League of Nations. In 1918 he moved from *L'Idea Nazionale* to *Resto del Carlino* and with Alfredo Rocco (*q.v.*) became editor of *Politica*, a review of culture, criticism and political action which remained nationalist during the fascist period. Coppola was an advocate of the idea of the *vittoria mutilata*.

In 1923 he supported the fusion of the Italian Nationalist Association with the fascists; he spoke of the 'fascist phase of the Nationalist revolution'. From 1923 to 1925 he was the Italian delegate to the League of Nations. In January 1925 he was appointed a member of the Commission of 18 set up to complete Rocco's constitutional reforms. Coppola was never entirely at home in the fascist regime and complained in 1927 to Federzoni (*q.v.*) that he felt alienated from full participation in a fascist regime. He became increasingly concerned with the 'Asiatic subversion' he saw in Soviet communism and with the process of Americanization. However, he was an enemy of the fascist intransigents.

In 1929 Coppola was appointed Professor of International Relations in the University of Perugia and in 1932 in Rome. In the same year he was appointed to the Italian Academy. He continued his journalistic interests being editor of *La Tribuna* from 1926 to 1929 and from 1932 he worked on *Gazzetta del Popolo* and *Nuova Antologia*. As he grew older he became more conservative and although he accepted corporatism, he felt that syndicalism was a 'socialist heresy'. He saw the expansionist aims of international Socialist Germany with equanimity but called Hitler a 'dilettante' and found Nazi racism 'not close to the spirit of fascism'; he preferred the authoritarian conservatism of a Von Papen (*q.v.*). Coppola welcomed the Ethiopian War and the Spanish Civil War as inevitable confrontations with international communism. When the Second World War came he,

perhaps surprisingly, considered it a new revolutionary war for European civilization. He died on 10 February 1959 in Anacapri.

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CORRADINI, Enrico (1865–1931)

Leading Italian nationalist.

Born in San Miniato di Montelupo (Florence) on 20 July 1865 into a family of small landed proprietors, Corradini attended school in Empoli and began his career as a teacher and a not very successful playwright and novelist. In 1888 he passed his degree examinations in letters and from 1889 to 1891 studied at the Istituto di Studi Superiori. His first literary efforts appeared in *Germinal* (1891–3) and in *Marzocco*, an anti-rationalist Dannunzian journal (1897–1900). Corradini was converted to the nationalist cause by the Italian defeat at Adowa in 1896. He was obsessed by themes of national decadence like the generation of 1898 in Spain and became conscious of the major responsibility of the bourgeoisie in what he called 'the vileness of the present moment'. The need to create a mass nationalist consciousness became paramount.

After editing the *Gazzetta di Venezia* in 1900 and working as a correspondent for *Corriere della Sera*, Corradini, with his colleagues Papini (*q.v.*) and Prezzolini (*q.v.*) founded *Il Regno* (1903–6) in Florence in which his major political and social beliefs were to coalesce, his cultural pessimism, his contempt for democracy, his Social Darwinism, and above all his nationalism and imperialism, a nationalism based on that of Mazzini, Oriani and D'Annunzio (*q.v.*) but influenced as well by Maurras (*q.v.*) and Barrès (*q.v.*). Rejecting the class struggle, he sought 'an internal peace for an external war'. A peace that would be achieved only by the integration of the excluded proletariat into the national life.

After 1906 while Papini and Prezzolini went on to found *La Voce* with its cultural concerns, Corradini laid the foundations for the political nationalism which was to find organized form in the Associazione Nazionalista Italiana in December 1910. Corradini's interest in foreign policy, his espousal of

the right of a 'proletarian nation' like Italy to pursue an imperialist course in conflict with the 'plutocratic nations', his fear in 1908 after the annexation by the Austrians of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the integrity of his country, and its clear highlighting of Italy's lack of national will, all led to his call for a government of 'total responsibility'. In 1911 he played a major role through his propaganda activities, especially through *L'Idea Nazionale* which he had founded with Forges Davanzati (q.v.), Coppola (q.v.) and Federzoni (q.v.), in encouraging support for the Libyan War.

As early as 1909 Corradini had spoken of a 'national syndicalism' as a useful counter-ideology to Marxist socialism for the working masses. He contributed to the syndicalist Orano's (q.v.) journal *La Lupa*. A fervent interventionist, Corradini continued both his propaganda work on behalf of the notion of acquiring African colonies and his advocacy of proletarian nationalism. He also discovered a new-found belief in what Roberts has called 'a harmonious productivist order' led by a reinvigorated industrial bourgeois elite. In 1919 Corradini supported D'Annunzio (q.v.) not only in his Fiumean adventures but also incited him to march on Rome to form a new government. He saw Mussolini and fascism as a movement strong enough to implement the organic, imperial state he sought.

After the March on Rome he was the most enthusiastic of all the Nationalists for union with the fascists; he helped to negotiate the Pact of Union in 1923 and was appointed to the Fascist Grand Council. Named a senator in March 1923, appointed as one of the group of competence for constitutional reform and a vice-president of the Commission of 15 (later 18) in January 1925, Corradini reached the high-point of his fascist career in 1928 with his appointment as Minister of State. It became clear from documents discovered after Corradini's death that despite his public enthusiasm for Mussolini, privately he did not approve the personalization of the regime and by the time of his death on 10 December 1931 in Rome, he had become disenchanted.

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COSTAMAGNA, Carlo (1881-1965)

Italian fascist state ideologist.

Born on 21 September 1881 in Quiliano (Savona), Costamagna studied law before entering the judiciary. He worked as a counsellor in the Court of Cassation. In 1920 he joined the fascists, destined to become one of the most intransigent of them all. Although he was never a nationalist, he was a close colleague of Alfredo Rocco (q.v.) especially as head, in succession to Rocco, of the Gruppi di Competenza (Competence groups). In January 1924 he was appointed National Secretary of Technical Councils.

As a theorist of corporatism and ideologist of the fascist state, his special field of competence was in the area of representation in a corporate state. Basically a conservative and a rightist fascist, he saw the fascist state not as a new type of revolutionary state but as a temporary and transitory phase, a machine to be used in an emergency where there was danger of social breakdown. Corporatism he saw as a system to be imposed from above with a strong fascist party in control. His differences with Panunzio (q.v.), who saw the state more as a process than as a rigid, unchanging, artificial creation, were to be marked. Their discussions appeared in *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofi del Diritto* in 1926. Costamagna was appointed to Gentile's (q.v.) Commission of Constitutional Reform and in January 1925 became its secretary.

In 1926 and 1927 Costamagna worked closely with Rocco and Bottai (q.v.), later the Minister of Corporations, on the preparation of labour legislation and on the draft Charter of Labour. Costamagna worked in the Ministry of Corporations under Bottai and also contributed to his journal *Critica Fascista*. From 1930 he also edited the journal *Lo Stato*. He was a parliamentary deputy in 1929 and then, after the abolition of the old Parliament, a member of the Chamber of Fasces. As Professor of Corporate Law at the University of Ferrara from 1927 and then in the University of Pisa, Costamagna continued his battle against revolutionary and integral syndicalist currents. In 1933 he moved to the Law Department of the University of Rome and from 1937 taught the history and doctrine of fascism in Rome.

During the anti-Semitic and racist campaign starting in 1938, Costamagna was prepared to accept the government's measures although he was opposed to biological racism. He was also happy to accept the concept of the 'new order' in Europe, created by the Axis with Italy and Germany in close partnership; he welcomed Italy's part in the Second World War. In 1940 he taught constitutional law in Rome and on

26 February 1943 was appointed a senator. His thought at this time was close to that of Julius Evola (*q.v.*) and in his planning for the corporate state Costamagna was very influenced by the legal thought of Carl Schmitt (*q.v.*), the German anti-liberal political theorist, whom Costamagna had featured from the early 1930s in his journal *Lo Stato*. After the war Costamagna was not allowed to teach. He took part in the foundation of the neo-fascist MSI and proved to be unrepentantly anti-communist. He was involved with the cultural journal *La Rivolta Ideale*. Costamagna died in Pietre Ligure (Savona) on 1 March 1965. Malgieri has called him a representative of the Italian 'conservative revolution'.

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COSTANTINI, Dominique (known as Pierre) (1889–1986)

French leader of the collaborationist Ligue Française.

Born on 16 February 1889 in Sartène (Corsica) and brought up in an atmosphere of Bonapartist myth-making, Costantini fought with distinction in the First World War. As an aviator he shot down a number of enemy aircraft and won the Légion d'Honneur. After escaping from Fort IX he was eventually invalided out of the forces. Throughout the 1920s and 30s he worked as a car mechanic and then in a car factory. This small, dynamic, fast-talking author of works such as *La Grande Pensée de Bonaparte* and *Ode à la Corse* became officer in command of the Reserve in the Air Force in 1939 and served as officer in charge of the naval air base at Coulommiers from 1939 to 1940.

Outraged by the British attack on the French fleet in Mers-el-Kebir, he personally declared war on Britain. On 6 March 1941 he created a Ligue Française d'Épuration, d'Entreaide Social, et de Collaboration Européenne. He joined the chiefs of the RNP and of the PPF on the Central Committee of the Légion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme but plans to form an aerial corps did not materialize. The League, which was allied with Doriot (*q.v.*) and his PPF in September 1941, had

distinct Bonapartist undertones. Costantini in December 1941 was among those who, under the auspices of the journal *Au Pilon*, including Déat (*q.v.*) and Doriot, met to promote a single totalitarian party but with little success. In 1942 he founded the Mouvement Social Européenne with Paul Riche and continued to publish the organization's journal *L'Appel*. Costantini had described in print his dream of seeing Léon Blum, ex-Prime Minister, being executed in public.

Arrested in 1945 and sent to Fresnes to face trial, he was found not to be responsible and released. Declared mentally ill after the war, he was transferred to an institution and later retired to Corsica to concentrate on writing. He died on 30 June 1986 in Prunelli di Fiumorbo (Haute Corse).

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Mabire; Coston; Gordon; Cotta; Ory; Kingston.

COSTON, Henry Georges (1910–)

French journalist and publicist of the extreme right.

Born in Paris in the 5th arrondissement on 20 December 1910, Henry Coston became associated after the war with Action Française in Villeneuve-sur-Loire. He began his working life as a bank clerk. In July 1933 Coston and Jacques Ploncard d'Assac founded the anti-Semitic Les Francistes (not to be confused with Bucard's (*q.v.*) organization), who wore black shirts and called for the defence of 'Aryan-Christian civilization', an organization he later handed over to Pierre Clementi (*q.v.*). Employed in the provincial press as editor of *Express du Midi* (1927–30), on the *Paysan du Sud-Ouest* and on the *Petit Oranais*, this disciple of Drumont (*q.v.*) founded his own journal the *Libre Parole* which he directed from 1930 to 1939. Hostile to Jews and to high finance, he was a tireless propagandist throughout the 1930s with his Société d'Editions et de Propagande. He was the Algerian delegate to the Ligue Internationale Anti-Communiste and stood, like his mentor Drumont before him, as a racist candidate in Algiers in 1937. He had contacts with the Centre for Anti-Jewish Propaganda in Erfurt and in 1937 founded the Office de Propagande Nationale which took over his continuing journals *La Libre Parole* and *Le Porc Epic* launched in 1934. In 1938 he became a member of the Parti Unitaire Française of Bucard.

Exempted from military service on health grounds in 1939, he became a leading figure in collaborationist circles. Although not allowed by the Germans to

run a newspaper, he ran a Centre d'Action et de Documentation, exposing the supposed misdeeds of Jews and Freemasons; this latter group was given the dubious privilege of a special organization the Centre d'Informations Antimaçonniques. As a member of Doriot's (*q.v.*) PPF he worked in the party's press office. He was also associated with the Swiss Oltramare (*q.v.*) on the journal *La France du Travail* and contributed to the anti-Semitic journal *Cahiers Jaune*. All through the period of occupation he urged severe measures against the Jews. In 1944 he fled to Germany.

Sentenced to forced labour for life after the Liberation, he was soon released and continued his task of exposing the workings of the parliamentary system and the machinations of big industry and high finance. Through the *Diffusion de la Pensée Française* and from 1957 the *Lectures Françaises* (which he sold to Malliarakis (*q.v.*) in the 1980s), he attacked the moderate right, capitalism, the regime in power of whatever complexion and continued his assault on the evils of the 'money power' dominated by Jews. He calls himself an anti-Semite 'd'état' rather than a racial one. He has been the supporter of many post-war movements on the right and has written for Sidos' (*q.v.*) *Le Soleil* and *L'Oeuvre Française*. He is the author of the *Return of the 200 Families* and of the excellent four-volume *Dictionnaire de la Politique Française* which is a mine of information on all aspects of French politics. He has produced numerous other works demonstrating his encyclopaedic knowledge of the French business and political worlds. In the late 1980s he was still active as a supporter of the Front National and of the General Alliance against Racism and for the French Christian Identity (AGRIF) (the racism in question being anti-French racism!).

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COTY François (pseud.) (Spoturno) (1874–1934)

French parfumeur and journalist.

Coty was born in Ajaccio (Corsica) on 3 May 1874, the son of a lawyer. Orphaned at a young age, he had by 1919 built up an international perfume empire having made his first fortune as early as 1900. Spurred by his success in America, he turned his hand to the proprietorship of newspapers as a step to political power. He acquired *Le Gallois* and on 28 February 1922 *Le Figaro*. In his proprietorial career

he was to become known for frequently changing his editors and for his generous payments to contributors. He himself was a frequent contributor under the pseudonym Urbain Gohier. His various outlets, to which was added on 2 May 1928 *L'Ami du Peuple*, reflected his political concerns in direct and demagogic style. Coty opposed tariffs, parliamentary government, international communism and what he saw as the machinations of high finance.

His own political career demonstrated a string of failures from 1919 when he lost a senatorial election in Corsica to 1923 when he was disqualified for electoral corruption, to his loss of the mayoral race in Ajaccio in January 1931. His political failure, not assisted by his personal reserve, timidity and his lack of oratorical ability, seemed to be in inverse proportion to his business success, guaranteed by his financial daring and by his capacity for intrigue. Many movements and journals of the extreme right benefited from his financial largesse including from 1919 Action Française, the Bonapartist journal *L'Autorité* (1928), Valois' (*q.v.*) *Faisceau* and his journal *Le Nouveau Siècle* which Coty gave one million francs, ceasing only when Valois turned his back on Action Française, and to La Rocques' (*q.v.*) *Croix de Feu*.

Coty was also a friend and collaborator of Maurras (*q.v.*) in the mid-1920s until they disagreed over the question of war debts to the United States; he stopped all subsidies to Maurras. After the check to Cotyist candidates in the 1932 elections Coty launched his own La Solidarité Française movement in 1933 which combined a boisterous anti-communism with a vaguer allegiance to a barely understood corporatism. Simplistic and populist in tone, *L'Ami du Peuple* became the journal of Solidarité. Coty was ruined in 1933, partly as a result of his divorce settlement of 1929 when he was forced to pay his wife Yvonne 425 million francs. He lost *Figaro* in October 1933 and *L'Ami du Peuple* in December. Coty died in Louveciennes on 25 July 1934.

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COUGHLIN, Charles Edward, Father (1891–1979)

Controversial American radio priest who broadcast anti-Semitism in the 1930s.

Coughlin was born on 25 October 1891 in Hamilton, Ontario, of pure Irish stock, in an atmosphere of Catholic intensity. His father was a stoker on the steamboats that plied the Great Lakes, his mother was a seamstress. In 1911 he graduated from St Michael's College and entered St Basil's seminary in Toronto. In 1923 he began work as a parish priest in the diocese of Detroit and in 1926 was assigned to Royal Oak, Michigan. Coughlin began his broadcasting career in October 1926 with a series on WJR, Detroit, direct from his Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, after a KKK fiery cross had been burned in front of his church. Proving to be extremely popular, Coughlin's output, at first uncontroversial and religious, became more explicitly political and by the summer of 1930 his rich, resonant eloquence could reach a potential audience of some 40 million people through networking.

His first forays into politics were to urge the government to protect workers in the spirit of the papal encyclical of 1891, *Rerum Novarum*, but to point out the dangers of atheistic communism. In January 1931 he delivered a speech denouncing the international bankers for exploiting the Versailles treaty using material given him by Congressman Louis McFadden of Pennsylvania; this was a deliberate response to the CBS network's attempt to persuade him to 'tone down' the political content of his broadcasts. When CBS refused to renew his contract in April he created his own network.

After Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933 which Coughlin strongly endorsed, Coughlin called the New Deal 'Christ's Deal' and advocated a revaluation of the dollar to create more purchasing power as the solution to the crisis. His populist rhetoric and his criticism of the capitalist system became more pronounced. At first he supported most of the initiatives of the New Deal, the NRA, public works and social security but by the end of 1934 his attitude to Roosevelt had become more critical and more equivocal. He continued to advocate an extended and nationalized credit system, the revaluation of gold and to espouse the cause of silver coinage which earned him the name 'Silver Charlie'. Between November 1934 when he founded the National Union for Social Justice and 1936, he denounced the New Deal for its communist tendencies and for its pandering to the rich; he began to see a new system of social justice replacing democracy, and put increasing faith in unscientific and vague 'funny money' nostrums. A new note of anti-Semitism began to creep into his broadcasts as he denounced 'the modern Shylocks' and mentioned the names of the 'villains' Warburg, Meyer and Kuhn-Loeb. As

Coughlin became more hysterical and provocative, he continued to be protected and encouraged by his superior, Bishop Michael J. Gallagher of Detroit.

Throughout 1935, he opposed the League of Nations and the World Court, denounced sanctions against fascist Italy over the Ethiopian War and called for a nationalist and isolationist foreign policy. In March 1936 he launched the weekly newspaper *Social Justice* and in the summer announced that the National Union would support Rep. William Lemke of North Dakota in alliance with Dr Francis Townsend of the Old Age movement and Gerald L.K. Smith (*q.v.*) of Huey Long's Share-Our-Wealth movement. In spite of Coughlin's promise to retire from the radio if the Union Party candidate did not receive 9 million votes, Coughlin failed to fulfil it in spirit as he returned in January 1937 to regular broadcasting (Lemke received less than 2 per cent of the vote or 892,000 votes). The National Union which Coughlin saw as a 'living, vibrant, united, active organization superior to politics and politicians in principle' (and which the socialist leader Norman Thomas called 'two and a half Messiahs plus some neo-populists') was disbanded in November 1936.

Coughlin, far from being chastened by the experience became even more outspoken and pro-fascist. He now openly espoused a corporate state for the United States on the Italian model with Congress elected by occupational groups and the President elected by the House of Representatives. The Christian Front, which he founded in July 1938 out of the Social Justice 'platoons', marked in institutional form the crossing of the line 'from embittered conservatism to open bigotry', which Alan Brinkley has referred to. Though opposed by many in the Catholic hierarchy (his new Archbishop Mooney took a more critical line than Gallagher), there is no evidence as Kolodny has argued that 'Catholics as a body turned away in disgust' and Diggins has confirmed the tendency of US Catholics to be pro-fascist. *Social Justice* in its anti-Semitic campaign went as far as to publish parts of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and justified Nazi persecution of the Jews. Coughlin became increasingly strident in his attacks on internationalism, in his accusations against American Jews for warmongering, and in his pleas for neutrality and isolationism.

In the end Coughlin was silenced by a combination of the US Postmaster-General who banned *Social Justice* from the post in 1942, Archbishop Mooney who ordered Coughlin to 'cease all public pronouncements', and the Attorney-General who warned that Coughlin would face federal indictment

for sedition. Coughlin returned to his priestly duties, retired in 1966 and died on 27 October 1979 in Bloomfield Hills, a suburb of Detroit.

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COUSTEAU, Pierre-Antoine (1906–58)

French journalist of the right and brother of Commander Jacques Cousteau.

Born on 18 March 1906 in Saint-André-de-Cubzac (Gironde), Cousteau was educated in American schools and at the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris before giving up his studies to serve in the military. He worked in a number of fields including meteorology and for the Credit Alliance Corporation in New York before settling down as a journalist, at one time on the communist weekly *Regards*. He was appointed foreign affairs editor of the journal in 1930. Abandoning his pacifism and his anti-Stalinist Marxism, he worked on the anti-Semitic and anti-democratic *Coup de Patte* before joining *Je Suis Partout*, the fascist journal of which he became an editor on 30 April 1932. He was close to the director Pierre Gaxotte and became a specialist on both US and Soviet affairs. His hostility to the former was based on an exaggerated perception of corruption and gangsterism which he blamed on democracy. In his bluff way he said on one occasion that he preferred bridge and rugby to literature. Rebattet (*q.v.*) described him as 'a tanned and virile bordelais, boiling with enthusiasm under a phlegmatic exterior'.

Cousteau travelled to Germany with Brasillach (*q.v.*) and Georges Blond in 1936 and to Spain with Brasillach and Bardèche (*q.v.*) in July 1938. In September 1937, invited to attend the Nuremberg rally, he claimed to be impressed by but not unaware of the imperfections of Nazism. Called up in 1939, he was captured in June 1940 and freed after the intervention of his friend Brasillach in September 1941. Returning to *Je Suis Partout* he became successively editor-in-chief, and then political director after Brasillach on 1 October 1943. In 1941 he also edited

Paris-Soir. As one of the more fervent believers in collaboration, he called for the internment of all Jews and in 1943 said: 'We are not opportunists. We remain just plain fascists.' Among the journals to which he contributed were some of the more un-apologetically militant ones including Charbonneau's (*q.v.*) *Combats*. He served on the general secretariat of the Milice from 1942.

Cousteau fled from France on 17 August 1944 for Germany, where, in Bad-Mergentheim, he was on the editorial board of *Radio-Patrie* and in neighbouring Constance he refounded *Le Petit Parisien*. Towards the end of the war he escaped to Switzerland but was arrested in Innsbruck and interned in an American camp. Found guilty of 'intelligence with the enemy' and condemned to death on 23 November 1946, the sentence was eventually commuted to hard labour for life. Amnestied in 1954, the convictions remained. In his last years he became editor of the extreme right *Rivarol* and contributed to *Jeune Nation*, *C'est à Dire*, *Charivari*, *Dimanche-Matin*, and to Coston's (*q.v.*) *Lectures Françaises*. He was also connected with the political movement *Union des Intellectuels Indépendants*. He died on 17 December 1958 in Paris.

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CUZA, Alexandre C. (1857–1946)

Romanian nationalist writer, economist and politician, founder of the League of National Christian Defence.

Cuza was born in Iași on 8 November 1857 and studied in the Universities of Dresden and Brussels. Cuza was a member of the Romanian Socialist Party until its merger with the Liberals in 1899. In 1883 he had founded the socialist and nationalist journal *Dacia* in Brussels and from the 1880s he was to be associated with numerous journals including *Unirea*, of which he was editor, and Nicolae Iorga's *Neamul Romanesc* (from 1906). He moved from his early socialist position to a populist nationalism like Drumont's (*q.v.*) in France, based on a demagogic and fundamental political anti-Semitism. His nationalism also embraced an interest in Romanian national culture and in its regeneration which culminated with the publication of *Naționalitate în Artă* (Nationality in Art) in 1908.

In 1901 Cuza took up a position as Professor of Political Economy in the University of Iași. Codreanu (*q.v.*) was to claim that Cuza was one of the few academics at Iași who were not inclined to the left. Cuza entered practical politics, in which he was never to be entirely at home, in 1909 with the founding of the National Democratic Party (1909–16) in collaboration with Iorga. The anti-Semitism of the party represented a tendency which had been endemic in Romanian national life; Cuza himself had learnt much from the poet Mihai Eminescu (1850–89) but he never considered that his goal of eliminating the Jews from professional life would cut him off from the western democratic political tradition in which he had been educated. He was to use the swastika as his party symbol well before Hitler. On 4 March 1923 Cuza, together with the young Codreanu, founded the League of National Christian Defence (LANC) out of the remnants of the NDP. He was elected to Parliament on the LANC ticket in 1926. As an exponent of the traditional politics he soon found himself at variance with Codreanu's violent paramilitary style and when asked what had come between the two men replied 'murder'. By 1927 relations between the conservative followers of Cuza and the young radical followers of Codreanu had deteriorated to the point of rupture.

In 1935 the LANC, seriously weakened by Cuza's lack of practical political expertise, amalgamated

with Goga's (*q.v.*) National Agrarian Party and became the National Christian Party (Parti Național-Creștin). In 1936 he won a seat in Bucovina at Suceava for the People's National Bloc coalition of rightist groups. In the December 1937 elections the Goga/Cuza party won 9.7 per cent of the votes. Despite this small percentage, after the National Liberal and National Peasant parties failed to command majorities, Goga was appointed as prime minister with a mandate to introduce a limited *numerus clausus* for Jews and to carry out the Romanianization of the education system. On 21 June 1938 Avarescu's People's Party merged with the National Christian Party, with Cuza and Avarescu as joint presidents, under the name National Christian Peasant Party. Cuza served as Minister without Portfolio and became a firm partisan of the government's pro-Axis foreign policy. He retreated into the background during King Carol's dictatorship. He survived the war, dying in Sibiu on 1 November 1946.

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D

D'ALQUEN, Gunter (1910–)

German SS journalist and editor of Das Schwarze Korps.

Born in Essen on 24 October 1910, the son of a wool merchant, D'Alquen completed his secondary education in Humboldt School in Essen before attending Marburg and Berlin Universities for a number of terms. He worked on the *Bremer National-sozialistische Zeitung*. He was one of the earliest of the Hitler Youth leaders in 1925 and had joined the SA as early as 1926. In July 1927 he was a NSDAP member, No. 66,689. Before he joined the SS in March 1931, he had been an enthusiastic member of the National Socialist Students Association. In 1934 he was promoted to *SS-Sturmabführer*.

In February 1932 he was appointed to the staff of the *Völkischer Beobachter* in Munich, working in the internal politics section and later as chief of staff of the VB office in Berlin. When the Reich Press Chamber was set up after the Nazis came to power D'Alquen was on the advisory council. In October 1933 he left the staff of VB for the SD as one of a number of intellectuals to join the security service at this time. He had earlier been sacked by the party for imprudent remarks he had made about 'constructive opposition' within the party. However, as chief leader writer of the official SS journal *Das Schwarze Korps* and from March 1935 chief editor, he redeemed himself with his extreme anti-Semitism and attacks on Christianity, the bourgeoisie, intellectuals, corruption in party and state, the black market and profiteers. Not being under the control of Goebbels (*q.v.*) he was allowed a certain latitude and independence. He cooperated with Heydrich (*q.v.*) in using the journal as a monitor of public opinion and in the course of his radical commentaries on life in the Third Reich often bordered on dangerous criticism of conditions.

Revolutionary as well as restless and aggressive, D'Alquen eventually fell out with Heydrich and, in 1939, the year he wrote the official history of the SS, became the chief SS reporter and in 1941 head of the Propaganda Office for the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front where he was prominent in

psychological warfare against the Russians; he managed to persuade Himmler (*q.v.*) for purely tactical reasons not to consider all Russians as sub-human and to use Vlasov, the Russian traitor, for propaganda purposes. D'Alquen was leader of the Kurt Eggers Standarte in the Waffen-SS and after July 1944 was in charge of the Russian anti-Bolsheviks. At the very end of the war he replaced Hans Prutzmann as head of the last-ditch resistance organization, Werewolf, and by extension he was active in the post-war SS help organization the Bruderschaft.

On 9 July 1955 a denazification court fined D'Alquen 60,000 DM and a court in Berlin in January 1958 a further sum for racist agitation and incitement to murder. He boasted to Willi Frischauer that he was in the pay of the Allies and it seems he was used by army intelligence after the war. He was believed to be still alive in 1988.

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DALUEGE, Kurt (1897–1946)

German police chief and Deputy Protector of Bohemia and Moravia.

Daluege was born on 15 September 1897 in Kreuzburg (Upper Silesia), the son of a minor civil servant. In the army during the First World War he fought on the Western Front, in the Baltic area and again in France where he was engaged at Verdun and on the Somme. Severely gassed in spring 1918, he left the army a year later and became a section leader in the Rossbach Free Corps which 'liberated' Annaberg in Upper Silesia from the Poles in 1921. Trained in Berlin as a civil engineer, he worked as a sanitary engineer. A giant of a man, Daluege gained a reputation as a rough-neck and well deserved his nickname 'Dummi-dummi'. In 1922 he joined the NSDAP and was the founder and organizer of the

Berlin SA after being, during the banning of the party, a member of the Deutschvölkischer Freiheitsbewegung as head of one of their 'gymnastic societies'. A member of the Frontbann, Röhm's substitute SA, Daluge was the first *Gausturmführer* of the Berlin SA in 1926. At the end of 1928 he left the SA to join the SS and by the end of 1929 was head of the Berlin SS.

After the Nazis' advent to power, Daluge, through Reich Commissioner Göring's support, was made a state commissioner to head the Prussian provincial police in which he was created a General-Lieutenant (later in September 1933). Also made a *Ministerialdirigent* (Ministerial Director) in the Prussian administration and a Prussian State Councillor he now became one of the leading policemen in the new Germany. On 12 November 1933 he was elected to the Reichstag. Early in 1934 the Prussian police force was taken under Reich control and on 31 January Daluge was transferred to the Reich Ministry of the Interior as head of the police department and was now in command of the uniformed police throughout the Reich, encouraged by Interior Minister, Fricke (*q.v.*), as a counterweight to Himmler. During the Röhm purge in 1934 he played a decisive role in the final elimination of the SA as a threat to the Nazi revolution, as the one entrusted with the work of elimination in the 'leftist' Eastern areas. By October 1936 Daluge, now a police general and SS-*Obergruppenführer*, had worked his way up to third in line after Himmler and Heydrich in the Nazi security services. In the reorganization that took place in 1936 Daluge became the head of the *Ordnungspolizei* (Orpo), having to put up with jurisdiction over what was left of the police structure after Heydrich (*q.v.*) had been given control of both the 'ordinary' and the 'political' secret police (including the criminal police).

On 30 May 1942 Hitler appointed Daluge, now an SS-*Oberstgruppenführer* and General-Oberst of police as Heydrich's interim successor and deputy protector of Bohemia and Moravia. He was executed by the Czechs on 23 October 1946 in Prague for his part in the Lidice reprisals. Ambitious but colourless, Daluge was not malicious and his former colleague Gisevius said of him: 'He was not the type of an utterly lost soul, but rather the model of one utterly corrupted.'

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D'ANNUNZIO, Gabriele (1863–1938)

Italian poet, novelist, dramatist, man of action, poseur and 'dilettante of sensations' (Croce).

D'Annunzio was born in Pescara on 12 March 1863 into a wealthy family whose head had been a mayor of Pescara. A very gifted child and something of a prodigy, D'Annunzio attended the Cicognini college in Prato from 1874 to 1881. Moving to Rome he enrolled in the University of Rome but in his constant search for new *frissons* and for his famous pursuit of the 'superfluous', he soon left. The extravagance, flamboyance, self-centredness, exhibitionism and the obsession with the erotic (his early poems and his contributions to *Fanfulla* could be surprisingly explicit) which characterized his life were apparent in his best work of poetry *Canto Novo* (1882) and in his first novel *Il Piacere* (1889). John Rosselli remarked about the Dannunzian life: 'It is a life made for the Sunday supplement, that of the original illustrated man.' A tireless womanizer, D'Annunzio had a large number of well-publicized romances, the most famous with the actress Eleanora Duse, from 1897 to 1904.

His political career began in July 1897 with his election to the Chamber for Ortona a Mare, his anti-parliamentary prejudices notwithstanding. Elected on a distinctly conservative programme he was to cross the floor in March 1900 as an ally of the left-wing of the socialists in a move he described as 'from death to life from right to left' although in practice he appeared rarely in the parliamentary building and his career was less than distinguished. A Nietzschean 'socialist' concerned not with detailed policies but with political aesthetics and with awakening the aggressive and virile spirit of Italian men, D'Annunzio continued his aristocratic, eccentric and extravagant life-style. His whole political outlook and his later involvement with mass political action were intimately interwoven with the ideas of artistic creativity and of national consciousness; as Ledeen has said, 'he obliterated the boundary between art and politics'. In 1908 his play *La Nave* had a considerable influence on the nationalists' demands for a renewed neo-Venetian expansion on the Dalmatian coast. D'Annunzio was a notable supporter of the Libyan War in 1911.

Returning from Paris in May 1915, D'Annunzio, a believer in the necessary sacrifice that war demanded, stirred large crowds with his enthusiasm for war. Something of the nexus built up between the poet and his fascinated listeners, which was to be a feature of the next ten years, can be gleaned from his words describing the 5 May 1915 meeting in front of

the Garibaldi monument: 'There is nothing of myself left in me. I am a demon of the tumult. I am like the genius of the free people . . . I am no longer intoxicated with myself alone but with all my race.' As a result of the war D'Annunzio lost the sight of one eye when his plane crashed in 1916. In October 1917 now in his fifties, he was promoted to captain. He took part in reconnaissance flights over Trento and Trieste, fought in the trenches and inspired his fellow soldiers with cries of 'Eia, Eia, Eia, Alalà', which was to become the rallying cry not only in Fiume but later of the fascists. His flight over Vienna in August 1918 to drop leaflets was the culmination of his bravado, his glamour, and his reputation which led some to call for his crowning in the Capitol.

The episode that achieved for D'Annunzio the greatest fame began with the seizure of Fiume on 12 September 1919 in an attempt to prevent the Italian government from withdrawing. D'Annunzio held it for a year with 1,000 legionaries. While general peace was being discussed, concerned that the war had, indeed, been a *vittoria mutilata*, he seized the initiative in establishing a regency for later annexation by Italy. Discouraged by Prime Minister Nitti, whom the legionaries referred to as 'Cagoia' (the Shit) for his desire to abandon the whole of Dalmatia to the Yugoslavs, there was never any real hope of final success. It is no exaggeration to claim that the whole ritual of fascism, the 'collective psychodrama', came from the regency of Fiume, the war cries, the Roman salutes, the uniforms and songs. As Malraux declared: 'In Mediterranean countries, politics is linked with the theatre, ritual, and symbolism.' Lenin was to hail D'Annunzio as 'the only real revolutionary in Italy' and until 1925 he was to be considered as a serious alternative to Mussolini.

The Charter of Carnaro devised by De Ambris, to which D'Annunzio did little more than 'add literary flourishes' (Ledeen), as the neo-syndicalist constitutional of Fiume, was a radical document guaranteeing religious toleration, providing equality for women and making social security provisions. Though there was no absolute and necessary connection between Dannunzianism and fascism, D'Annunzio drawing his appeal from the whole political spectrum and not by temperament a totalitarian, the Fiume episode served its purpose in undermining parliamentarianism in Italy and provided a whole style of politics for Mussolini to absorb and adapt.

D'Annunzio was forced to leave Fiume on 18 January 1921 by the universal opposition of the Allies but immediately by the arms of General Enrico Caviglia enforcing the Treaty of Rapallo. On 12 November 1920 Fiume had been declared a free

city by the Treaty. D'Annunzio left after forbidding his legionaries to support the fascists who took over Fiume, then made his own accommodation with Mussolini. With the fascist leader he planned to overthrow the government by legal means and to replace it with a triumvirate of Nitti, Mussolini and himself but the plan was thwarted by an unfortunate near-fatal accident when D'Annunzio fell from a window on 13 August 1922. Some *squadristi* continued to support D'Annunzio's claim to leadership of the movement but D'Annunzio himself, who had always envisaged his role as a symbolic and spiritual one, retired into private life in his Vittoriale villa on Lake Garda. Disapproving of *squadristi* violence, he wrote: 'I want to be alone and keep my thoughts to myself.' He was created Prince of Monte Nevoso in March 1924 but by 1932, as Julian has written, 'the visits to the old master [by Mussolini] had become an irksome obligation to be discharged as quickly as possible.'

D'Annunzio considered Hitler 'the Charlie Chaplin of the Nibelungen' and a 'ferocious clown'. The 'decrepit Priapus', having written his last book, the *Libro Segreto* (1935), and still believing that 'in my style as a writer I surpass all the men who have written in all the centuries', died at Gardone Riviera on 1 March 1938 patronized by Mussolini and embittered.

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DARNAND, Aimé Joseph Auguste (1897-1945)

French Cagoulard and head of the collaborationist Milice. Born in Coligny (Ain) on 19 March 1897, the son of a railway worker, Darnand received an elementary education being apprenticed as a cabinet-maker. He was an outstanding war hero during the First World War, courageous and daring to the point of rashness. He won the Légion d'Honneur and six citations, and was wounded ten times. He rose to be a sergeant in the 66th infantry regiment, taking part in an engagement behind enemy lines in Champagne which inspired Poincaré to refer to him as 'an artisan of victory'.

This massive, athletic, strong and taciturn figure then served with the occupation army in Germany and against Attaturk in Asia Minor. He left the army resentful at his failure to be considered officer material. Darnand joined Action Française in Lyons and became both a leader of the Camelots du Roi and of the AF ex-servicemen organization the Association Marius Plateau. In 1928 he was dismissed from the AF after an altercation in which, in his typically blunt fashion, he referred to Maurras (*q.v.*) and Daudet (*q.v.*) as *cons*, who substituted airy persiflage for real action.

After a brief flirtation with the Croix de Feu, Darnand became an organizer in Nice, where he set up a successful transport company, for the clandestine terror organization the Comité Secret d'Action Révolutionnaire known as the Cagoule; he was involved in 1936 in various operations including the stock-piling of arms. His vehement anti-communism led him into Doriot's PPF in 1936, an organization he left in 1942. In July 1938 he was imprisoned in La Santé for his suspected underground activities but, defended by Xavier Vallat (*q.v.*), he was freed with no charges to answer in December.

Mobilized in September 1939, he fought bravely (in particular in an action in Forbach) despite his doubts about French preparedness for war. He escaped from a POW camp in Pithiviers and returned to Nice. A germanophobe by instinct, Darnand felt more affinity with Italian fascism than with German National Socialism. In January 1941 he joined the National Council of Vichy. His loyalty to Pétain had its roots in a military nexus going back to the time when Pétain had decorated him during the First World War. It was the invasion of Russia which acted as the catalyst to convert Darnand's visceral anti-communism into total support for the Germans but it took until 1943 for this process to be completed. As head of the Alpes-Maritime organization of the Légion Française des Combattants, Darnand created an elite force for the implementation of the National Revolution which became the Service d'Ordre Légionnaire, a national anti-Resistance force, on 12 January 1942. On 26 January 1943 Darnand was appointed by Laval as Secretary-General of SOL's successor the Milice for those 'who were resolved to take an active part in the political, social, economic, and intellectual rebuilding of France'. In January 1944 he was promoted to Secretary-General for the Maintenance of Order and on 14 June 1944 Secretary of State for the Interior. As Milice chief he was responsible for the system of summary justice by *ad hoc* courts martial. There are

persistent rumours that Darnand tried unsuccessfully to contact the Resistance but this has never been proved.

On 16 August 1944 he left Paris, a journey which ended in Sigmaringen where he served as a member of the French Governmental Commission set up as a government-in-exile. Towards the end of the war he fled to Italy to join the anti-partisan fight but was arrested at Edolo on 25 June 1945 and held in Fresnes prison. Condemned to death on 3 October, he was executed at Fort de Châtillon on 10 October 1945, according to Galtier-Boissière 'for having believed he ought to obey his superiors'. By some he has been considered a typical *homo fascistus* but by others as a man of action, a soldier rather than a politician with little imagination and fierce loyalties but lacking the vital ability to make fine distinctions.

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DARQUIER DE PELLEPOIX, Louis (1897–1980)

French anti-Semitic activist and head of the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives under the Vichy regime.

Born in Cahors (Lot) on 19 December 1897, the son of a doctor, Louis Darquier had a distinguished record as a sub-lieutenant in the First World War. Lazy, high-living, a hedonist and impecunious, his aristocratic title was as phoney as his monocle. He made a living as a publicity agent in Strasbourg and then as an administrator for a number of small firms. He was dismissed from a Franco-British grain company for speculation against the franc but was later reinstated and sent to London where he was on one occasion charged with being drunk and disorderly. In 1927 he failed at sheep-farming in Australia having previously married an heiress.

Darquier was wounded in the events of 6 February 1934 as a member of Action Française but turned it to his own advantage when he founded an association for the injured with himself as president. In the same year he worked on the anti-Semitic

journal *Le Jour* founded by Léon Bailby (1867–1945). In December 1935 he left the Croix de Feu calling Colonel de La Rocque (*q.v.*) ‘a rose-water dictator’. In May of that year he had been elected as municipal councillor for Ternes (Paris). On a number of occasions he was arrested for violent attacks on Jews in 1936, 1937 and 1939 and in April 1938 for physical violence against the socialist Georges Hirsch in the Conseil Municipal. He launched a Comité Anti-Juif de France (later the Rassemblement Anti-Juif) which campaigned against the right of Jews to vote and to stand for public office.

Earlier in 1936 he had founded a National Club against the *métèques* (immigrants) and he was also to propagate his anti-Semitism in the journal *La France Enchaînée*. In May 1937 he became notorious for his statement: ‘It is necessary as a matter of urgency to resolve the Jewish question that the Jews should be expelled or massacred.’ He was a noted champion of authenticity of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and received funds from the German anti-Semitic World Service.

A captain in the infantry in September 1939, he was taken prisoner and after his release in the autumn of 1940 created a Union Française de la Défense de la Race and worked for the Institut Anthropo-Sociologie. As head of the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives from 6 May 1942 to 26 February 1944 when he was dismissed for irregularities in the sequestration of property, he used the media for a systematic anti-Jewish campaign and was responsible for the supervision of the deportation of 9,000 foreign Jews to the death camps. After the war he found refuge in Spain, having been sentenced to death *in absentia*; the sentence was revoked in 1968 under a statute of limitations. In an interview in *L'Express* on 28 October 1978 he caused a furore by not only denying his role in the Jewish persecutions but also in claiming that the Holocaust was a fabrication. Darquier died on 29 August 1980 in Madrid.

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DARRÉ, Richard-Walther (1895–1953)

German National Socialist Minister of Agriculture and leading advocate of the ‘blood and soil’ agrarian ideology.

Darré was born of German parents in Belgrano (Argentina) on 14 July 1895; his father was a director of an export/import company. Walther was to retain his dual German/Argentine nationality until 1933. At the age of 9 he returned to Germany and attended school in Heidelberg, Godesberg, a brief spell in King's College, Wimbledon, and then in Witzenhausen. In the artillery on the Western Front during the First World War, he was wounded a number of times. On his return to civilian life he joined a Free Corps battalion in Hanover and then in 1922 the veterans' organization the Stalhelm, which he did not abandon until 1927. From 1922 he studied for an agricultural degree in Friedrich-Witte University, Halle, where he developed an interest in animal breeding; he qualified as an agronomist in 1925. As a Mendelian he took a great interest in the wider human implications of inheritance, genetic and racial questions but also shared a non-scientific interest in *völkisch* thinkers like Lagarde, Langbehn (*q.v.*) and Chamberlain (*q.v.*) and in fringe subjects like magnetism, astrology, macrobiotic foods and reincarnation.

In 1926 and 1927 Darré worked in East Prussia, Finland and the Baltic States as a horse breeder and an agricultural expert and from the summer of 1928 to June 1929 as an agent for the East Prussian Chamber of Agriculture in Riga. He became convinced that the answer to rural decay, to the threat of external aggression and to the salvation of the Nordic values of the peasantry whom he believed were the ‘life-motor of National Socialism’, was to create an economically viable ruling peasant class as a propertied bastion of nationalist and eugenic values, to set up for the future a pool of ‘valuable blood’. Darré took over the phrase ‘blood and soil’ from Winnig (*q.v.*) to describe this constellation of values, ideas which he expressed in books like the *Peasantry as Life-Source of the German Race* (1928) and a *New Nobility from Blood and Soil* (1929). His Nordic racialism, anti-Semitism and his desire to substitute a rooted farming society for creeping, urban, industrialization brought him to the attention of the Nazis.

He had in the early 1920s been briefly a member of the Deutschvölkischer Freiheitspartei but he kept this secret when he joined the NSDAP in 1930 as head of Section V (Agriculture) of the Reichsorganisationsleitung. He was the brains behind the Nazi agrarian programme of March 1930 and in May was put in charge of the cadres of the Agrarpolitischer Apparat which in 1932 became a party office. Exploiting unrest, Darré arranged the infiltration, penetration and absorption of the existing agricultural unions and interest groups, like the

conservative Landbund, into his corporatist system. With a strong position on the Praesidium of the Reich Landbund, as head of the German Farming Profession in April 1933, after the Nazi coming to power, and in May 1933 head of the League of Rural Trades (Landhandelsbund), Darré was able through his Reich Food Estate, 'a monopolistic and compulsory pseudo-corporation', to begin to realize his dreams.

Appointed Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture on 29 June 1933 and in January 1934 *Reichsbauführer* (National Farmers' Leader), he used his powers to make the peasants a privileged class with security of tenure through the entailed farm laws of May–September 1933 and the control of prices and markets which brought him into conflict with the free-marketeers in the government. After 1936 Darré lost influence as the star of his deputy Backe (*q.v.*) rose. He remained true to his ideas of 'blood and soil', learnt as long ago as his association with the Artamenen movement in the 1920s, even when they clashed with the needs of a rationalized productivity; in 1938 Göring (*q.v.*) took over the powers Darré had enjoyed over farmers in the 'battle for production' within the first four-year plan. By March 1942 pressure from Himmler (*q.v.*), Göring and Bormann (*q.v.*) led to the ousting of Darré in favour of Backe. Darré had earlier in 1938 been removed as head of the SS Race and Settlement Office after clashes with Himmler.

Sentenced to seven years in prison at Nuremberg for his advocacy of German settlements in Poland and the Baltic, Darré was released in 1950 and spent his last years writing on organic farming and 'green' issues. Bramwell has recently seen him as a pioneer of the ecological and green movements. Darré died on 5 September 1953 in Munich.

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DAUDET, Léon (1867–1942)

French man of letters and leading light in the Action Française.

Born on 16 November 1867 in Paris, the son of Alphonse Daudet the famous writer, Léon attended the lycée Louis-le-Grand and studied medicine at

the University of Paris medical school without completing his course. Involved at first in Republican circles, he inherited a strong anti-Semitism from his father and was a member of Drumont's (*q.v.*) Ligue Antisémitique from its foundation in 1889. A journalist, he wrote for *Figaro*, for the socialist magazine *Germinal* (in 1893) but then, reflecting his political conversion for *Gazette de France*, *La Libre Parole* (from 1900) and for the royalist *Le Soleil* (from 1901). He had opposed Boulanger but was to become an anti-Dreyfusard and a leading member of the Ligue de la Patrie Française. His conversion to both Catholicism and later to political royalism took place particularly under the influence of Maurras (*q.v.*). He had also been impressed by his meeting with the Duke of Orléans, the pretender to the throne.

A gourmand with severe weight problems, a Debussy lover, a *bon vivant*, with a nose for scandal and a talent for stinging invective, Daudet was drawn into the Action Française by his second wife, Marthe. He helped to finance the AF newspaper which had become a daily in 1908. Daudet was appointed editor-in-chief in 1917 and then co-director with Maurras.

In the lead-up to the First World War Daudet considered an alliance with the working classes to be a *sine qua non* of the AF's progress and espoused the cause of the social monarchy. He believed this could be brought about by means of a campaign of anti-Semitism. 'You give us the King and we will give you the Jews.' From 1919 to 1924 as a deputy for Paris he was a powerful influence in parliament for both AF and for the Union Nationale, although he demonstrated little in the way of coherent doctrine, his satirical ability and his caustic, sometimes defamatory, wit with its tendency to personalize issues, won him a loyal following.

In November 1923 the death of his 14-year-old son Philippe, in mysterious circumstances after offering help to the anarchist cause, brought an end to his career in the Assembly. In 1925 he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for defamation but served only a few days after barricading himself into the AF office in Paris. In 1927 he was again in trouble and fled to Belgium until his pardon in 1929. His influence by the 1930s had evaporated and although he continued to add to his already huge output of novels, pamphlets, articles, essays and memoirs, he never again achieved prominence. He supported the Munich agreement and the accession to power of Pétain but he retired to the family estate in St Rémy-de-Provence (Bouches-du-Rhône) where he died on 1 July 1942.

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**DÁVILA Y FERNÁNDEZ DE CELIS,
Sancho (1905–72)**

Spanish Falangist.

Born on 20 July 1905 in Cadiz, Dávila was the Count of Villa Fuente Bermeja and a cousin of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). He came to prominence in March 1933 when he organized the sympathizers of what was to become the Falange Española in the Seville/Cadiz area. He was a member of the first National Council and of the Junta Política. As the *jefe territorial* of Andalucía he stood as a candidate in the February 1936 national elections.

Before the military uprising of July 1936 he had been imprisoned in Seville and incarcerated in the Cárcel Modelo in Madrid after his arrest in José Antonio's house on 28 May 1936. In October he escaped from the republican zone to the Cuban legation and was appointed provincial chief for Andalucía by the provisional leader Hedilla (*q.v.*). Dávila was hostile to Hedilla's leadership and led the cult of the dead José Antonio known as *El Ausente* (The Absent One). In February 1937 he tried to negotiate a premature understanding with the Carlists on a possible unification behind Hedilla's back. In April of the same year it was Dávila, together with Aznar (*q.v.*) and Garcerán, who went to Hedilla's office and read a series of charges ranging from ineptitude to conspiracy. Dávila told Hedilla that he would be deposed by a triumvirate consisting of Aznar, himself and José Moreno. Following a fracas on 14 April 1937 between Dávila's followers and an intermediary, José Maria Goya, acting on behalf of Hedilla, Dávila was arrested but released to vote against Hedilla at a session of the Junta de Mando.

He was later permanently released and sent back to Seville. He became a rival of Serrano Suñer (*q.v.*) in the Movement but after opposing Franco in October 1936 became one of his most loyal supporters, a youth leader in the National Movement, a National Councillor, member of the Junta Política and President of the Spanish Football Federation. He died on 14 November 1972 in Madrid.

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DAYE, Pierre (1892–1960)

Belgian Rexist journalist and writer.

Born in Schaerbeek on 24 June 1892, Daye was educated at the College St Michel in Brussels. During the First World War he took part in the Anglo-Belgian expedition from the Congo against German East Africa and was at the capture of Tabora. After the war he was Belgian Military Attaché in Washington in 1918 and 1919. Like his fellow nationalists Hoornaert (*q.v.*) and Nothomb (*q.v.*) he began as a Christian Democrat. He was also a member of Renaissance Nationale although he did not demonstrate any very great interest in politics at this stage. As a journalist he worked for *Le Soir* (Brussels). *L'Intransigeant* (Paris), *Candide* and *Gringoire* but he was also a much travelled correspondent who had visited among other countries Korea, Japan, Morocco and Russia. By 1930 his political orientation was more firmly fixed on the right of the spectrum and in January 1932 he became Belgian correspondent of the extreme right-wing Paris journal *Je Suis Partout*. Some time earlier he had made a number of important friendships with men like the historian Pierre Gaxotte.

After 1935 he mixed increasingly in German circles, making friends with Abetz (*q.v.*) and Ribbentrop (*q.v.*); the latter, indeed, invited him to attend the 1936 Nuremberg rally which was the inspiration for an article in *Je Suis Partout* in which he declared that 'a new people is in process of being born'. At home, in March 1936 he had joined Degrelle's (*q.v.*) Rex Movement. He served as Rexist deputy in parliament from 1936 to 1939 and as president of the Rex parliamentary group. A respected figure, particularly in diplomatic circles, and with a strong ambition to become Foreign Minister, Daye saw Rex as a purifying antidote to the string of financial and political scandals which seemed to erupt in Belgium in the 1930s. However, he found certain aspects of fascism disturbing and was firmly antipathetic to the 'vast proletarianization' he saw at work in Germany. He left Rex in 1939 but after the Belgian capitulation in 1940 became political correspondent for *Le Nouveau Journal* in Brussels and also

travelled in occupied and in Vichy France where he wrote for *Le Petit Parisien*, *Je Suis Partout* and other organs of collaboration.

Although Daye collaborated to the extent of allowing himself to be appointed Commissioner-General for Physical Education and Sport in Belgium, he was opposed to what he saw as Degrelle's excessive malleability and servility to the German occupiers. However, his antipathy to parliamentary democracy was as strong as ever and in *Trente-Deux Mois chez les Députés* (1942) he described parliamentary life as the 'law of the jungle'. In 1941 with Robert Poulet (*q.v.*) and De Becker he tried to create a Walloon party of moderate collaboration but it never got off the ground. Always at heart a royalist, he tried in the early days of the occupation to keep King Leopold III well informed and to mediate between him and the Germans. In 1944 he fled to Spain and after being condemned to death in 1946 escaped to Buenos Aires under the alias Pierre D. Adan. There he kept in touch with Léon Degrelle and other collaborators, wrote for journals like *Dinámica Social* and was appointed Professor of French Literature and Civilization in La Plata University. He died unrepentant on 24 February 1960 in Buenos Aires.

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DÉAT, Marcel (1894–1955)

Leading French socialist who turned to fascism and collaboration.

Born on 7 March 1894 in Guérigny (Nièvre), officially the son of a civil servant in the Administration de la Marine, Déat has been the subject of rumours that his natural father was a Japanese engineer. Accepted by the École Normale Supérieure in July 1914 he was not able to attend until after the First World War. At the lycée Henry IV in Paris he belonged to a 'socialist circle for free discussion' and showed a marked admiration for Jean Jaurès, the socialist leader. In his philosophical development he was much concerned with the relationship between thought and action, individual and group. In the

trenches he learnt a practical collective socialism which was, as he later described it, 'institutional but not ideological'. He emerged from the war with the Légion d'Honneur, five citations and the rank of captain.

After the war he returned to complete his education at the ENS and studied sociology under Celestin Bouglé and Léon Brunschvicg (1869–1944), absorbing Durkheimian ideas through the former; he graduated in 1921. In the Socialist Party (SFIO) which he rejoined after the war, he became Secretary of the 5th Section in Paris and was inclined towards the firmly anti-Bolshevik, reformist wing of the party exemplified by Renaudel and the Vie Socialiste group. In particular he was attracted to the revisionist ideas of Albert Thomas with their emphasis on socialism as a scientific and technical planning exercise executed by an expert, classless elite. In October 1922 Déat was appointed as head of philosophy at a Rheims lycée. In 1925 he was elected to the municipal council in Rheims and on 28 February 1926 as deputy for the Marne in a by-election but was later defeated at the general election of April 1928.

After 1928 he began to seek an alliance of all left and centre-left groups, 'a revolutionary offensive of the centre', excluding only the communists. At this time he became administrative secretary of the SFIO parliamentary group. He also wrote numerous articles in *l'Oeuvre* and was director of *Le Travail de la Marne*. In 1931 he published *Perspectives Socialistes* which set the agenda for the so-called 'neo-socialism' (a term invented by Jean Lebas, mayor of Roubaix) which was to split the SFIO in 1933. Built around the need for a strong étatisme, it eliminated the special status of the proletariat in the anti-capitalist battle and was predicated on the mobilizing of the middle classes as an untapped anti-capitalist force. The new socialism was more concerned with class harmony and development than with class struggle and the question of ownership. In 1932 Déat was re-elected to parliament for Charonne, this time defeating the communist Jacques Duclos. At the SFIO conference in July 1933 the split occurred which led to the departure of the 'neos', Déat, Marquet, Montagnon and others on 7 November 1933 and the subsequent formation of the Parti Socialiste de France-Union Jean Jaurès, with 28 deputies and 7 senators, and Déat as Secretary-General. The PSDF employed 'technical teams' reminiscent of the fascist Gruppi di Competenza to spread its brand of socialism. By November 1935 it had fallen apart and Déat founded in its place the Union Socialiste Républicaine. In January 1936 he was appointed Minister of Aviation in the Sarraut

cabinet until May, when he was defeated in the elections as the Popular Front candidate. In this post he had opposed all mobilization in face of the reoccupation of the Rhineland, confirming a noticeable tendency towards pacifism and a sympathy for Germany.

At the same time he had adopted the idea of *planisme* under the influence of the Belgian Socialist De Man (*q.v.*) as the mechanism for his 'planned revolution', a term he had used as early as *Perspectives Socialistes*. Although in 1936 he had joined the Comité de Vigilance des Intellectuels Antifascistes, his nationalist leanings became more apparent. 'It is unquestionably the nation, it is unquestionably the general interest that are the revolutionary principles.' Following his defeat in the election, he was appointed Professor in the ENS in Saint-Cloud and although still secretary-general of the USR, he turned to journalism. He continued to work for the national authoritarian socialist state and corporatism began to play an increasing part in his thinking. However, it should be remembered, as Raymond Aron has observed: 'The groups who were called *planistes*, inspired by Henri De Man, did not consider themselves nor endeavour to be fascists or National Socialists. They sought an issue in the world crisis and in the impotence of parliament.' His pacifism was to find its apogee in the famous article in *L'Oeuvre* for 4 May 1939, 'Mourir pour Dantzig?'. He became political director of this journal in July 1940. On 9 April 1939 he was elected on behalf of the Rassemblement Anticommuniste in Angoulême.

He expressed from 1939 a progressively firmer admiration for Nazi Germany and after the German victory in 1940 voted for full powers for Marshal Pétain. He embarked on a collaborationist course, the logic of which he described as not only 'a necessity but a political wisdom'. Disillusioned by his failure to gain acceptance for the single totalitarian party as the sole contact between government and people, he returned to Paris followed by *L'Oeuvre*, which he edited as a personal vehicle until August 1944; in this he pursued what almost amounted to a vendetta against the Vichy establishment. Déat seemed, as Raymond Abellio has written in his memoirs, as if he was constantly wanting to play a public role as a minister; he seemed to believe that because he had published an article or made a speech, action, revolution even, would automatically follow. This naïveté ensured that his only concrete achievement was to attain very briefly a place in the government as Minister of Works and National Solidarity on 17 March 1944.

In February 1941 Déat, Jean Goy and Deloncle (*q.v.*) had founded the Rassemblement National Populaire with Déat as secretary-general. He escaped an assassination attempt on 27 September 1941 and in October 1941 the RNP survived an internal rupture. Although Déat thought Hitler a genius, supported the LVF anti-Bolshevik volunteers, became a member of the Amis des Waffen-SS and a member of the Milice, he still believed himself to be a revolutionary and a socialist (and supported the idea of the incorporation of France into the new European order). The RNP reached its peak in July 1942 when it was extended into the Southern zone but with the Front Révolutionnaire National as an anti-Doriot (*q.v.*) umbrella organization Déat, at least in theory, attained the zenith of his influence.

In August 1944 he fled to Germany where he met Hitler with Brinon (*q.v.*) and Darnand (*q.v.*) on the 29th. He belonged to Brinon's government-in-exile but on 21 April 1945 escaped from Sigmaringen to Italy by way of Switzerland and Austria. He was condemned to death by the High Court on 19 June 1945 but hid in a convent in Turin under the name Leroux. He died on 5 January 1955 in Turin, a convert to Catholicism.

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DE BONO, Emilio (1866–1944)

Italian fascist head of the militia, Quadrumvir, Marshal of Italy, senator and minister.

Born in Cassano d'Adda (Milan) on 19 March 1866, De Bono attended the Collegio Militare in Milan from 1878 and the Military School in Turin before taking up the career of professional soldier and taking

part in the African colonial campaign as a lieutenant in the Bersaglieri in 1887. By 1897 he had been promoted to captain. He was decorated for his part in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911/12. During the First World War, which De Bono saw as an 'entry into normality', he served on the Isonzo in command of the Second Army Corps, and then on the Albanian Front. By the end of the war he was an army corps commander but in January, 1921 after the disbandment of the army corps, he retired to a special auxiliary position in the reserve but continued to write on military affairs for journals like *Il Mondo*.

In February 1919 he had contributed to Mussolini's *Il Popolo d'Italia* but before joining the fascists had also made contacts with the socialists and with the Catholic *Popolari*. His motives for adhering to the fascists were mixed: the desire for personal advancement jostled uneasily with his genuine conviction that fascism would be the saviour of the nation. Slight, balding and white-bearded, De Bono was always something of a 'trimmer' whose ambition was to be Minister of War. The influence of the Duke of Aosta, the King's cousin, played no small part in his selection as one of the Quadrumvirs who led the March on Rome in late 1922, De Bono having been a fascist only from July of that year. As the Quadrumvir in charge of military organization and coordination, De Bono drew up the code of discipline for the fascist militia, but during the March demonstrated indecisiveness and vacillation. Although still comparatively unknown in fascist circles, he was appointed, unexpectedly even to himself, on 11 November 1922, as Director-General of Public Security and first Commander of the Militia.

As MVSN Commander, De Bono's main task was to control the radicals and the intransigents of the movement. He saw his duty as a wider military rather than a narrowly party one, with the militia placed under the control of an overarching Ministry of Defence, which would be responsible for both military and public security. However, this conception was not to come to fruition. As the Chief of Police he was implicated in the Matteotti murder in June 1924 and forced to resign that post, and in October he resigned his function as Commander of the Militia. Appointed a senator on 1 March 1923, he could be tried only by the Senate, a body which found him not guilty on all counts. The High Court, although not clearing him of all involvement, confirmed the verdict of the Senate in June 1925. De Bono was subsequently sent out to Tripolitania as Governor, a reward for his long-term advocacy of

Italy's colonial mission. In this position he was under suspicion of illegal financial dealings, charges which were no novelty to the ageing general. In December 1928 De Bono was appointed Undersecretary in the Ministry of Colonies and on 11 September Minister in the same department.

Sent to investigate the situation in East Africa in early 1932, De Bono was to be a major influence on the Ethiopian strategy which culminated in the invasion of October 1935. He built up an army of some 250,000 men from January 1935 as High Commissioner for East Africa. In April 1935 he was created Commander of Italian troops in Ethiopia. For his hesitancy and over-caution in action after the initial successes at Makallé and the occupation of Adowa, De Bono was dismissed on 17 November 1935 by the Duce and replaced by Badoglio who was anxious for a more visible and spectacular victory. De Bono was, nevertheless, promoted to the rank of marshal although he ceased to be Minister of Colonies. He had also been guilty of giving contracts to a concern with which he was connected without offering them for competitive tender. His reputation suffered further and his influence declined faster, exacerbated by his public quarrel with Alessandro Lessona, the Minister for Italy's African colonies. According to Lessona, Mussolini regarded De Bono as 'merely a fair weather pilot; in other words substantially incapable'.

De Bono continued to hold minor, honorary posts but found himself at variance with the anti-Semitic campaign of 1938 (though paradoxically he was personally anti-Semitic) and with the creeping German influence on Italian foreign policy. Although Commander of the Southern Armies from June 1940, he opposed Italy's entry into the war and believed Mussolini had lost his reason. In July 1943 he voted for the Grandi motion at the famous Fascist Grand Council meeting, it appears from a misunderstanding of its implications, but it was enough to cause him to be arrested in October 1943. He was tried by the Verona tribunal in January 1944 and messily executed on 11 January 1944 in the Fort of San Procolo (he had to be finished off with a pistol). In 1954 Bottai (*q.v.*) attested to the 'crystalline purity of his intentions and his aims' in July 1943.

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DE CLERCQ, Jeroom Gustaaf (known as Staf) (1884–1942)

Leader of the Flemish VNV organization.

Staf De Clercq was born in Everbeek on 16 September 1884 into an apolitical middle-class family. His father was a teacher. Brought up in Sint-Pieterkapelle, a town close to the linguistic border between French and Flemish speakers and educated in a French-speaking school, Bonne Espérance, he became conscious at an early age of the climate of ethnic conflict prevalent in those areas and was known to have taken part in the Payottenland, the Flemish areas around Brussels, in political demonstrations, although he was not in favour of Flemish independence before the First World War. He worked as a teacher in Lettelingen and Heikruis and fought at the Front in the First World War, although he was later transferred to a munitions factory.

From 1919 to 1932 he was a deputy for the Front Party after being involved for a short time with the teachers' trade union the Nationaal Onderwyzers Syndicaat. In December 1921 he was one of the founders of the Verbond der Vlaamse Nationalisten De Blauwvoet dedicated to creating unity among the various nationalist factions and parties. In April 1928 he was appointed a member of the directorate of the Algemeen Vlaams Nationalistisch Verbond, a similar attempt to forge unity. This became the Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond, at first seen as Christian and Solidarist but by 1935 it had adopted the Nazi salute, a paramilitary organization, and a leadership cult. De Clercq was appointed leader on 8 October 1933.

The stocky, bearded leader, characterized more by his dedication and hard work than by either his intelligence or his dynamic qualities, was able to appear as both militant and when necessary as a diplomatist and compromiser so that he found acceptance as the arbitrator between the pro-Nazi wing consisting of Hermans (*q.v.*) and Tolenaere (*q.v.*) and the more moderate pro-parliamentary wing. In 1936 the VNV won some 12 per cent of the Flemish vote and De Clercq became a deputy on 27 November, representing Brussels until his death. There has been some controversy about the part De Clercq played immediately before the German invasion in 1940. There can be no doubt that he had become increasingly pro-German and that a special Militaire Organisatie had been set up within the movement nor that Volk en Staat was subsidized by the Germans. Nor can it be doubted that he took up a neutralist and defeatist position on the eve of invasion. Some have gone further and called him an agent of the Abwehr;

Willemsen, for example, thinks his treason 'is not improbable'. Whatever the truth, De Clercq displayed growing authoritarian tendencies, promoting himself to *Algemeen Leider* (General Leader) as opposed to plain Leider and often acted without consulting his governing council.

At first he proved to be a zealot for military collaboration, signing an agreement with the SS-*Hauptsturmführer* to set up a Legioen Vlaanderen, and was willing to assist in the recruitment of Belgian workers in the Reich but later he became an enemy of total collaboration and explicitly made membership of the VNV or the Einheidsbeweging (Unity Movement) VNV as it became, incompatible with membership of the Algemeene SS. He was also less than enthusiastic about the role of the DeVlag organization and Jef van de Wiele (*q.v.*) in particular. Van der Elst has claimed that he was the victim of the politics of 'overbidding'. On 11 May 1942 the merger of all parties in Flanders with the VNV was decreed, leaving De Clercq head of Rex-Flanders in addition to his other responsibilities. Ultimately his problem was that the Germans found him thoroughly unreliable and far from being a whole-hearted and unquestioning ally. Exhausted by his political activities, he died on 22 October 1942 in Ghent. In 1978 the Vlaamse Militanten Orde succeeded in having his body transferred to the cemetery in Asse.

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DEGRELLE, Léon (1906–)

Belgian Rexist leader.

Degrelle was born on 15 June 1906 in Bouillon, the son of a French-born brewer who had been a provincial councillor in the province of Luxembourg and an active member of the Catholic Party. He was educated in Notre Dame de la Paix (1921–4), a Jesuit college in Naumur and at the University of Louvain where he failed to get his degree. As managing secretary and editor of the student magazine *L'Avant*

Garde in 1927, he increased the circulation to 10,000 largely by his colourful and polemical articles. His early political influences were Psichari, Péguy and particularly Léon Daudet (*q.v.*) from whom he learnt his combative style, and Maurras (*q.v.*) from whom he acquired his anti-parliamentary bias. From 1928 to 1930 Degrelle produced a cascade of books, articles and pamphlets. In 1929 he began to write for *Vingtième-Siècle* a series of articles on fascism in Italy, which had impressed him on a visit as a possible model for the Catholic Action movement to which he had become close. He also wrote a series of articles on anti-clericalism in Mexico which he claimed to have visited in January 1930. There has been a great deal of controversy over whether he actually visited Mexico; he is reported to have told Frédéric Denis that it did not take place but Étienne believes that he did go.

Degrelle was taken up by Mgr. Louis Picard, director and chaplain of the largest Catholic youth organization L'Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge, in March 1929 as editor of the movement's organ *Cahiers de la Jeunesse Catholique*. In October 1930 Picard asked Degrelle to become director of Editions Rex, the publishing house which produced pamphlets for Action Catholique under the sign of Christus Rex and in 1931 he launched *Soirées*, a new journal on art and travel. By August 1931 Editions Rex had grown to considerable proportions and in September 1932 a supplement to *Soirées* became the full-blown journal *Rex*. As manager of ER, Degrelle came to the attention of the Catholic Party, which needed a propaganda organizer. In this capacity he was heavily involved through ER in the 1932 elections, too heavily for the non-political ACJB; on 4 February 1933 Degrelle launched *Vlan*, a journal of the Rex movement supporting the Catholic Party. Degrelle's organization of groups for the maintenance of order, his extremist polemics against politicians and political programmes on behalf of the coming generation, his attacks on spiritual degeneracy, and his unbalanced budgeting, all became too embarrassing for the ACJB which broke its ties with ER in January 1934 after Degrelle had become proprietor of the publishing house with financial help from Daye (*q.v.*) and others on 31 July 1933. In December 1933 the ACJB gave Degrelle an ultimatum to get rid of *Vlan* and to choose between his political interests and the ACJB.

From this point onward Degrelle, who did not finally break with the Catholic Party until February 1936, determined to replace the leadership of the Catholic Party with a more relevant, youthful, radical and dynamic one. In October 1934 in Char-

leroi he made violent attacks on the official Catholics before a congress of young co-religionists and in the so-called *Coup de Courtrai* on 2 November 1935 at the annual Congress of the Fédération des Associations et Cercles Catholiques kept official Catholics virtually locked in to be harangued by radicals; the outcome was the founding of the Rex movement. Playing on the need for change, he stressed the re-establishment of the family, attacked the power elite and the 'politics of materialist power' ('You have made money out of the souls of our children') represented by *la cohue* or *les pourris*, the corrupters and the 'banksters' and armed with a few embryo corporatist ideas gleaned from Renaud de Briecy's *La Parlement de Demain*, called for reduced powers for parliament and posed as the enemy of 'hypercapitalism', socialism and political corruption. As a result Rex won 21 seats in the Chamber in the elections of May 1936.

In a famous by-election on 11 April 1937, Degrelle achieved only 19 per cent of the vote against Van Zeeland, later prime minister, after his condemnation by the Archbishop of Malines, Cardinal van Roey, Degrelle had met and been impressed by Hitler in Berlin in September 1936 and thereafter the movement took on a more fascist hue and tone, but in the 1939 election it received only 4.4 per cent of the vote, although Degrelle himself was elected on 2 April with the largest majority of any deputy. Personally courageous, hugely energetic and lacking in self-doubt, eloquent and demagogic, Degrelle had a particularly powerful effect on women. Narvaez quotes Daye who referred to Degrelle's 'mystérieuses irradiations' and this charisma was also attested by men like Brasillach (*q.v.*). This magic was described as 'Rex-appeal' and Degrelle himself as a 'smiling leader' but behind the smile was a superficiality and a cynicism which Bertrand de Jouvenel referred to when he called him in 1936 'a dictator of the playground' and, according to Ydewalle, precocity was all there was to the Degrelle phenomenon. Xavier de Grünne wrote in 1937 that Rexism without Degrelle alive or dead would be a vehicle without its engine.

In May 1940 on the eve of the German invasion Degrelle was arrested but released on 22 July 1940 and immediately looked for support from King Leopold, Cardinal Van Roey and the German ambassador in France, Abetz (*q.v.*), for a close collaboration with the occupiers. After the creation of a new hierarchical structure for Rex with the General Council losing all its influence, Degrelle lost interest in Rex in favour of the 'war of religion' in which the young of the new Europe took on the plutocrats.

From July 1941 Degrelle threw himself into recruiting for the Légion Wallonie which received a boost when Degrelle announced his own enlistment. Degrelle returned from the Eastern Front in December 1942 having handed over the interim leadership of Rex to Matthys (*q.v.*). In a famous speech of January 1943 in the Palais des Sports, he announced the *Neue Marschrichtung* of the party towards a new Belgium as part of the neo-Burgundian Empire within the Greater German Reich. From this time onward Degrelle became, to the dismay of the moderates like Streeel (*q.v.*), a total collaborator and the LW his personal instrument for the National Socialist Revolution in Wallonia. He was to be the most decorated of all foreign members of the Waffen-SS, winning the oak leaves of the knight's cross, and on 29 August 1944 was made *SS-Sturmabführer* in charge of the 3rd Brigade of the Division 'Wallonie'. Hitler made his well-known remark about wanting a son like Degrelle.

On 29 December he was condemned to death by a Belgian War Council but at the end of the war he fled from the Oder near Lübeck via Denmark to Norway. He left Oslo on 8 May 1945 for Spain with Darmand's (*q.v.*) niece. In Spain he was allowed to take Spanish citizenship, protected by Serrano (*q.v.*), Muñoz Grandes (*q.v.*) and Girón (*q.v.*), and allowed to have his own police bodyguard. Questions were raised in the Belgian parliament but apart from having to go underground between 1946 and 1954 Degrelle continued his political activities entirely unrepentant. He mixed with the neo-fascist circus, wrote for *L'Europe Réel*, addressed rallies of Fuerza Nueva and was endlessly interviewed. He lived quite openly in Torreblanca near Fuengirola on the Costa del Sol. In February 1988 he was briefly in the news when Violeta Friedmann contested by litigation his assertion that the gas chambers had never existed. He believed that Hitler was 'the greatest genius who had ever lived'.

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DELLE CHIAIE, Stefano (1934–)

Italian neo-fascist.

Born in Appio Latino near Rome in 1934 into a family of fascist sympathizers, Delle Chiaie studied for a social science degree but did not complete it and became instead a salesman. In 1956 he became secretary of the local MSI section in Lazio, already well known in the party as a gang leader. He left the MSI in 1958 on the grounds that it was insufficiently fascist and failed to align its political ideals with its practice. What Delle Chiaie as a follower of Evola (*q.v.*) wanted was no less than the creation of a new *homo fascistus*. He joined Rauti's (*q.v.*) Ordine Nuovo, a group that had some 10,000 members, mostly in Sicily, Veneto and Campania. Within a year he had left ON for his own creation of *Avanguardia Nazionale*, an extreme opponent of the MSI's 'trasformismo' and 'moderation'. With about 2,000 members in Rome, Milan and Turin, it achieved notoriety in 1961 when Delle Chiaie removed the flag of resistance from the tomb of the unknown soldier in Rome. In 1962 and 1963 he had contacts with the French OAS and with Tschombe in the Congo. *Avanguardia* was responsible for a number of outrages including bombings and attacks on the homes of communists and on left-wing students. It had connections with the 'Black Orchestra' in Portugal, Greece and Spain. On 30 June 1962 Delle Chiaie was prosecuted for trying to revive the banned Fascist Party.

He was one of the initiators of the 'strategy of tension' designed to create a climate of fear and panic in which neo-fascism could thrive. After the attempted coup of 1971, masterminded by Borghese (*q.v.*) who had long admired 'the Roman bombadier' as an ideal type of militant, in which he was to lead a raid on the Ministry of the Interior, he left Italy for Barcelona. In Spain he organized raids against the Basque terrorist organization ETA and later helped the Chilean DINA secret police. He worked with Barbie (*q.v.*) in the coup of 1980 in Bolivia. In November 1969 he had secretly reconstituted AN and on 12 December a bomb exploded at the Piazza Fontana office of a bank in Milan killing sixteen people, an outrage that was put at the door of the AN.

Just 5 feet in stature, and known as Il Caccola (Shorty), Delle Chiaie is a champion at Aikido and in the early 1970s his followers had control of many of the Aikido clubs in Italy. He also took a leading part in the founding of the Gruppi di Azione Nazionali. In 1982 he escaped from Bolivia to Argentina and in 1984 entered Venezuela from where he was

deported on 27 March 1987, having been arrested in the Chacaito section of Caracas. Wanted for questioning in connection with the Bologna train bombing of 2 August 1980 in which eighty-five people were killed (disguised to look like the work of Maoists) and other terrorist incidents, he was brought to trial after being a fugitive for seventeen years. However, he was acquitted of subversive association on 11 July 1988 on the grounds of insufficient evidence but immediately returned to prison to face a number of other charges.

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DELONCLE, Eugene (1890–1944)

French Cagoulard and leading collaborator.

Born in Brest (Brittany) on 20 June 1890 of mixed Gascon and Corsican parentage, Deloncle was the son of a sea captain lost at sea when his ship, the *Bourgogne*, was accidentally rammed by a British frigate in 1898. He studied at the École Polytechnique from 1910 from where he graduated '*dans la botte*' (in polytechnic slang) in naval construction, a profession he began to practise in 1912. In the First World War he served as a lieutenant of artillery, was wounded in August 1915 in the Champagne country and later won the Légion d'Honneur. In 1922 he became a consultant engineer in the Panhoët shipyards in Saint-Nazaire. He was one of the architects of the *Normandie* and was in much demand as a consultant on engineering problems and by the High Court in Paris as a technical expert on shipping matters. He was on the Central Committee of the French Shipowners and on the board of directors of a number of large companies.

In 1934 he entered politics as a rank-and-file member of Action Française's action squad, the Camelots du Roi, where he served under his later close colleague Jean Filiol (*q.v.*) in the 16th arrondissement in Paris. Machiavellian by nature, with a taste for secrecy and the constitution of a conspirator, Deloncle found the AF too ineffectual and innocuous for his violent temperament and for his will to power, particularly after the events of 6 February 1934. He left the AF to form the Comité Secrète d'Action Révolutionnaire, known popularly as the

Cagoulards, an organization which had contacts with fascist Italy and which was prepared to use murder, bombings and other terrorist methods to achieve its anti-communist, anti-masonic and anti-Semitic ends. Known by the code-name 'Marie', Deloncle was the head of the CSAR (and its sister organization the Organisation d'Action Révolutionnaire Nationale). Arrested on 25 November 1937 for complicity in a conspiracy against national security and for arms offences, he was brought to trial after many months in La Santé and provisionally freed on 5 September 1939.

Briefly serving in the navy, Deloncle then obtained a post in the Ministry of Armaments. Believing the Germans had certainly won the war and disapproving of the British bombing of the French fleet in Mers-el-Kebir, he returned to extreme right politics with the foundation on 1 September 1940 of the Mouvement Social Révolutionnaire whose main purpose was to persuade the Vichy regime to accept the MSR's revolutionary and authoritarian nationalist goals. Deloncle quarrelled with Doriot (*q.v.*) and was forced to rely mainly on ex-CSAR men as rank-and-file members. The MSR proved to be difficult for the Germans to control despite subsidies and a general policy of toleration towards it by the authorities. In February 1941 Deloncle joined forces with Déat (*q.v.*) and Fontenoy (*q.v.*) in the Rassemblement National Populaire with Deloncle as head of the paramilitary Légion Nationale Populaire. Both Déat and Deloncle shared an anti-communist outlook with an understanding of the need for industrial modernization. However, their association came to an end in November 1941 when Déat ordered the MSR out of the RNP; Déat had disapproved of Deloncle's violent activities culminating in the synagogue bombings of October and Deloncle in his turn had long been suspicious of the 'philosemitism' and the unreconstructed leftist views of his short-term colleague. It is clear that Deloncle plotted to take over the leadership of the RNP and may have been implicated in the assassination attempt on Déat of 28 August 1941 after which the body of his ex-secretary was found floating in the Seine.

Deloncle had earlier become the president of the Légion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme; this became his major interest after his expulsion in May 1942 from the MSR by associates long disillusioned with the cavalier orders of this 'colossus with feet of clay' who could recite 300 verses of Racine at one sitting. He then flirted with his old enemy Doriot's PPF but never joined it. Deloncle was killed in a shoot-out with the Gestapo on 7 January 1944 in Paris, having been suspected of

contacts with the anti-Hitler conspirators in the Abwehr. He may have been sent to Spain to contact the Allies in November 1943 by the Canaris (*q.v.*)-led conspirators and it seems that his involvement may have begun as early as the beginning of 1942. His associate Soulès (Abellio) found a subtle almost telepathic intelligence behind his hypnotic black eyes and a brain always on the boil. He found him amiable but with a will to power without limit and a dynamic energy fed by only four hours' sleep a night. He shared with Soulès a great interest in the occult and the esoteric and was summed up by the latter as 'a maniac for action', with the 'head of a killer'.

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DE MAN, Hendrik (Henri) (1885–1953)

Belgian socialist leader associated with planisme.

Born on 17 November 1885 in Antwerp into a comfortable bourgeois family, De Man suffered a moralistic and over-disciplined upbringing which left him with a reputation for being rather 'Prussian'. His father was a shipping executive. He spent two years in the Free University of Brussels and one year at the Polytechnic Institute of Ghent. At first a philosophical anarchist he was converted to a radical brand of Marxism influenced by Karl Liebknecht. In May 1902 he participated in the Antwerp dock strike. As an official of the Antwerp Young Guard and editor of its journal, he became involved in anti-militarist activities. Expelled from the Ghent Institute for his part in demonstrations in 1905, he departed for Leipzig where he took a position on the leading journal of the radical left, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, and with Liebknecht founded the Socialist Youth International. He resumed his studies at the University of Leipzig. Back in Belgium in 1910 he headed the newly-created Centrale d'Education Ouvrière to administer the cooperatives, insurance societies and trade unions of the socialist movement. As a member of the Belgian Workers' Party he tried to win it over to radical socialist positions.

Although he repudiated war in 1914, he served as a volunteer officer commanding a battery of mortars. In these years he began to question the Marxist account of social reality. After the war, a trip to the

United States to study new methods of industrial organization had a profound effect on his outlook. He now began to see the importance of political democracy and that the proletariat was no longer a revolutionary force. Some psychological imperative beyond the economic had led workers in the West to support the war. His new-found socialism was pragmatic, human, realist and an enemy of deterministic historical materialism. In 1920 he became head of the new École Ouvrière Supérieure, having turned down the offer of the Chair in Social Psychology in the University of Washington. His systematic critique of Marxism appeared in 1926 as *Zur Psychologie des Sozialismus*. This work marked his final abandonment of the working classes as the vehicle for the socialist transformation. From this point he was with other revisionist socialists in Europe like Déat (*q.v.*) to remove socialism from its Marxist foundations in the direction of fascism. Mussolini wrote praising his ideas and De Man wrote back in what Sternhell has brilliantly called 'a tone of historical complicity'.

Socialism had now become for De Man a matter not of scientific inevitability but one vitally dependent on passion, will and action. The influence of Sorel (*q.v.*) was especially apparent in his new thinking. Between 1922 and 1933 he lived in Germany and Switzerland. In 1929 he was appointed Professor of Social Psychology in Frankfurt. In spring 1933 De Man returned to Belgium as director of the Bureau for Social Research founded by the Belgian Workers' Party. It was at this time that the famous *Plan du Travail* (*Plan van den Arbeid*) made its appearance; the fullest version of this statement of a comprehensive alternative to Marxist solutions appeared in *Die Sozialistische Idee* (1933). The Plan argued for inflationary fiscal policies, Keynesian deficit financing, public works and central direction of the economy, and was adopted by the Belgian Workers' Party in 1933. On the political side the Plan advocated the abolition of the Senate, a stronger executive, and a corporatist National Economic Council as a forum where managers and experts could meet the various interest groups. It contained little nationalization and demoted the importance of the question of ownership. The philosophy of *planisme* represented De Man's recognition that in a world of embourgeoisified workers, socialism would have to be created from above rather than flowing automatically from the consequences of capitalism.

Vice-president of the BWP in 1933, Minister of Public Works and Unemployment from May 1935 to June 1936, Minister of Finance from June 1936 to March 1937 and Minister without Portfolio and

Vice-president of the Council of Ministers from September 1939 to January 1940, his public success was no guarantee that the Plan would be put into action. Increasingly frustrated by the experience of coalition in the implementation of his anti-fascist alternative, he drifted towards the dangerous reef of a fascist solution. After the German invasion his 'Manifesto to the Members of the BWP' of 28 June 1940 asked socialists to accept the victory of National Socialism as the launching-pad for a new European socialism. 'The socialist order will be realized . . . as the binding force of a national solidarity which will soon be continental if not world wide.' By November 1941 when he removed himself to Haute Savoie, De Man had retired from public life but continued to give his allegiance, although no longer in the country, to the authoritarian occupation regime with its repressive apparatus of censorship, racial measures and rigid control. He also continued to believe that an authoritarian socialism would emerge from the drastic reorganization of the European continent. In his memoir *Cavalier Seul* (Geneva, 1948), an edition from which the earlier anti-Semitic references of the 1940 Flemish edition had been removed, he denied any collusion or alliance with the National Socialists.

Convicted of treason in September 1944 *in absentia* by a military court, De Man slipped over the border into Switzerland from his hut under Mont Blanc. He survived until 20 June 1953 when he was killed in a car accident in Mürten, by this time thoroughly disillusioned with political activity.

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DE MARSANICH, Augusto (1893–1973)

Italian fascist bureaucrat and member of the MSI.

Born on 13 April 1893 in Rome, De Marsanich served in the First World War from 1916 and joined the PNF in 1920. A journalist who had worked on

La Stampa of Turin, he was appointed to the local directorate of the party in Latium and Sabina from 1927 to 1929. As a fascist syndicalist he worked for the Syndical Office of the PNF and contributed to *Il Lavoro Fascista* of which he later became the director. A deputy from 1929 to 1943 De Marsanich was also a member of the Fascist Grand Council for a short time in 1929. Among the bureaucratic posts he held were the Head of the Legal Office of the PNF, the President of the Syndical Confederation of Commerce, Vice-President of the Corporation for the Building Trades in December 1934, and from 1935 to February 1943 Undersecretary of Communications, Post and Telegraph. He was an Italian delegate to the League of Nations.

During the Salò period he was chairman of the Banco di Roma and of Alfa Romeo and also Assistant Postmaster-General. He represented the more moderate tendency in Salò who opposed the pervading atmosphere of violence. In 1954 he became national secretary of the neo-fascist MSI having been elected deputy in 1953. Although reputed to be one of the Micheli (q.v.) 'moderates' in the movement, he was connected with the attempt to form a neo-fascist International, the so-called European Social Movement founded in Malmö in 1951. Supporting a 'greater National Right' including monarchists and Christian Democrats he became honorary vice-president and in 1968 a senator for the MSI. In 1971 he was promoted to president. He died in Rome on 9 February 1973 aged 82.

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DENIS, Jean Marie Louis Ghislain (1902–)

Belgian Rexist journalist, writer and ideologist.

Denis was born on 10 November 1902 in Chastre-Villeroux-Blanmont. He gained his doctorate in Philosophy and Letters. He entered the Catholic political movement as secretary of the executive committee of L'Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge and a member of the editorial committee of *Cahiers de la Jeunesse Catholique*. He also acted as secretary to the Catholic activist Mgr. Louis Picard, who was the leading organizer of this middle-class movement. With Degrelle (q.v.), who shared a similar formative experience, Denis was drawn into the Rexist movement for which he served as deputy for

Naumur in the Chamber from 24 May 1936 until 1939. His major contribution to the movement were his books *Principes Rexistes* (1936) and *Bases Doctrinales de Rex* (1936) as well as numerous articles in the party press which were of overwhelming importance in the attempt to create and systematize an ideology for Rexism which was always characterized by its opportunistic dynamism and striving for action for its own sake. He saw Rex as a movement, 'a popular community set against the oligarchy of parties' rather than a party. Like the Integralists in Portugal, he wanted to re-establish the dignity of the state and to recognize as the pillars of that state, aristocracy, family and a hierarchy of professions. Without these foundations political life was a fruitless struggle between the weakness inherent in a system of hyper-capitalism and the siren voice of state socialism.

During the war Denis continued to write for *Le Pays Réel* which had been revived in August 1940. Condemned to a term of imprisonment after the war for collaboration, he was freed in 1951 and went into retirement in Dion-le-Val where he was believed to be still alive in the 1980s.

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DENNIS, Lawrence (1893–1977)

American fascist intellectual.

Born in Atlanta (Georgia) into a wealthy family on 25 December 1893, Dennis was educated at Exeter and Harvard Universities, and served in the American Expeditionary Force in Europe from 1918 to 1919. From 1920 to 1927 he worked in the diplomatic service in Haiti, Romania, Nicaragua, and Honduras. As chargé d'affaires in Managua in 1926, he experienced the Civil War at first hand and, indeed, presided in vain over a conference to bring the two sides together. After 1927 he continued to work abroad but now for J. and W. Seligman. From this employment he was able to gain an insight into the foreign practices of American investment banking which he criticized in articles in *New Republic* and *The Nation*. The advent of the depression led him to question the foundations of American capital-

ism and in his two best-known books, *Is Capitalism Doomed?* (1932) and *The Coming American Fascism* (1936) containing passages of what Arthur Schlesinger has called 'analytic sharpness', he turned towards a 'desirable fascism' as the only alternative to destructive communism. Only a corporate state could, he believed, restore the balance achieved by traditional American capitalism and now hopelessly destroyed; only centralized economic controls could achieve the correct mix of a managerial elite, class unity and measures to bring about social justice, while still allowing the interplay of market forces. This 'revolutionary formula for the frustrated elite', as he described fascism, would see Congress reorganized on occupational lines and a one-party state based on a popular mandate.

In 1936 Dennis visited Europe where he met prominent fascists and National Socialists; he was impressed especially by Alfred Rosenberg (*q.v.*). At home he became what Arthur Link has called 'the intellectual leader and principal adviser of the fascist groups'. Dennis called Huey Long (*q.v.*) 'the nearest approach to a national fascist leader'. Working partly as a journalist, contributing to *Foreign Affairs*, *Saturday Review of Literature*, *American Mercury*, and other journals, and partly as a broker for E.A. Pierce and Co. (1936–9), he eventually in 1939 became proprietor and editor of the *Weekly Foreign Newsletter* in which he broadcast his isolationist views. He believed Hitler was a genius who should be allowed a free hand in Eastern Europe.

Indicted in the famous Great Sedition Trial of April 1944 (*US v. McWilliams*) as part of an international Nazi conspiracy to destroy democracy and establish a dictatorship and for violations of the Smith Act in undermining the armed forces, Dennis had his charges dropped, finally, in 1947. After the war he became what Radosh has called America's 'earliest and most consistent critic of the Cold War' especially in his journal *Appeal to Reason* (1946–51); he advocated a return to neutrality, *laissez-faire*, withdrawal from NATO and opposed the Truman doctrine. He continued to believe that Hitler's anti-Semitism was an 'error' rather than a 'sin'. In 1969 he wrote *Operational Thinking for Survival*. He died in Garnersville, N.Y. on 20 August 1977.

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**DÉROULÈDE, Paul Marie Joseph
(1846–1914)**

Popular French nationalist leader who moved to an anti-parliamentary racist nationalism.

Born on 2 September 1846 in Paris, the son of a lawyer in the Court of Appeal, Déroulède studied in the lycées Louis-le-Grand, Bonaparte and Versailles and then took a degree in law from the University of Paris. A poet and dramatist, he nearly lost an arm at the Battle of Sedan but the bullet was muffled by a volume of de Musset's verse. He was made a prisoner in Silesia but escaped. Remaining in the army, his activities during the suppression of the Commune earned him the soubriquet 'the butcher of the Commune'. In 1872 his first volume of poetry, *Chants du Soldat*, was published.

Politically he began as an opportunist in a Gambettist republican tradition but turned against Jules Ferry and Gambetta because of their ambiguous attitude towards *revanche*. Resigning from a committee on military training, which advised the Ministry of Education, he later founded, on 18 May 1882, with Henri Martin and others, the anti-opportunist Ligue des Patriotes; Déroulède became president after being delegate-general. The organization was open to all patriots irrespective of their political orientation and, in fact, Gambetta, having renounced opportunism, was one of the first to join. Déroulède was to continue to be obsessed by the idea of *revanche* against Germany, an attitude that had to be instilled into the French people by means of 'the propagation of military and patriotic education'. After 1884 he supported General Boulanger whom he saw as the saviour of France. It was Boulanger's activities as War Minister that really turned Déroulède towards a political rather than a cultural form of nationalism. In 1885 he founded the journal *Le Drapeau* and it was in the same year that Anatole de la Forge referred to him as 'an authoritarian patriot'.

In 1887 Déroulède resigned from the League and formed instead a Groupe d'Action Dissidente which had the desired effect of transforming the League which was reconstituted under a new board of directors. He became, after his election as deputy for Angoulême in September 1889, the leader of the 'Boulangist' group in parliament (Boulanger himself had fled to Belgium) as the League had been

Boulangism's most active and militant supporter before its proscription and dissolution in April 1889 by the *Tribunal Correctionnel* for the Seine. Déroulède was a good and passionate orator and commanded a great personal loyalty. Déroulède in turn believed in the 'popular soul' although, in fact, the League came more and more to represent the discontents of one section of the people, the lower middle classes (this tendency was more apparent after the resuscitation of the League in 1896). He had become more aggressive, had begun to attack the whole democratic and parliamentary system, advocated the integration of the working classes into the nation and converted his patriotic republicanism into an authoritarian nationalism.

Although the League continued its efforts, by 1892 it had reached a low ebb; in 1892 Déroulède had been elected *conseiller générale* in Angoulême. The resurrection of the League had to wait until the realignment of forces on the right resulting from the reopening of the Dreyfus case in 1897 and 1898. Reconstituted in November 1896, the League was to become the most important anti-Dreyfusard organization, authoritarian, militant, believing in direct action and plebiscitary democracy. Its campaign, in cooperation with the congeries of groups of left and right which combined nationalism and anti-Semitism, against parliamentary democracy on the grounds that it was responsible for social injustice and the weakening of France, led to Déroulède's election as deputy for Angoulême in 1898.

On the occasion of the funeral of President Félix Faure on 23 February 1899, Déroulède attempted a coup which Larkin has called 'serious if bizarre' but his plans were confused and his belief that the army would come to his aid merely eccentric. Undaunted, he planned a second coup in August of the same year, which equally came to nought due to the lack of royalist and military support. Brought before the Cours d'Assises of the Seine on 29 May 1899 after the first coup attempt, he had been acquitted but on 3 January 1900, he was sentenced by the Senate constituted as the High Court of Justice to ten years' banishment. In San Sebastian he continued to publish *Le Drapeau*. On 2 November 1905 he was amnestied and returned to France to fight the elections of 1906 in Angoulême, unsuccessfully as it turned out. He continued as president of the League and in 1913 in his last address described himself as 'the old crier of war' still looking for an opportunity for *revanche*. The world did not have to wait long but Déroulède was not there to share it; he died in Mont-Boron (Alpes-Maritimes) on 30 January 1914.

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DE STEFANI, Alberto (1879–1969)

Italian academic and fascist Minister of Finance.

De Stefani was born in Verona on 6 October 1879 and studied economics and law at university. He taught political economy and finance at various universities including Venice, Padua and Ferrara, and occupied the Chair of Political Science in the University of Rome. After the First World War in which he served, he became a member of the PNF in 1921, after the elections. As one of the leaders of the Verona *squadristi* like Starace (*q.v.*), he was elected to the Chamber as a fascist. He became a temporary minister in the Treasury and then in December 1922 the youngest ever Minister of Finance, a post he held until July 1925. As a traditionalist and an orthodox economic liberal who believed that more étatism would have a deleterious effect on the economy, he was opposed to both state syndicalism and to the corporate state. In March 1924 he created the first budget surplus for a number of years by his prudent financial management.

De Stefani reformed the fiscal system, abolished the special property tax, attempted to stimulate saving and investment, cut public spending on the civil service and, as the corner-stone of his economic policy, produced balanced budgets. His restrictions on consumption in order to raise the level of investment had the effect of increasing industrial growth. De Stefani became a member of the Fascist Grand Council in 1923. By 1925 his policies, in particular, the reduction of trade barriers, had incurred the hostility of those industrial interests opposed to free trade and when the lira fell, his sacrifice was demanded by Confindustria. He continued to serve in a number of minor posts, represented his country at conferences, became a member of the association representing land reclamation groups (1928–9), and in 1929 was President of the Commission for the reform of the administration of state. In 1937 as administrative consultant to Chiang Kai-Shek in China, De Stefani assisted in the Chinese war effort

against the Japanese by his administrative reorganization.

During the famous Grand Council meeting of 24/5 July 1943 he supported the anti-Mussolini Grandi (*q.v.*) motion and was condemned to death *in absentia* by the Verona Tribunal. In 1947, charged with collaboration with fascism but acquitted by the High Court in Rome, De Stefani resumed his academic studies and became an economic and financial journalist, returning to the career he had exercised between 1926 and 1937 when he had been economic editor of *Corriere della Sera*. He died on 15 January 1969 in the Gemelli clinic in Rome.

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DE VECCHI, Cesare Maria, Conte di Val Cisman (1884–1959)

Italian fascist politician, Governor of the Dodecanese, created Count of Val Cisman after the scene of his triumph in the First World War.

Born on 14 November 1884 in Casale Monferrato (Alessandria), De Vecchi spent a short time at the naval academy in Livorno before graduating in law from the University of Genoa in 1906. Nurturing a strong desire to be an artist, he was forced to earn his living as an advocate. He served in the First World War in the artillery from April 1915 and reached the rank of captain. At the end of the war in December 1918 De Vecchi returned to Turin to work for the Società Promotrice di Belle Arti and it was here that he joined the Turin *fascio*. A representative of the conservative elements, he led the Piedmontese fascists into a number of actions against the communists and socialists. He was chairman of the fascist congresses of 1919, 1921–2, and 1925 and was elected a deputy in 1921 for Turin. In August 1922, with Balbo (*q.v.*) and De Bono (*q.v.*), he served as commandant general of the fascist militia and as one of the Quadrumvirs who directed the March on Rome later in the same year. He was appointed a life member of the Fascist Grand Council.

After the March on Rome he favoured a government headed by Salandra rather than one headed by his leader Mussolini. However, he was from

November 1922 to May 1923 to serve as Under-secretary of State for War Pensions and Assistance and then in the Ministry of Finance. De Vecchi was on the monarcho-clerical, conservative wing of the party, having strong agrarian connections and a belief in a powerful army as a support for the regime; he had been in the Liberal Association simultaneously with being a member of the Turin *fascio*. Sacked for indiscretion in May 1923, Mussolini appointed him Governor of Somalia on 21 October 1923, where he succeeded at least partially in the pacification of the colony by June 1928 through the establishment of control over the Northern Sultanates (it was achieved very much with the gloves off). On 17 June 1929 De Vecchi, restored to favour, became the first ambassador to the Vatican after the Lateran Accord; his relations with Pope Pius XI were not of the best. As Minister of Education from January 1935 to November 1936, he destroyed the autonomy of the universities, brought in tighter controls over textbooks and the curriculum in primary schools, undermining the more flexible Gentilian (*q.v.*) approach, took over private institutions, increased the importance of religious and military education, and began a process for the 'complete reclamation of the school'. Borghi characterized his centralizing 'reforms' as 'the expression in the field of education and the imperialist phase of fascist foreign policy'. He clashed with party secretary Starace over his demand for control over 'political culture courses' organized by the GUF student movement which together with the Littorali he wanted placed under his own Ministry. As Mack Smith has pointed out, De Vecchi's methods in his drive towards fascistization were such that 'even the Duce was moved to anger at his incompetence and inhumanity'.

As Governor of the Dodecanese, installed in Rhodes, and Commander of the Army of the Aegean from 22 November 1936, De Vecchi had grave doubts about Mussolini's racial policies and the constricting ties with Germany, although it is quite clear that he accepted the idea of basic biological differences between races and treated the Greeks of the Dodecanese with obvious contumely. An enthusiastic supporter of the war in public, De Vecchi grew disenchanted and resigned in November 1940; however, in July 1943 he was appointed a brigadier-general. On the night of 24/5 July 1943 he voted for the Grandi (*q.v.*) motion at the Grand Council meeting and was later condemned to death *in absentia* by the Verona Tribunal. De Vecchi lived clandestinely in a Salesian religious house in the Canavese area and then in Bollengo near Ivrea, in Castelnovo Don Bosco, and after December 1946

in Rome. In June 1947 he left for Buenos Aires. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment by a special assize court, he was, on appeal in June 1949, purged of any blame, and returned to Italy in 1949/50. He later suffered two cerebral haemorrhages which left him unable to speak and confined to bed, and died in Rome on 23 June 1959.

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DIETRICH, Josef (known as Sepp) (1892–1966)

Hitler's chauffeur and bodyguard, head of the Leibstandarte-SS Adolf Hitler, and later general in charge of a Panzer Division of the Waffen-SS.

Born in Hawangen near Memmingen (Swabia) on 28 May 1892 into a modest Catholic family, Dietrich was the son of a master packer. A rough Bavarian with little polish, he had only eight years of schooling before becoming a butcher's apprentice. In 1911 he joined the 4th field artillery regiment König in Augsburg but was invalided out and became a baker's boy. In 1914 he enlisted in the 7th Bavarian artillery regiment, was transferred to the 6th and by summer 1915 had been wounded; he returned to the Front in one of the elite *Sturmabteilung* formations. After his demobilization in March 1919 as a senior NCO (*Vizewachmeister*), he joined the Bavarian Landpolizei (the provincial police) in early 1920. As a member of the Oberland Freikorps, he fought in Upper Silesia and also as a member of the Oberland took part in Hitler's Munich *putsch* of November 1923. It is not clear whether Dietrich left the police in November 1923 or more likely in 1927 but on 1 May 1928 he joined the NSDAP as member No. 89,015 and a few days later the SS. On 18 May 1929 he took over command of the SS Brigade Bayern which Hitler used as his bodyguard. On 14 September 1930 he was elected to the Reichstag for Lower Bavaria but made little impact there; he was always more a man of action than a practical politician.

Dietrich played a crucial role in the suppression of the SA revolt led by Walter Stennes (b. 1895) in March/April 1931 and in August 1931 he was transferred to Abschnitt IV in *Gruppe Nord* and on 1 October 1932 appointed commander of SS *Gruppe Nord*. When the SS-*Stabswache* came into existence on 17 March 1933, Dietrich was made its commander and

remained commander of its successor organization, the *Leibstandarte-SS Adolf Hitler*, from September 1933 to July 1943. During the Night of the Long Knives in July 1934, Dietrich was in command of the SS execution squad which was responsible at Stadelheim prison for the deaths of Röhm (*q.v.*) and the others; for this his reward was promotion to *SS-Obergruppenführer*. His efforts to establish the *Leibstandarte* as a body with a special status brought him into constant conflict with Himmler (*q.v.*).

During the Second World War Dietrich commanded the Adolf Hitler regiment in Poland, France, Yugoslavia and Greece as a component of the *Waffen-SS* and on the Russian Front fought at Kherson, Rostov and in the Third Battle of Kharkov. Whether he was involved in atrocities in the Kherson and Kharkov areas is, according to his biographer Messenger, not entirely clear on the basis of the evidence. In July 1943 he was put in charge of the 1st SS Panzer Corps in Belgium and France (in June he had been given the unique title of *SS-Obergruppenführer* and *Panzergeneral der Waffen-SS*) but was unable to prevent the Allied advance from the Normandy beachheads. As commander of the 6th Panzer Army during the Ardennes offensive in December 1944 he was found guilty on 16 July 1946, by an American military tribunal at the Malmédy trial, of the massacre of American prisoners. Messenger concludes, in a biography which is perhaps too concerned to exonerate his hero from the many charges of atrocity which seemed to pursue him throughout his wartime career, that the 'Malmédy trial was a miscarriage of justice'.

Dietrich's last assignment was in the forlorn hope of preventing the Russian advance into Hungary in January 1945. When he refused to fight to the last man as ordered, Hitler claimed: 'if we lose the war, it will be his [Dietrich's] fault.' He ordered that the SS divisions *Adolf Hitler*, *Das Reich*, *Hohenstaufen* and *Totenkopf* be stripped of their armbands. Captured in May 1945, Dietrich was given a life sentence for the Malmédy episode but was released from Landsberg prison on 22 October 1955. In August 1956 he was rearrested after investigations by the West German authorities into the Röhm purge and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, a sentence he began on 7 August 1958. Released on grounds of ill-health on 2 February 1959, Dietrich died in Ludwigsburg on 21 April 1966. In his last months he worked for the ex-SS organization HIAG. Von Rundstedt once described Dietrich as 'decent but stupid', a limitation Dietrich himself realized to some extent, as reflected in his appointment of expert staff officers whom he trusted.

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DIETRICH, Otto (1897–1952)

German National Socialist Reichsleiter and Hitler's Press Chief.

Born on 31 August 1897 in Essen, Otto Dietrich served from March 1915 as a volunteer in a field artillery regiment on the Western Front. Continuing his education after the war, he earned a *magnum cum laude* for his doctorate in politics in 1921, having studied at the Universities of Munich, Frankfurt and Freiburg. He then worked in industry for the Stahlwarensyndikat before finding his true vocation as Munich correspondent of a Leipzig newspaper, business editor of the *Essener Allgemeinen Zeitung* and, in 1928, as head of the business section of the *München-Augsburger-Abendzeitung*. Largely because of his links with Ruhr heavy industrial circles, he was appointed, through the intermediation of Hess (*q.v.*), Press chief of the NSDAP while working as chief editor of the NSDAP party newspaper, the *National-Zeitung* of Essen. He played a leading part in the Nazi struggle for power in 1932 by camouflaging the NSDAP's violent tactics and through his useful contacts with the captains of heavy industry. He served as Hitler's press agent from January 1933.

After the *Machtergreifung*, Dietrich as president of the Reich Association of the German Press from 30 April 1933 and vice-president of the Reich Press Chamber from November, was an important influence on the process of 'coordination' (*Gleichschaltung*) of the German press and became the corner-stone of Nazi control of the media; some 1,300 'Jewish and Marxist' journals were purged. He was the driving force behind the Editors Law of October 1933 which ensured conformity with the will of the regime. Dietrich succeeded Funk as Reich Press Chief in January 1938, and from 1937 to 1945 was state secretary on Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Goebbels was annoyed by Dietrich's prerogative of reporting directly to Hitler, of his tendency to fill posts in the Ministry with men from his party press office, and with his efforts to take over the radio. Dietrich was eventually sacked by Hitler in March 1945.

In the Wilhelmstrasse trial of April 1949, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment but released for good conduct in August 1950. His memoirs *Zwölf Jahre mit Hitler*, which appeared in 1954, is a more reflective and guilt-ridden tome than his earlier work of propaganda *Mit Hitler an die Macht* (1933). He died in Düsseldorf on 22 November 1952.

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DILLING, Elizabeth (1894–1966)

American extreme right propagandist.

Born on 19 March 1894, Elizabeth Dilling was educated in the University of Chicago. In 1919 she visited Russia, a visit that was profoundly to affect her outlook. She first came to prominence in 1934 with her book *The Red Network: a who's who of radicals*, written to expose 'a communist conspiracy to take over America'. Among the 500 organizations and 1,300 individuals she cited were Chiang Kai-Shek, H.L. Mencken, Mahatma Gandhi and Eleanor Roosevelt! Earlier in 1932 she had been the founder of the Paul Reveres in the Chicago suburb of Kenilworth; their avowed purpose was to protect Americanism and to combat radicalism in all its subversive manifestations. Jews were not eligible for membership. With extraordinary energy, a 'machine-gun' delivery, flaming red hair and the eyes of a fanatic, she presented a rare example of the female demagogue. Radio stations gave her a wide berth but this did not inhibit her anti-Semitic and anti-communist activities in any way. In 1938 she founded a Patriots Research Bureau to continue her 'educational' work in defence of 'Christianity and Americanism'. In 1937 she returned from National Socialist Germany impressed and determined to deepen her contacts with other similar groups, among them Pelley's (*q.v.*) Silver Shirts and the German-American Bund. As part of her campaign against American involvement in the war she was arrested in 1941 in Washington after a demonstration against lend-lease and was fined 15 dollars. She was one of the leading defendants in the *US v. McWilliams* trial (known as the Great Sedition Trial) of April 1944, which ended in the charges being dropped.

After the war she continued her anti-communist and patriotic agitation in her involvement with the

Patriotic Research Bulletin and with Mrs Lyne Van Hynning in the clumsily titled *We the Mothers Mobilize for America* in 1952. In that year she refused to endorse General MacArthur in his presidential ambitions because she alleged that he had traces of Jewishness in his genealogy. She married Jeremiah Stokes of Salt Lake City, a man of similar tastes, who had founded the Pro-American Vigilantes. Mrs Dilling was also responsible for *The Octopus* (1940) and the *Roosevelt Red Record and its Background* (1936). She died in Lincoln, Nebraska, on 29 August 1966.

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DMOWSKI, Roman (1864–1939)

Polish founder of National Democracy and later admirer of Benito Mussolini and Italian fascism.

Dmowski was born on 9 August 1864 in Kamionek where his father was a small stone-paving merchant. Dmowski studied biology and other science subjects in the Russian University in Warsaw and was eventually to receive the equivalent of a doctorate. He organized student political demonstrations in the university and in 1886 joined the Liga Polska which in April 1893 was to become the Liga Narodowa (National League). Dmowski was under almost continuous police supervision at this time as a noted revolutionary nationalist. In 1897 the League became a fully-fledged political party the National Democratic Party (Stronnictwo Demokratyczno-Narodowe). In Lwow in 1895 he launched the journal *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (All-Polish Review). In Cracow between 1900 and 1904 he developed the broad outlines of National Democracy strategy and ideology. He saw the overriding need to co-operate with the Russians in the achievement of independence despite his own anti-Russian prejudices. He aimed to develop Polish national consciousness through propaganda but to eschew the kind of revolutionary activity favoured by Pilsudski and the socialists. Although he expected political gains from the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, he advocated the path of moderation. The October programme of 1903 embodied this more cautious approach.

On 19 February 1907 he was elected to the Second Duma as one of Warsaw's representatives. His anti-Semitic views came to the fore at this time; he believed that the large body of Jews in Polish society would be difficult to assimilate and would thwart the nationalist drive to independence. In November 1914 he headed the Polish National Committee in St Petersburg and in November 1915 moved to Western Europe to continue to agitate on behalf of independence. In August 1917 the Polish National Committee was re-established. Dmowski's conservative views, influenced by Social Darwinism, came to resemble those of the Ukrainian nationalist Dontsov (*q.v.*) and some of the advocates of geopolitics like Kjellen (*q.v.*). Nations were engaged in a struggle for survival in which only the fittest could survive; universal peace was a myth. He turned against western liberal political institutions as being alien to Polish tradition.

Dmowski headed the Polish delegation at Versailles but was denied what he considered his appropriate place in Polish political life after independence; he was to serve briefly in government in 1923. By the 1920s it had become clear that National Democracy was similar in many ways to other new radical right-wing forms of nationalism, including those of Corradini (*q.v.*) and Mussolini in Italy with their desire for rapid industrialization and Barrès (*q.v.*) and Maurras (*q.v.*) in France. Early in 1926 Dmowski visited Italy and wrote a series of articles on nationalism and fascism. He was convinced that fascism would become the dominant ideology of the twentieth century. In 1922 he had prophesied 'a great anti-Jewish revolution in a few years'. In December 1926 with a group of younger nationalists in Poznań, Dmowski founded the *Obóz Wielkiej Polski* (Camp of Greater Poland), an attempt at a coalition of all the right-wing groups. National democracy had by now become not only hostile to democracy but anti-parliamentary.

Dmowski, more a political theorist than a practical politician, tried to discourage the young fascist radicals in the party (now called the National Party) from breaking away in 1934 to form the ONR although he was in broad sympathy with their ideology. In his last years his obsession with the so-called Jewish-masonic conspiracy blinded him to the dangers from Nazi Germany. He died on 2 January 1939 in Drozdowo, a few months too early for him to see the danger become reality.

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DOCHEV, Ivan Dimitrov (1906–)

Bulgarian legionary leader.

Born on 7 January 1906 in Shumen (Kolarovgrad), Dochev was the son of a military colonel. He left school in 1925 and from 1926 to 1932 worked as a civil servant. He then studied law and political science at the University of Sofia where he became involved in student politics. He was also president of the student organization. In July 1930 those around the magazine *Prelom* held a congress in Sofia out of which, from January 1932, the SMNL (Soyuz na Mladezhkite Natsionalni-Legioni, or Union of Young National Legions) grew. The leadership consisted of a triumvirate including Dochev but much of the organization came from regular army officers, while the radical elan was supplied by law students like Dochev. Fired in the beginning by anti-communism and extreme nationalist zeal, the organization acquired in time an ideology clearly influenced by both fascist Italy and by Nazi Germany particularly in its anti-Semitism and its corporatist ideas, although, in fact, its economic beliefs were never very clear, except for some lip-service paid to profit-sharing and similar measures of class integration.

In 1934 Dochev visited Germany with the pro-German General Nikola Zhekov. He had talks with Hitler and Rosenberg (*q.v.*) and saw the German youth and student movements at first hand. It was made clear that the Germans would finance the movement if they were prepared to overthrow the regime of Tsar Boris, but the Legion remained loyal to the monarchist cause in spite of its proscription by the government in 1934 (it was revived in July 1935 and dissolved again in January 1936 for a time). Dochev had already been detained by the government in 1934. In 1937 the organization changed its name to Soyuz na Bulgarskite Natsionalni Legioni and in 1938 split, with one wing remaining under Dochev's leadership and the other coming under Iliya Stanev. The effectiveness of both was severely limited by the split. In 1938 the programme of the Legion was mostly the work of Dochev.

Dochev subordinated himself during the war to General Lukov (*q.v.*) but at this time the Legion was a persecuted oppositionist pro-German organization, and in September 1944 Dochev joined Tsankov (*q.v.*) in exile in Vienna. In 1948 he wrote a thesis for Heidelberg University on the contemporary Bulgarian economy and received a doctorate. From 1945 he had published the exile journal *Bulgaria* based in Salzburg, and in 1947 had formed the anti-communist Bulgarian National Front. In 1951 he became president of the Front in Canada and later the United States and edited its journal *Borba*. He later became Bulgarian National President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in New York. He was reported to be still alive in the New York area in 1987.

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DÖNITZ, Karl (1891–1980)

German Grand Admiral who succeeded Hitler as the last leader of the Third Reich.

Born on 16 September 1891 in Grünau near Berlin into an upwardly aspiring middle-class family, Dönitz was the son of an engineer specializing in optics. He was brought up in an atmosphere of Prussian discipline and the ethos of hard work. On 1 April 1910 he reported to Kiel for entry to the Kaiserliche Marine as a sea cadet. When the war broke out Dönitz, now a regular officer, was aboard the light cruiser *Breslau* as signals officer. In October 1916 he entered the U-boat School in Flensburg-Mürwik and passed out in January 1917. Active in U-boats mainly in the Mediterranean, he was taken prisoner by the British at the end of the war after the loss of his U-boat *UB 68*, an experience that left him deeply embittered. Repatriated in July 1919, he re-enlisted in the republican Kriegsmarine although his own political views were those of an unreconstructed monarchist. By January 1921 he was a lieutenant commander. From autumn 1930 to summer 1934 he served as head of the Admiralty staff office of the High Command, North Sea station, and in 1935 was appointed commander of the new submarine programme which Hitler had instituted in defiance of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles; in September he took over as chief of the first U-Flotilla.

According to a report from the US consul-general in Berlin, Dönitz was a convinced and enthusiastic National Socialist at the time of the Nazi *Machtergreifung*, though he was not a member of the NSDAP in the 1930s. Under his bland and disciplined exterior there were elements of fanaticism as well, according to Canaris (*q.v.*), as traces of restlessness and instability. After the outbreak of war, Dönitz was appointed commander-in-chief of the U-boats and on 1 October 1939 a rear admiral following the sinking of the British ship *Royal Oak* and other early successes. Until the U-boats were withdrawn from the North Atlantic in November 1943, Dönitz master-minded the submarine warfare in the Battle of the Atlantic against Allied shipping supply routes and is especially associated with the so-called Wolf-pack system. On 30 January 1943 he succeeded Erich Raeder as Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy and was promoted to grand admiral.

It is certain that Dönitz was a fervent admirer of Hitler. In 1943 he wrote 'the huge force which the Führer radiates, his unshakable confidence, his far-sighted judgement of the situation in Italy, have made it plain during these days what very poor little sausages we all are in comparison with the Führer.' It is clear also from his attendance at a conference in Posen (Poznan) in autumn 1943 when Himmler (*q.v.*) described his conduct of the 'final solution' that Dönitz was not in ignorance of Nazi crimes; in early 1944 he said: 'From the very start the whole of the officer corps must be so indoctrinated that it feels itself co-responsible for the National Socialist state in its entirety.' It was scarcely surprising that Dönitz was appointed as Hitler's successor, in the Führer's last testament, as Reich President, Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

The Dönitz regime, installed around Flensburg, was little more than a fiction which survived from 1 to 23 May 1945 when Dönitz was arrested. Before the Nuremberg Tribunal in October 1946, he was found guilty of waging aggressive war on the grounds that he was of exceptional importance to the German war effort and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Bradley Smith has argued that 'it is difficult to say much that is ennobling or edifying about the Court's action in the Dönitz case. The justifiable limit toward compromise and pragmatism may have been passed.' Dönitz was released from Spandau prison on 1 October 1956 and died in Aumühle near Hamburg on 24 December 1980.

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DONTSOV, Dmytro (1883–1973)

Ukrainian nationalist editor, critic and political theorist of the extreme right.

Born in Melitopol on 29 August 1883, Dontsov studied from 1900 to 1907 in St Petersburg. He was involved in the activities of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and later in those of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party. Imprisoned briefly for his USDWP allegiance, he fled from Kiev to Galicia in 1908. He then studied law in the University of Vienna. At the second Ukrainian student congress in Lviv (Lvov, Lwow, Lemberg) in 1913, he was the leading spokesman for a thoroughly anti-Russian programme and for Ukrainian independence. In 1914 he broke with the USDWP and with the Left and became head of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

During the First World War he was at first head of the information service of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club in Berlin and in 1916/17 headed the Bureau of Peoples of Russia in Bern and then finished his doctorate in law from Lviv. In 1920 he was director of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Bern for the press and information section. By this time he had turned his back on his earlier loyalty to Marxism and become converted to an anti-democratic form of integral nationalism on behalf of which he began to proselytize; from 1922 to 1939 he was active in this cause in Lviv (then in Poland). He was the editor of a number of journals including *Literaturno – Naukovyi Vistnykh* (1922–32). After the Russian invasion of Poland in 1939 he fled to Danzig and then to Berlin and Bucharest.

By the late 1920s he claimed to have rejected 'all ideas of the nineteenth century' in favour of an idiosyncratic amalgam of the ideas of Nietzsche, Barrès (*q.v.*), Maurras (*q.v.*), Sorel (*q.v.*) and Kipling. He was now the leading ideologue of the terrorist OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). His ideas were especially notable for their irrationalist, amoral basis, and their violent rejection of democracy. He wrote in the 1930s for the Nazi press in Germany on East European themes. Only the racial purification of the Ukrainian people, he thought, would give them the right to belong to the 'master nations' which stood in opposition to the 'plebeian nations'. He admired Mussolini of all the European statesmen.

In 1945 he fled to the American Zone and in 1947 reached Montreal where he lectured in Ukrainian literature at the university and for the next few years often wrote for the press of the Bandera faction of the OUN. He died on 30 March 1973 in Montreal.

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DORGÈRES, Henri Auguste (pseud.) (Henri d'Halluin) (1897–1985)

French peasant organizer, journalist and rural fascist.

Dorgères was born in Wasquehal (Nord) on 6 February 1897, the son of a butcher who died when Dorgères was young. He served in the First World War in the arsenal at Puteaux in 1918 after being interned by the Germans in Bruges. He studied in the Faculty of Law in Lille University. Introduced to the works of Bainville (*q.v.*) and Maurras (*q.v.*), he became a disciple of Georges Valois (*q.v.*) in the 1920s and was a member of his Confédération du Travail at de l'Intelligence. He wrote for *L'Action Française* and was a member of the political organization as secretary of the student section, the Association des Étudiants Royalistes, in Lille. His first journalistic post was on the *L'Echo des Syndicats Agricoles du Nord*. In 1922 as editor of the conservative *Nouvelliste de Bretagne* in Rennes, he gained a reputation as a campaigning journalist. Now known as Henri Dorgères, he became director of the weekly *Le Progrès Agricole de l'Ouest* which had fallen on hard times; Dorgères pulled it up by its boot-straps. Organized around the paper were Comités de Défense Paysanne which multiplied after the first demonstration in Vannes in December 1928 but did not take on a rapid momentum until 1933.

Dorgères fought against compulsory social insurance in favour of a voluntary, private system of provision, opposed the imposition of excessive taxation, attacked the trusts and the 'tyranny of the towns', advocated increases in tariffs and showed a fierce hostility to étatism similar to the later campaigns by Pierre Poujade (*q.v.*). He spent three months in prison for organizing against the seizure of farmers' goods. With his organization the Défense Paysanne, Dorgères founded in 1934 an umbrella group of rural movements opposed to the Popular Front, the Front Paysan, which included the Parti Agraire, L'Union Nationale des Syndicats Agricoles of Jacques Leroy-Ladurie and other agricultural associations. With the motto '*Travail, Famille, Patrie*', he opposed the threatened socialization of agriculture with the alternative

of a corporative system. The so-called Chemises Vertes (Green Shirts) began as a youth movement in 1935 in Alsace and at their height had some 30,000 members; its slogan was '*Croire, Obéir, Servir*'.

During the agricultural workers' strike in northern France in the summer of 1936 and 1937, Dorgères employed his Chemises Vertes to try to break up the strike although in 1936 he had himself incited the market gardeners to go on strike. By 1939 the peasant movement took in some 54 *départements* and Dorgères had gained a national reputation as a populist and tribune of the people through his remarkable flair for publicity as (after 1936) the propaganda delegate for the Syndicat Agricole de Défense Paysanne which had escaped the anti-League legislation of 1936. Among the figures on the extreme right who gave him support were Doriot (*q.v.*), Taittinger (*q.v.*), Henriot (*q.v.*) and Abel Bonnard (*q.v.*).

His use of direct action inevitably provoked comparisons with fascist Italy in the early years and, in fact, Dorgères said in 1934: 'I believe in the development of a movement of a fascist kind.' After the armistice in 1940, he supported Pétain's National Revolution and became a member of the National Council in January 1941. In December 1940 he was appointed delegate general in charge of propaganda for the National Commission of Corporative Organization but left on the eve of the creation of the definitive constitution for the Peasant Corporation in 1942. He devoted himself to organizing conferences and publishing pamphlets and was editor of the *Cri du Sol* but after his experiences in Bruges during the 1914–18 war did not greet the thought of collaboration with alacrity. Completely disillusioned by 1944 with the agricultural policies of Cathala and Bonnafous which he attacked in his *Révolution Paysanne*, he was nevertheless arrested in August 1945 and spent the period until 2 March 1946 in prison.

A civic chamber sentenced him to ten years' national disgrace but his later opposition to Vichy was taken into account in mitigation. Dorgères took up anew the renamed Mouvement de Défense Paysanne in 1950 and in January 1956 was elected deputy for Ille-et-Vilaine. In spite of his reservations about the record of the Vichy regime he was a member of the Association pour Défendre la Mémoire du Maréchal Pétain. In October 1957 his La Défense Paysanne concluded an agreement with Poujade's Union de Défense des Agriculteurs de France, a grouping which was to break up in March 1959 largely because Dorgères disapproved of Poujade's anti-Gaullist position. In 1965 a Tixier (*q.v.*) suppor-

ter, he later reappeared on one of the Comités de Vigilance led by Dr Henri Moreau in 1975 which supported Le Pen's (*q.v.*) National Front. His best-known books were *Haut les Fourches* (1935) and *Au XXe Siècle: dix ans de jacquerie* (1959). He died in Yerres (Essonne) on 22 January 1985.

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DORIOT, Jacques (1898–1945)

French working-class communist leader who moved to the right to found his own fascist party.

Born on 26 September 1898 in Bresles (Oise), the son of a blacksmith who worked in a factory for repairing agricultural machinery, Doriot attended professional school in Creil in 1911 and then worked as a fitter in various factories in Paris and St-Denis. His interest in syndicalism developed when he was employed as a metal-worker in the Fonderies de la Fournaise. In 1916 he joined the Young Socialists and in 1917 the French Socialist Party. Mobilized in April 1917 he fought on the Lorraine front. Remaining in the army after the end of hostilities he was in Hungary in summer 1919 during Bela Kun's communist revolution, in a battalion of *chasseurs* at the time of D'Annunzio's (*q.v.*) first takeover of Fiume in September 1919, and in Scutari, Albania. In May 1920 his three years of military service completed, he was demobilized. He moved with the majority of Young Socialists into the Young Communists and by the end of 1921 was their effective leader. He was actually appointed secretary of the French Federation of Young Communists in May 1923. In 1922 he was their representative on the executive committee of the Communist International. A great admirer of Lenin, Doriot seemed to be the perfect revolutionary, loyal, tough, ruthless and adventurous, the man who had increased the YCs from 3,000 to 15,000 and had been privileged to be a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern in Moscow. In 1924 Doriot was elevated to membership of the PCF's central committee

and as an active agitator in the colonial section was responsible for the effective anti-military campaigns against the Ruhr occupation and against the Rif war in Morocco to defeat Abd-el-Krim. In a series of trials between December 1923 and May 1924 he was condemned to various terms of imprisonment for provoking military disobedience but released on 17 May after his election as a deputy.

After Lenin's death he shifted his allegiance to Zinoviev who referred to him as a 'genuine Bolshevik' and later to Stalin until in February 1927 on a trip to China he experienced at first hand the shambles that Stalin's pro-Kuomintang policy had produced. From this point although publicly a firm loyalist, in private he opposed the 'united front at the base' and 'class against class' tactics of the Comintern which branded the socialists as social fascists and rejected unity of action and electoral alliances with their natural allies, except at the grass roots where the aim was simply to 'pluck the [socialist] chicken'. Doriot called this in private 'imbecile and absurd'. Overlooked as general secretary in 1930 in favour of Thorez whom Doriot considered an *arriviste*, Doriot grew more sceptical of the sacrifice of revolutionary goals in favour of the exigencies of Soviet foreign policy. In 1929 he had told Barbé (*q.v.*): 'all discussion in the Comintern crops up only as a function of the Russian situation.' Divested of his colonial and youth portfolios, Doriot, with a certain lack of sincerity, continued to appear orthodox in public and was in the early 1930s elected leader of the communist parliamentary group. By August/September 1932 he was resolved to leave the party but waited for the opportune moment (at the 7th Congress in 1932 he had said of Stalin, 'if only I had known exactly what this Georgian rogue had in mind').

Elected Mayor of Saint-Denis in February 1931, he built up an enthusiastic popular following in his fiefdom with a thoroughgoing municipal socialism and an openness towards all political factions which soon included the local organization of the Croix de Feu. Although he grew more isolated within the PFC, Doriot was re-elected in May 1932 as an orthodox communist but the inevitable break came on 27 June 1934 at the Ivry conference after Doriot in February, still clamouring for agreement with the socialists at the top levels of the party, included socialists on his general strike committee. Doriot was now convinced that 'it was not in Moscow that the problem of the French revolution can be solved'. Sustained by the loyalty of Saint-Denis, he called for the formation of an anti-fascist front on the basis of a 'national communism'. He opposed the Franco-Soviet pact of May 1935, demanded a rapproche-

ment with Germany against Stalinist Pan-Slavism and turned against the Popular Front, ironically after the PCF had finally accepted his earlier tactics to sustain the Front. He was to find himself in the contradictory position of opposing fascism at home while seeking an accommodation with Nazi Germany. On 27/28 June 1936 Doriot founded the Parti Populaire Française, his conversion to the extreme right almost complete. Milza has talked of the 'meeting of a man and of a situation', while Burrin has stressed the idea of revenge against the PCF as his primary motivation, the desire to 'see his triumphant colleagues on their knees, to humiliate their patron Stalin', and his biographer Brunet talks of the crazy or desperate logic which led him to fascism, squeezed out as he was by socialist/communist rapprochement and stuck in the traditional groove of pacifism and anti-militarism. It certainly has to be remembered that he was highly ambitious and conscious of his treatment by the PCF. There is no truth whatever in communist assertions that he was from the beginning a police spy.

The PPF called for strong republican government and for 'France First' in foreign policy but what sustained it was a visceral anti-communism. Attracting for a time (many were to leave in 1938/9) a wave of intellectuals like Bertrand de Jouvenel, Drieu la Rochelle (*q.v.*), Fabre Luce and the political scientist Maurice Duverger and secret funds from Mussolini, Germany and from industrialists and Paris banks, the party moved from 'defence of the working classes' to a much more middle-class stance against 'social egoism'. Anti-Semitism increased as the base of the party widened. During the 1930s 'le Grand Jacques', who had been the epitome of the 'Bolshevik monk' developed a taste for women, mostly prostitutes, good food and wine, and great orator though he was, often to be seen in braces and shirt-sleeves, sweating profusely, he repelled as many followers as he attracted.

In August 1939 he was mobilized, having opposed the German invasion of Czechoslovakia in May 1939. While he was away, Henri Barbé and later Victor Barthélemy (*q.v.*) took over the direction of the PPF, now, shorn of its intellectual crown, only a marginal force. At first pledging himself to Marshal Pétain (he wrote a book entitled *Je Suis un Homme du Maréchal*, 1940) and in January 1941 appointed a member of the National Council in Vichy, he soon became a partisan of ultra-collaboration. He suggested that France should be purged 'of all its past errors'. In 1941 he resumed control of the PPF and moved away from the Marshal, most noticeably after the German invasion in July 1941. His increasingly

pro-Germanism was not reciprocated by the Germans who frankly distrusted him, Doriot was the first leader to propose the *Légion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme*. Doriot himself appeared in a German lieutenant's uniform to serve on the Eastern Front. He now strove to elevate the PPF to a position of total power but had to be content with a lesser role as collaborator of the *Abwehr*, the *Gestapo* and the German propaganda department. Even his anti-Semitism burgeoned in the magnetic field of Nazi occupation and he called for the Jews to be made to 'cry tears of blood'.

Forced to flee to Germany in July 1944 he resumed his political life at Meinau on Lake Constance where on 6 January 1945 he created a *Comité Français de Libération* in opposition to Brinon's official Governmental Commission. He was finally reconciled with his great rival Déat (*q.v.*). Doriot died on 22 February 1945 when his car was strafed by an unidentified aircraft. Speculation suggested that Doriot shortly before his death had identified the plane as a *Jäger* and that Himmler (*q.v.*) or Darnand (*q.v.*) or even Degrelle (*q.v.*) wanted him out of the way, but others have accepted the more likely explanation shared by all Doriot's closest colleagues including Victor Barthélemy that Doriot was killed by a British mosquito.

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DREXLER, Anton (1884–1942)

Co-founder of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei and early colleague of Adolf Hitler in the NSDAP.

Born on 13 June 1884 in Munich, Drexler lost his job as a machine fitter in a locomotive works in Berlin in 1902 because of his hostility to the Social Democrats whom he had once approved. He blamed his dismissal on 'trade union terror'. Although he did not actually leave the Social Democrats until the First World War, he then joined the Fatherland Party of Class (*q.v.*) and Kapp (*q.v.*), having been declared physically unfit for service in the army. Drexler became convinced that the Marxists of the

SDP could not solve the national question through their obsession with internationalism. A locksmith/mechanic in the Munich municipal railway works, Drexler, in March 1918, founded an Independent Workers' Committee for a Good Peace with 27 colleagues; this was, in fact, the Munich *Ortsgruppe* of the Bremen-based Independent Workers' Committee. In November he was approached by Harrer (*q.v.*) to form a *Politischer Arbeitszirkel* (Political Workers' Circle), both anti-Marxist and anti-capitalist, out of which grew the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* founded on 5 January 1919. Drexler it was who built the organizational framework for the movement and devised the programmes of January and of December 1919. The new party whose members were mostly artisans and craftsmen, many from the railway workshops, met in the Leiber Room of the *Sternecker-Bräu* and later in the *Hofbräuhauskeller* as a discussion circle in the aftermath of a lost war and fear of a breakdown of public order. Demanding an end to class warfare they posited an anti-Semitic 'socialism' based on the 'productive' elements of German society.

Drexler was to be gradually squeezed out of the chairmanship of the party, from March 1920 renamed the NSDAP, by Hitler who was able to devote more time to political matters. It seems that Hitler had read Drexler's *Mein Politisches Erwachen* but envisaged a large mass party as the vehicle for the ideas expressed in it. Drexler objected to Hitler's overweening ambition, his will to power and his passionate style. By 1921 Drexler, who had in February 1920 drawn up the new party programme with Feder (*q.v.*) and Hitler, had been outmanoeuvred by his scheming colleague and took the less important position of honorary chairman for life. The eccentric, hard-working, unassuming Drexler left the party after the *putsch* of November 1923 when his plans to demilitarize the party and sever the SA connection were rejected. In 1924 he was elected on another list to the Bavarian parliament. In 1925 he founded with Th. Dörfler a *Nationalsoziale Volksbund* in Bavaria; it collapsed in 1928. Drexler sued Hitler in 1926 for libel. After 1928 he retired from politics and became a railway inspector. In 1934, reconciled to the Führer, in partial recognition of his work, he received the *Blut-Orden*. He died in obscurity in Munich on 24 February 1942.

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DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, Pierre (1893–1945)

French novelist, essayist and playwright of fascist leanings, one of the best-known literary fascists.

Drieu was born on 3 January 1893 in Paris of middle-class parents from Normandy with little money and royalist by tradition. Drieu himself was an early admirer of Napoleon. In 1910 he attended the École des Sciences Politiques but failed his final examinations. In 1913 he performed his military service and from August 1914 took part in the First World War beginning with the Battle of Charleroi. His years in the trenches were to be a crucial formative experience. After the war his authorial career took off with *État Civil* (1921) and his first major work *Mesure de la France* (1922). His earliest literary influences were Péguy, Nietzsche, D'Annunzio (*q.v.*), Barrès (*q.v.*) and Maurras (*q.v.*) whose example drew him towards a flirtation with Action Française whose rigid traditionalism he was soon to reject. With such a pantheon of literary forebears, Drieu began his artistic and spiritual pilgrimage with a profound sense of decadence and pessimism, feelings reinforced by his war-time memories. His life was to be a quest without goal or fulfilment. Like Gille in his first novel *L'Homme Couvert de Femmes* (1925), 'he chose one thing after the other, could never get full satisfaction from any one of them, but never rejected any one of them either.' He was to be, as Marcel Arland described him, 'an anarchy in search of a discipline.'

Close for a time to the Surrealists Breton, Eluard and Aragon, he broke with them in 1925 because of their optimistic belief in a collective good. His *Mesure de la France* (1922) presaged his later political development with its search for a federative Europe and the search for a third way between communism and capitalism. Attracted by Mussolini who proved 'one could bowl over a parliament of noodles', Drieu moved at the end of the 1920s to a position close to the Young Turks of the Radical Party, Jouvenel and Bergery (*q.v.*) and became a contributor to Jouvenel's *La Lutte des Jeunes*. In his *Genève ou Moscou* (1928), apart from expressing his sympathy for Mussolini, he reinforced the idea of a European federation based on a new ideology which would be as distant from American capitalism as it would from Soviet communism.

After the events of February 1934 in Paris, Drieu declared himself a fascist (the process of conversion is well described in his novel *Gilles*, 1939) and wrote *Le Socialisme Fasciste*. Throughout the 1930s he sought an alliance between dissident radicals like Bergery's Front Commun, socialists of the 'national' kind like the neo-socialists, and the paramilitary radical right represented by the Croix de Feu. There was also in Drieu's nihilistic and pessimistic temperament a need (in the sense of Walter Benjamin) to aestheticize politics and much of the contempt for parliament and the bourgeois parties and the hero-worshipping of leaders like Doriot (*q.v.*) was a response to literary and personal needs. Mauriac described him as not a man of the right but of the 'nervous centre' at the 'magnetic centre of the attractions and temptations of a generation'.

From 1936 to 1938 Drieu was an enthusiastic supporter of Doriot's PPF, wrote a book on the experience, *Avec Doriot* (1937) and contributed to *L'Emancipation Nationale*. He also wrote for *Je Suis Partout*, *Nouvelle Revue* and *Figaro* among other journals. In November 1938 Drieu left the PPF over its support for the Munich agreement but he remained deeply attracted to fascism. His novel *Gilles* (1939) has been described as the 'most complete portrait in fiction of the intellectual and moral development of a French fascism'. Fascism he saw as the 'revolution of the twentieth century' opposed to the mechanization of life and able to restore national energy in the face of a decadence which obsessed him. In October 1938 he said, 'You will sleep and you will die as democrats, as liberals, or you will revive and triumph as fascists.'

Drieu was at first sceptical after the armistice in 1940 about the Vichy regime but later offered his services to the German ambassador, his friend Otto Abetz (*q.v.*), who advised him against, because of the effect it would have on his compatriots. He belonged to the Groupe Collaboration from December 1940 to 1943, he edited *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, and in 1942 rejoined the PPF; from 1943–4 he edited Lucien Combelle's *La Révolution Nationale*. Towards the end of the war he indulged in a masochistic insistence on adhering to the losing side and kept on the move to avoid arrest after the Liberation. 'I don't believe in fascism any more', he wrote in his journal. 'Yes I am a traitor. Yes I have had intelligence of the enemy . . . It is not my fault if the enemy has not been intelligent . . . we have played. I have lost. I crave for death.' Finally disgusted with life he committed suicide on 15 March 1945 in Paris and was buried in Neuilly. Though Maurice called him a '*raté immortel*', he enjoyed a certain sympathy from his

fellow writers; Jacques Lacan, who wrote his dissertation in Drieu's apartment, was a friend. Perhaps Eugen Weber has encapsulated best the career of the 'narcissistic womanizer', the vulnerable Don Juan, in a characteristically *phrase bien construite*: 'His books never turned out as good as his friends expected' or he himself hoped. His women always felt that it would be unforgettable next time.'

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DRUMONT, Edouard Adolphe (1844-1917)

French journalist and writer who had a profound effect on later generations of his countrymen of an anti-Semitic bent. Born on 3 May 1844 in Paris into a humble family, the son of an assistant master and later a clerk in the municipal service, Drumont as a young man wrote criticism for *La France Théâtrale*, *La Liberté* (1869-86), a Jewish-owned newspaper, *Le Monde* and other journals, wrote plays, and frequented, as an aspiring author, Alphonse Daudet's salon and that of Victor Hugo in the Avenue de Clichy in the 1870s. He had been educated in lycées in Paris and began to work as an employee in the Hôtel de Ville for the prefecture of the Seine. His first anti-Semitic article appeared in the *Revue du Monde Catholique* in 1867. The publication of *La France Juive* in 1886 (it was to run to 200 impressions), denouncing Jewish influence on French society, was a turning-point in the career of the obscure journalist. Thereafter he became the most formidable anti-Semite in France. His book was a synthesis of nationalism, anti-Semitism and anti-capitalism, of which Sartre was to remark: 'nothing reflects better the complex nature of the anti-Semite'. Journalistic rather than analytic, anecdotal rather than historical, *La France Juive* was to have an immense influence on Catholic and fascist writers like Bernanos, Brasillach (*q.v.*), Maurras

(*q.v.*), Coston (*q.v.*), Rebatet (*q.v.*), Céline (*q.v.*) and many others. Many other opinionated works were to follow, among them *Le Testament d'un Anti-Sémite* in 1891. In September 1889 Drumont launched his first short-lived Ligue Antisémite de France in association with the bizarre adventurer the Marquis de Morès (*q.v.*) in an abortive attempt to reach the masses through anti-Semitism. The Ligue was abandoned in October 1890 but refounded in 1898.

Drumont was reconciled to Catholicism, which he had earlier rejected in the first years of the 1880s, and subsequently found a sympathetic response from not only the Catholic press but also from significant numbers of ordinary devout Catholics. As Pierrard has said, 'Drumont contributed largely to the scandal of the assimilation of Catholicism to anti-Semitism.' He 'put into print what everyone else was thinking.' Unsuccessful as the original Anti-Semitic League proved to be, it was not to be enough to discourage Drumont and on 20 April 1892 appeared the first issue of his daily *La Libre Parole* which was to spread the anti-Jewish gospel and to have a considerable impact on the dissemination of a new popular anti-Semitism synthesizing the old Catholic variety with a new urban, social and economic version, appealing to the masses. Although Drumont himself was sincere in his beliefs, many of his colleagues were Machiavellians exploiting a prejudice in order to restore their jaded careers. Drumont was to say at the time of the refounding of the Ligue in 1898: 'Anti-Semitism has never been a religious question: it has always been an economic and social question.' In many ways the 'pure French socialism' of Toussnel and Proudhon that Drumont claimed to believe in was similar to the anti-Semitic 'socialism of fools' referred to by Bebel in Austria and, in fact, many of Drumont's allies were of the left, ex-Blanquists, ex-anarchists, ex-Communards. The common enemy of both left and right was, as they saw it, the corrupt and weak republic; Drumont became increasingly sympathetic to the memory of the Commune as a popular protest against the hated republic. Like Poujade (*q.v.*) later, Drumont was the champion of the *petits commerçants* against the *sociétés anonymes*, the humble against the large-scale.

Drumont's imagery like that of many later anti-Semites is that of biology and disease. He refers to 'swarming barbarians', 'microbes' and 'fathers of putrefaction'. Another theme running through his work was a nostalgia for the old Paris under threat of desecration and destruction by the 'financial feudality', a process he particularly blamed on the railways and on the Jewish Péreire brothers. After the Panama affair in 1892, Drumont, now a leading

journalist, was committed to prison for three months after being found guilty of defaming the government. During the Dreyfus affair he called for violence against the Jews (he had been the first to report Dreyfus' arrest in 1894). Elected as deputy for Algiers in May 1898 after the anti-Semitic riots of January, he declared that 'anti-Semitism will be the revolution of tomorrow'; however, he was not to be re-elected in 1902 after a lack-lustre performance in the Chamber where he declared that he was separated from the socialists only by his patriotism. In June 1901 he had to be forcibly removed from the Chamber for insults to Lanesson and others.

Resuming his career as a journalist in 1903, he failed to get elected to the Académie Française and in 1910 blamed the Jewish timber merchants for a flood which destroyed his house and library in Paris. In the same year he sold *La Libre Parole* to a group of young Catholics. Drumont died on 4 February 1917 in obscurity, forgotten and unacknowledged, and was buried in Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris.

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DUBROVIN, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1855–1918)

First leader of the Union of the Russian People.

Dubrovin was trained as a doctor but later gave up his practice to dedicate himself to the extreme right monarchist cause. He first came to prominence as one of the founders of the Russkoe Sobranie (Russian Assembly) set up to counteract what was seen as the increasing cosmopolitanism among the Russian ruling classes. On 8 November 1905 a number of like-minded individuals came together to form the Union of the Russian People (Soyuz Russkogo Naroda), an organization of which Dubrovin was elected as head of the party directorate. Dubrovin himself was an authoritarian demagogue, a violent anti-Semite who believed in a Zhidomasonstvo (Jewish–Masonic) conspiracy theory and organized pogroms with the aid of the URP's activist Black Hundred units. He demanded the expulsion of all

Jews from Russia. Created as a reaction against the growing liberal and radical menace, as they saw it, the URP was drawn from small tradesmen, cabmen, peasants, shopkeepers, and the lumpenproletariat attracted to a popular movement which had set itself against corruption by western values.

He served as a member of the Duma despite his belief in the direct relationship between the Tsar and his people, without the mediation of any semi-popular representative bodies. So opposed was he to the Duma that he withdrew his candidacy from the Third Duma and tried, with little success, to organize a boycott. Dubrovin was, perhaps, the most violent of the anti-Semites and was involved in the notorious Beilis case described by Bernard Malamud in his novel *The Fixer*. His violence was to lead to his prosecution for suspected involvement in the murder of a Duma deputy.

Dubrovin was the editor of the journal *Russkoe Znamia* with which he continued to be connected even after the split in 1910. In this year, Markov (*q.v.*) took over the majority faction of the URP, leaving Dubrovin with *Russkoe Znamia* which had to be bailed out by wealthy friends and a smaller, radical fringe element. He appeared to have few qualifications as a leader; Nikolskii called him 'a vile parasite', others 'half-mad', and he was generally considered as lacking the necessary gravitas or charisma to be other than an emotionally unbalanced, autocratic extremist. Although the URP came close to being a mass movement challenging the previous exclusivity and social conservatism of the traditional monarchist supporters and displaying hostility towards the established intelligentsia, under Dubrovin it was never able to establish itself as a new type of movement, one that could be seen as clearly forshadowing fascism. Dubrovin was shot in the autumn of 1918 for anti-Soviet activity.

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DUESTERBERG, Theodor (1875–1950)

German Stahlhelm leader.

Born in Darmstadt on 19 October 1875, the son of an army major in the medical corps, Duesterberg

served in the cadet corps in Potsdam before joining an infantry regiment in 1893 in Bremen. He was caught up in the China expedition of 1900–1 during the Boxer rebellion. In 1908 he commanded an infantry company in Lorraine and in August 1914 was a battalion commander on the Western Front; by the end of the war he had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Back in Germany he played a coordinating role between the army and the foreign and finance departments. He became a small manufacturer after the war and in the political field was a strong opponent of the Versailles Treaty. Appointed party secretary of the conservative Deutschnationale Volkspartei in Halle-Merseburg, he firmly believed that Germany had been stabbed in the back. With Seldte (*q.v.*) he launched in December 1918 the nationalist ex-servicemen's organization, the Stahlhelm, which came to oppose the whole 'November system' and the republican structure; by 1925 it had some 400,000 members. Duesterberg was in close touch with the Munich *putschists* of November 1923 through his close association with Luddendorf (*q.v.*) but in spite of his sympathy he was not informed of the date of the *putsch*. The more cautious Seldte disapproved of his involvement.

Duesterberg was connected with the radical Halle faction of the Stahlhelm which was often in conflict with the more moderate Magdeburg faction of Seldte. He was the Stahlhelm's representative on the praesidium of the Union of Patriotic German Leagues (VVVD), a confederation of rightist groups, and in 1924 was deputy leader of the Stahlhelm and equal co-leader in March 1927 when he reached the acme of his influence. He supported the organization's entry into the coalition of nationalist groups known as the Harzburg Front in October 1931. In the first round of the 1932 presidential election he ran as an independent candidate against Hindenburg and Hitler, now keeping his distance from the National Socialists (he had earlier commanded an SA unit in Thuringia though he had never been a party member). He withdrew from the second round after the Nazis had discovered that he was the great-grandson of a Jew. He retired from politics in 1933 after Seldte's acceptance of the incorporation of the Stahlhelm into the SA. Of a more obstinate and honest disposition than the more malleable Seldte, he was not prepared to compromise.

Duesterberg narrowly escaped death in June 1934 in Dachau concentration camp during the SA purge. He was later in contact with the Goerdeler (1884–1945) resistance group and in June 1944 an ex-Stahlhelm member, Palombini, approached Duesterberg with a view to gathering former members and

supporters to oppose Hitler. After the war he wrote *Der Stahlhelm und Hitler* (1949). He died on 4 November 1950 in Hameln.

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DUMINI, Amerigo (1896–1967)

Italian fascist activist involved in the murder of Matteotti.

Born on 3 January 1896 in St Louis (Missouri), Dumini, who was to retain an American connection all his life, arrived in Italy as a volunteer in the First World War in 1915. A member of the Arditi, he was wounded on Mt Asolone and in 1919 while convalescing in Florence was caught up in the agitation against high prices which was to end in looting. Dumini was one of the founders, with the lawyer Terzaghi, of the *fascio* in Florence. His squad was known as '*me ne frego*' (I don't give a damn) and, according to Schneider 'filled Florence with the smell of powder'. Dumini himself directed the weekly *La Sassaiola Fiorentina* which lasted until the March on Rome in 1922. Involved in 1921 in the punitive raid on Foiano della Chiana and Sarzana, Dumini gained a reputation for intolerance and arrogance. Umberto Bancelli, the leader of the raid on Sarzana, was to refer to Dumini as 'the real founder of Tuscan fascism'. In September 1921 he left Florence for Milan where he frequented ex-Arditi circles led by Albino Volpi and struck up a friendship with Cesare Rossi (*q.v.*) and G. Marinelli (*q.v.*). He became Rossi's unofficial private secretary and through Rossi worked as an itinerant reporter on *Corriere Italiano*.

Employed as a strong-arm man in the Ministry of the Interior, Dumini took part in the destruction of the house of former President of the Council, Francesco Nitti, and in attacks on dissident fascists like Alfredo Misuri and Forni, and opponents of the regime like Amendola. In France he operated under a false name for Marinelli. In July 1923 he was arrested on his return from Yugoslavia for arms trafficking but was acquitted. In 1924 prompted by Rossi he entered the Office for Fascists Abroad. His main claim to notoriety was as the murderer of the Socialist Matteotti on 10 June 1924. After this affair, Dumini became known as *il Pugnaltore* (the Stabber). At the head of the gang, a semi-official group within the '*ceka*' known as '*la Squadretta*', Dumini, who was in the pay

of Rossi and whose activities were known to the police chief De Bono (*q.v.*), had kidnapped and murdered the socialist deputy who had defied Mussolini in the Chamber. Defended in court by Farinacci (*q.v.*), he was found guilty of 'involuntary homicide' at his trial in Chieti in March 1926 and sentenced to almost 6 years in prison but the Amnesty Law of July 1925 allowed him to be released after 2 months. In September 1926 he was again sentenced, this time to 14 months, for insulting Mussolini, 'an offence against the President of the Council' by claiming that he was the instigator of the murder. 'If they give me 5 years they ought to give the President of the Council 20,' he had said. Although Dumini was a notorious liar he has to be taken seriously in his claim to have committed twelve previous murders.

Dumini spent his second term of imprisonment on the Tremiti Islands in the Adriatic and then in Longobucco (Cosenza). After his release Dumini was exiled to Cyrenaica from 26 March 1934. However, the fact that he made a considerable sum from the hush money he received did not deter him from repeating his version of the true responsibility for Matteotti's murder. Dumini returned to Italy in 1942 or 1943 and was arrested on 1 November 1943 in Florence, then under the jurisdiction of the Salò Republic. Freed from prison in February 1944 he was eventually rearrested by partisans in July in Piacenza. He was tried again for the Matteotti murder in 1947 and sentenced by the Court of Assize to thirty years. Following his release in December 1953 he was arrested yet again and not finally freed until 1956. He then found work in a factory in San Paolo in a Diesel plant. 'My life', he wrote in his memoirs, 'has been of an exemplary modesty and honesty.' He died in Rome on 25 December 1967.

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DUPRAT, François (1940-78)

French extreme right journalist and university teacher, founding member of both Ordre Nouveau and of the Front National.

Born in Ajaccio (Corsica) on 26 October 1940, Duprat was educated in Bayonne; Toulouse, and in Paris at the famous lycée Louis-le-Grand attended by Brasillach (*q.v.*), Bardèche (*q.v.*), Maulnier (*q.v.*) and other prominent members of the extreme right. In 1963 he obtained a diploma of higher studies in history. His political career had begun in effect in 1958 with his foundation of the Bayonne group of Sidos' (*q.v.*) Jeune Nation although there is some evidence that his first enthusiasm was for the extreme left Union de la Gauche Socialiste. One of his earliest campaigns as a school-boy was to agitate for the release of Marshal Pétain from enforced exile on the Île d'Yeu. In 1960 he was involved with François D'Orcival in the Fédération des Étudiants Nationalistes. He devoted much of his energy in the next few years to the struggle to keep Algeria French, a struggle in which he was close to the clandestine OAS; he found himself imprisoned for a time in this cause.

In 1964 he moved to the Congo to become a professor of history and Moïse Tschombe's Chief of Propaganda in charge of Radio-Katanga. On his return to France in the same year he launched with Alain Robert the Occident movement, which claimed to defend the West against the Third World and from which he was excluded in 1967; this movement expressed its disgust at the corrupt politicians of democratic regimes, the 'flunkies of bolshevism'. Duprat always looked back to the Liberation as a French tragedy, saw the leading collaborators like Doriot (*q.v.*) and Bucard (*q.v.*) as heroes, and in 1968 published a sympathetic history of the SS for Bardèche's (*q.v.*) publishing house Les Septs Couleurs. In this he excused SS atrocities and claimed that the gas Zyklon B had been used in the concentration camps only for delousing and disinfection. In the course of his historical revisionism he helped to publicize the works of Rassinier, Harwood and others who threw doubt on the Holocaust.

Duprat contributed to many of the leading organs of the extreme right including Rivarol, *Le National*, *Cahiers Universitaires*, Venner's (*q.v.*) *Europe-Action*, Sidos' *Le Soleil*, *Minute* and Bardèche's *Defense de l'Occident*, in which he wrote as F. Solchaga. He was editor-in-chief of *L'Action Européenne* and of the *Revue d'Histoire du Fascisme*. He was associated with many native French neo-fascist groups and with Amaudruz's (*q.v.*) *Nouvel Ordre Européen*; this latter group he envisaged as 'a union of all the positive forces for a strong Europe, socially just and a bastion of our peoples'. In 1969 he was at the foundation of *Ordre Nouveau* and served on its political bureau. He joined the National Front in 1972 and developed a close friendship with its leader Jean Marie Le Pen (*q.v.*). He

stood as National Front candidate for Yvelines in the 1973 legislative elections. In the late 1970s he founded a militant umbrella group the Groupes Nationalistes Révolutionnaires to unite the various extremist groupuscules; Le Pen called it FN's working class and turbulent left wing and it did, indeed, serve as the violent face of Frontism.

Duprat's controversial career came to an end on 18 March 1978 when his car was blown up by a bomb near Caudebec-en-Caux in Normandy, probably by the far left but possibly by rivals on the right. There are persistent rumours that, in the late 1960s, he had suffered a crisis of disillusionment and had then worked for the French security service organization DST and through them for the CIA.

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ĎURČANSKÝ, Ferdinand (1906–74)

Slovak nationalist politician.

Born in Rajec near Žilina on 18 December 1906, Ďurčanský was the son of a lawyer. Emerging from secondary school in Nitre in 1925, he attended the Institutes des Hautes Études Internationales in Paris, the University of Bratislava and the International Academy of Law in The Hague. An assistant in the law faculty in Bratislava from 1936 to 1938, he received his doctorate in that year and from 1940 was a university professor of law. Although Ďurčanský was to become prominent only in the late 1930s, he had been chief editor of the journal *Nástup* (Awakening) and leader of a circle of young nationalist and anti-Czech intellectuals and students on the radical wing of the Slovak People's Party who called for Slovak autonomy, the more radical ones for complete independence, and favoured the authoritarian Italian fascist corporatist model rather than democracy. He edited *Nástup* with his brother Jan.

On 7 October 1938 he was asked by Tiso (q.v.) to serve as Minister of Justice, Social Welfare and Health and, in December 1938, Minister of Transport and Public Works in the autonomous Slovak

government. In March 1939 when the Czechoslovak President Hácha ordered the army to take over control of Slovakia, Ďurčanský fled to Vienna from where he directed a devastating propaganda campaign against the Czechoslovak state. On 13 March 1939 he accompanied Tiso to see Hitler. When Tiso became President in the same month, Ďurčanský was put in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in October added the portfolio of Home Affairs. The ambitious, dynamic Ďurčanský supported Tiso in the measures he took in spring 1940 against the Tuka/Mach (q.v.) radicals in the party who wanted a 'Slovak National Socialism' but he himself was removed from his post in the Interior and Foreign Ministries on 28 July 1940 after the meeting between Hitler and the Tuka/Mach faction but he retained his position as deputy prime minister which he had acquired on 29 October 1939 and which he held until 5 September 1944.

With the German occupation of August 1944, Tiso favoured Ďurčanský for the post of secretary-general of the party and although he refused, Ďurčanský remained a committed member of the Slovak People's Party. As late as January 1945 he continued to organize resistance in the liberated parts of Czechoslovakia until he fled to Austria, Switzerland, then to Rome and in 1947 to Argentina. In 1952 he moved to Munich. He was tried *in absentia* by a People's Court in Bratislava in a trial lasting from December 1946 to April 1947. Ďurčanský continued to devote himself to the Slovak anti-communist movement particularly in West Germany where he contributed to the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, *Politische Studien* and *Nation Europa*. He became president of the Slovak Committee for Action Abroad which carried out underground activities in Czechoslovakia and issued a barrage of propaganda against the communist regime. Elected president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Ďurčanský was to continue his attacks on the Czechoslovak People's Republic until his death in Munich on 15 March 1974.

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EÇA DE QUEIRÓS, António (1891–1968)

Portuguese fascist and one of the founders of Accção Escolar Vanguardia.

Son of the great writer José Maria Eça de Queirós (1845–1900), António was born on 28 December 1891 in Paris where he also attended school. He was later accepted by the Escuela Politecnica and in 1917 trained as a militia officer. The years 1910 to 1915 were spent in exile as a result of his involvement in the anti-republican monarchist risings in 1911/12. Seven years later he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing for he was again a participant in the renewed monarchist revolt in Monsanto in 1919 and in Oporto in 1919/20. In 1926 he worked on behalf of the military coup of 28 May and took part in the February 1927 Oporto revolt designed to push the military dictatorship in the right direction. He was connected with Salazar's (*q.v.*) SPN from the beginning and was, with Ernesto de Oliveira e Silva, co-founder of the Accção Escolar Vanguardia, the right-wing youth movement. After a brief flirtation with the fascist-inclined, blue-shirted National Syndicalists of Preto (*q.v.*), he served the regime in a number of minor capacities, as Commissioner for the Exhibition of Colonial Art in Naples in 1934 and of the fairs in Tripoli (1935), Paris (1937) and in the United States (1938).

He was the Portuguese delegate to the International Fascist Conference held in Montreux in December 1934 but it is not entirely clear if he was representing the AEV or the SPN. In 1943 he became sub-director of the Secretariat for National Propaganda and in 1951 with the title of president of the Direção da Emissora Nacional de Radiofusão, became the head of Salazar's broadcasting system; he held this post until 1959. He attended numerous conferences and contributed to a large number of journals, including *Diário de Manhã*, *Voz* and *Jornal do Comercio e das Colonias*, all as a loyal supporter of Salazar. He died on 10 May 1968.

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ECKART, Dietrich (1868–1923)

Bavarian writer and anti-Semite who had an influence on Hitler in his early days of political agitation.

Born on 23 March 1868 in Neumarkt (Upper Palatinate), the son of a Protestant official notary, Eckart completed his school studies at Regensburg before attending the University of Erlangen where he studied medicine. Plagued by morphine addiction, he never completed his studies. A poet who was an early admirer of Heine, Eckart had all his life an ambivalent relationship with Jewry. In 1899 he moved to Berlin where he found work as a journalist. He was so deeply affected by his professional failure with the play *Froschkoenig* in Berlin that he suffered something of a writer's block between 1906 and 1911. Eckart believed that western civilization was becoming more 'Jewish' and that many of the greatest geniuses had been anti-Semites; he particularly came to worship Otto Weininger (1880–1903), a Viennese anti-Semite of Jewish origin who committed suicide at the age of 23. His *völkisch* German translation of *Peer Gynt* was a popular success but after his move to Munich in 1916 by now a convinced literary and philosophical anti-Semite, he turned increasingly to politics. His political anti-Semitism surfaced with the publication in 1918 of the weekly *Auf Gut Deutsch* in which he worked to create a systematic anti-Jewish *Weltanschauung*. Though uncommitted to any one political movement, he had some contacts with the Bavarian People's Party. His circle of fellow thinkers at this time included Feder (*q.v.*) and Rosenberg (*q.v.*) and it was under their stimulation that he came to see capitalism and communism as twin manifestations of the Jewish spirit. The *Auf Gut Deutsch* circle saw Jews as the motive force behind what they perceived as the pervading modern chaos.

During the red revolution in Munich, Eckart collaborated with the Thule Society's *Kampfbund* to prepare the city for the arrival of the anti-Soviet military forces. In May 1919 he launched a Deutsche Burgervereinigung to propagate his ideas on interest slavery and his disgust at the national humiliation of 1918, reinforced by the founding of the Republic.

As a student of Schopenhauer and a pessimist, Eckart was searching, sometimes despairingly, for a powerful figure to lead Germany out of the mire of politics presided over by a world-wide conspiracy of Jews. A Catholic deeply influenced by the mystic Angelus Silesius, he believed Jews should be stripped of all public responsibilities and rights.

After the collapse of the *Burgervereinigung*, Eckart became a speaker for the newly-formed *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* in August 1919; he had met one of the founders, Drexler (*q.v.*) in May 1919. In 1920 he played a minor role in the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch*; Kapp had read his journal *Auf Gut Deutsche*. At this time Eckart saw a new opportunity to spread his message in the *Völkischer Beobachter* which he bought with money lent to him by Von Epp (*q.v.*); Eckart became chief editor in 1921. He directed an onslaught on both the Jews and on the infant republic. In the NSDAP, whose official newspaper *VB* was to become in December 1920, he was a potent influence both socially (he introduced Hitler into the wealthy world of Munich's social elite and in particular to Helene Bechstein, wife of the pianomaker, who was later to contribute to Hitler's party coffers) and ideologically on Hitler whom he supported in the ructions within the party in 1921 but, with the militarization of the party, his role as intellectual *eminence grise* began to dissipate. Losing the editorship of *VB* to Rosenberg in 1923 and being forced to go into hiding under the assumed name of Dr Hoffmann for his libel on President Ebert, Eckart became disenchanted and, though he returned to Munich in October 1923, he took no part in the beer hall *putsch* in November. Arrested in the same month, he was imprisoned in Stadelheim but released on 22 December. Weakened by his earlier drug addiction and by his alcoholism, Eckart died on 26 December 1923 in Berchtesgaden where he was buried. His most lasting legacy was, perhaps, his introduction of the slogans *Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz* (roughly, 'the common good before selfish interests'), and the title of one of his poems, '*Deutschland Erwach*' ('Germany Awake'), which both became Nazi slogans. Hitler, to whom he had been a father figure, said that 'he shone in our eyes like a polar star'.

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EDMONDSON, Robert Edward (1872– ?)

American anti-Semitic agitator and propagandist.

Born in 1872 in Dayton (Ohio), the son of an artist, Edmonson began his career as a professional journalist with the Edmondson Economic Service founded in 1902 as a tip-sheet for investors. As a financial editor he later claimed to have become aware of Jewish financial corruption and this anti-Semitism first became overt and organized in April 1934 when he revived the Edmondson Economic Service which had lapsed. He had earlier worked for a scandal-sheet *Town Topics*. By 1936 Edmondson was the most prolific of all the native pro-fascists with some 5 million copies of his books, pamphlets, leaflets and other propaganda material distributed. His message was simple: both communism and the New Deal were Jewish-inspired. His fellow demagogue, James True, claimed that 'no man in the United States has done as much as Edmondson to expose the international control of the Administration'. Among his best-sellers were the crassly titled *The Communistic Jew Deal* and *America's Jewish-Radical Masters*.

In 1936 Mayor La Guardia of New York, in his capacity as chief city magistrate, invoked this rarely used prerogative to bring a criminal libel charge against Edmondson after the latter's vendetta against the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, whom he was determined to prove was really called Wutski or Lazanski. On 10 May 1938 Judge Wallace dismissed what had become by this time the government's case and posing as a martyr, Edmondson moved shortly afterwards to the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, a hideout from where he continued his bizarre campaign. He furnished the German *Weltdienst* (World Service) with suitable leaflets and indulged in a correspondence with the arch Jew-baiter Julius Streicher (*q.v.*). Indicted in 1943 in the case *US v. McWilliams*, he was released when charges were dropped in July 1944. He continued the Economic Service until 1954 shortly after which it is believed he died.

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EFFINGER, Virgil (known as Bert) (1873–1955)

National commander of the Black Legion, formed by

ex-Klansmen and active in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan in the 1930s.

Born in Newark (Ohio), in 1873, Effinger worked as an electrician in Lima, Ohio, where he became the Grand Titan of the surrounding group of counties in the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. A veteran of the Spanish-American War of 1898 and with little formal education, Bert Effinger and a few hundred colleagues who had violated KKK rules dyed their robes black. In the following year 1932 Effinger became the National Commander and a Major General in the Black Legion. Organized along military and hierarchical lines, the Legion saw itself waging a holy war against Jews, Catholics, Blacks, communists and racial minorities. In its rudimentary economic policy it was for individual self-help, ruggedly capitalist and conservative. Peter Amann calls Effinger a braggart, a bully and a humourless fanatic with a rage against the world in general to which his failure to set up his own electrical contracting business contributed. His dismissal from the Brotherhood of Electricians did nothing to encourage a mellower attitude nor did his failure to be nominated on the Republican ticket as sheriff of Allen County.

Effinger was, perhaps, an exemplar of the violence and racketeering endemic in the movement. There was much talk and some incidence of arson, armed rebellion, explosives and murder; the latter being proven, it became the downfall of the movement, when 13 members were given life sentences and over 30 others up to 20 years in prison. Effinger was charged with criminal syndicalism and the unlawful possession of explosives but charges were dropped. In 1938 he attempted to rehabilitate the movement as the Patriotic League of America with Catholics being admitted to membership (but not Jews). However, by 1939 the League had disappeared. Effinger, according to Amann, often quoted Mussolini and Hitler in private as felicitous examples of the violent overthrow of the state. Right up to his death in a mental asylum in Toledo on 15 October 1955 at the age of 82, he denied that he had been national commander of the Black Legion.

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EHRHARDT, Arthur (1896–1971)

Founder of the neo-Nazi journal Nation Europa.

Born in Hämmer near Sonneberg (Thuringia) on 21 March 1896, Ehrhardt was one of those who attended the legendary meetings on the Höhe Meissner in October 1913 of German youth groups which set up the Free German Youth organization. He was the founder of the Coburg Boy Scouts (*Pfadfinder*). He then served in the First World War as an officer and became a teacher in Coburg after a period from 1919 to 1924 in one of the Free Corps. He became an informer for the *Reichswehr* and after 1924 was responsible for the supervision of the paramilitary training of young Stahlhelm and SA members. In the SA he served as *SA-Ausbildungsleiter* (Training Leader). He resigned from the SA after the Röhm purge in 1934 and for a time relations between Ehrhardt and the NSDAP were strained.

After relinquishing his teaching post he found work as a translator with the Potsdam Voggenreiter Verlag. Joining the army in 1939 he found his vocation in the counter-intelligence service of the Abwehr but in 1944 at his own request switched from the *Wehrmacht* to the *Waffen-SS*. As an administrative officer with the rank of *SS-Sturmabführer* he worked on the staff of *Reichsführer* Himmler (*q.v.*) to whom he was directly responsible as an expert on anti-partisan warfare in Russia and Yugoslavia and for compiling the history of anti-partisan warfare.

On 1 January 1951 he launched the magazine *Nation Europa: Monatsschrift im Dienst der Europäischen Erneuerung*, a racist and neo-Nazi journal with some 10,000 readers. He was connected with Sir Oswald Mosley (*q.v.*) in the European Social Movement. In the May 1955 issue of *Nation Europa* he wrote a notoriously pro-Hitler article. In January 1954 he set up a Friends of Nation Europa to attract financial support for his enterprise. Ehrhardt had close relations with many of the post-war radical rightists including the largest foreign share-holder of NE, the Swede Carl Carlberg (*q.v.*) and with Helmut Sündermann, publisher of the Druffel Verlag. Dedicated to the national European idea, to his racist vision and to the exculpation of the record of the Third Reich, he received in 1957 a suspended three-month sentence for insulting the President of the *Bundestag*.

In 1958 he helped to launch the *Jungeuropäischer Arbeitskreis* (Young European Work Circle). He contributed to many of the 'national opposition' journals in Germany and to many radical right journals elsewhere including Roger Pearson's *Western Destiny*. Ehrhardt died in Coburg on 16 May 1971.

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EHRHARDT, Hermann (1881–1971)

German naval officer and Free Corps leader.

Born on 29 November 1881 in Diersburg (Baden) into a family that had produced churchmen over several generations, Ehrhardt had to leave school in Lörrach and in 1889 joined the navy as a sea cadet. In 1904 he was involved in South West Africa in the war against the Herreros in which he was decorated. By the time of the First World War he was in charge of a torpedo-boat squadron. He was promoted to Korvette Captain in 1917.

The 2 Marine Brigade Ehrhardt consisting of ex-navy men was founded to counter the revolution in Wilhelmshaven in February 1919. Its first action took place in Brunswick in mid-April 1919. After the action in Wilhelmshaven, the Defence Minister, Gustav Noske (1868–1946) allowed Ehrhardt to organize a large volunteer force with a generous state subsidy. It rapidly became the best Free Corps in Germany; Brüning was to report that it was the finest military troop he had ever seen. On the far right politically, Ehrhardt shared the anti-Semitic extreme nationalist views of many of the rank and file. He moved first to Munich where he fought with Von Epp's Free Corps, a unit which wore the swastika on its helmets, and then to Upper Silesia to combat the Polish formation, the POW.

On 10 March 1920 Ehrhardt's Brigade was ordered to disband, an action which precipitated the abortive Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* during which Ehrhardt tried to occupy Berlin. With the collapse of the *putsch* he was imprisoned in Leipzig but managed to escape and far from suffering any long-term consequences was allowed to operate on behalf of the government as the hammer of the communists in Berlin and in Munster. Dissolved on the orders of Van Seeckt (1866–1936), the army chief, Ehrhardt's Brigade reformed as an association of former Ehrhardt Brigade officers and in late 1920 evolved into the Organization Consul. OC was responsible for a number of murders of prominent Weimar politicians including Walther Rathenau (1867–1922) and Matthias Erzberger (1875–1921). Ehrhardt was wanted by the police for his suspected involvement in the so-called Feme murders sanctioned by unofficial kangaroo courts, a resurrection of the medieval practice. He was also connected at this

time with the Bund Wiking, a name OC adopted after the Rathenau murder in June 1922.

During the Hitler *putsch* of November 1923 Ehrhardt lent a number of his men to augment Hitler's SA but he played something of a double game and failed to endorse it himself. From this time the two men, who both aspired to be supreme leader of the radical right, developed a mutual dislike and suspicion. Ehrhardt was neither as ruthless nor as brutal as Hitler. He was able to avoid the major OC trial of October 1924 and the Bund Wiking continued until banned in May 1926, after the failure of Class's (*q.v.*) abortive *putsch*. However, even after its official dissolution, the organization survived until April/May 1928 when Ehrhardt dissolved it himself. In the meantime he had been touring Germany in a vain endeavour to unite the extreme right; in 1926 he had joined the Stahlhelm hoping that the ex-servicemen's organization would be a force for unity but he was rudely disabused of this idea and left in 1927. He had by now come to believe that the way forward was through small cells, some of which took on a distinctly National Bolshevik tone. What was left of the remnants of the BW was absorbed in August 1933 into the SS under Himmler (*q.v.*).

Ehrhardt became an ally of the Strassers (*q.v.*) (in 1931 he had taken a minor role in the peasant unrest in Schleswig) and appeared on the original list of those to be executed in the SA purge of 1934; however, he escaped to Switzerland on 30 April 1934 and then to Austria. He ignored Nazi inducements to tempt him back and became caught up with Canaris's (*q.v.*) anti-Hitler circle. Imprisoned in Berlin, Vienna and near Neuruppin until the autumn of 1944, he was released by the Allies. After the war he may have had some connection with the neo-Nazi *Nation Europa*. He died in Brunn-am-Wald in Austria on 27 September 1971.

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EICHMANN, Adolf (1906–62)

SS-Obersturmbannführer and expert in Jewish affairs, prominent in the 'Final Solution'.

Born on 19 March 1906 in Solingen (Rhineland), the son of an accountant for the Tramway and Electrical Co. in Solingen and later in Linz (Austria) where the family moved in 1913, Eichmann was a failure at the Technical Institute for Electrical Engineering, Construction and Engineering as an engineering student and took a series of odd jobs including one as a travelling salesman for the Vacuum Oil Co. between 1927 and 1933. In high school he had been a member of the Jungfrontkämpferverband, the youth section of the war veterans' association, and of the nationalist youth movement the Wandervogel.

He joined the NSDAP on 1 April 1932 and shortly after the SS, the result of his friendship with Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*). In July 1933 after the loss of his job he moved to Bavaria where he trained in SS camps as a member of the 'Austrian Legion in exile'. By 1 October 1934 he had advanced to the rank of SS-Scharführer (staff sergeant) and was assigned to the SD headquarters in Berlin where he began his career in Department II-112 responsible for Jewish Affairs. He acquired an interest in Zionism after reading Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* and, in 1937, had contacts with Zionist functionaries in Palestine. He became convinced that all questions of Jewish emigration, which was then the favoured policy for dealing with the 'Jewish question', should be dealt with in one centralized department. His policy of deportation was to become the official policy; he was to be allowed to experiment in this direction after the Anschluss with Austria with his appointment in August 1938 as head of the Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung (Central Office for Jewish Emigration) in Vienna. In less than a year and a half some 150,000 Austrian Jews were forced to emigrate. In October 1939 he was made responsible for the whole Reich when Göring appointed him, in succession to Heinrich Müller, to head the Reichszentrale für die Jüdische Auswanderung which he had set up in Berlin. Earlier in the year he extended his Austrian operations to Prague and after the outbreak of war to Poland.

In December 1939 Eichmann was transferred to RSHA Amt IV D4 concerned with Jewish emigration and evacuation, to IV B4 from 1941 to 1944, and finally to IV A4 until 1945. After the decision was taken to implement the 'Final Solution', Eichmann was informed in July 1941 by Heydrich (*q.v.*) to submit to him 'an overall plan of the organizational, functional, and material measures to be taken in preparing for the implementation of the desired final solution of the Jewish question.' From mid-1941 to early 1942 Eichmann's department organized, managed and scheduled the process by

which Jews would be transported to the concentration camps. Eichmann played a vital role in the Holocaust especially after the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942 although he was a mere SS-Obersturmführer. At this conference, he made quite clear at his trial, 'discussion covered killing, elimination, and annihilation'. After the war he was to boast of his murder of 5 million Jews. He visited Auschwitz on a number of occasions to inform the commandant, Höss (*q.v.*), of the plans for liquidation.

Eichmann was given prime responsibility, acting directly under Himmler and Kaltenbrunner for the coordination of the Final Solution in Hungary with his 130-strong 'Sonderkommando Eichmann'. Even when Himmler ordered the end of the liquidations at the end of 1944, Eichmann sabotaged his directives to allow the murders to continue. Captured by the Americans after the war, Eichmann managed to escape from a camp for SS men and in 1946 arrived in Buenos Aires where he lived with his wife in the suburb of San Fernando under the alias Ricardo Klement. He worked for Mercedes Benz until captured by Israeli agents on 11 May 1960 and spirited away from Suarez (Buenos Aires) to Jerusalem where, after a famous and lengthy trial, he was found guilty of his crimes and hanged on 31 May 1962 in Ramla prison, Jerusalem. His last words were in keeping with the formulation applied by Hannah Arendt to Eichmann, 'the banality of evil'. The HSSP leader Otto Winkelmann characterized Eichmann as 'a subaltern character . . . someone who pushes his power to the limits without in the process developing ethical or psychological scruples. He also shows no compunction about exceeding his authority if he believes he is thereby acting as a commander would act.'

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EKSTRÖM, Martin Eugen (1887–1954)

Swedish military adventurer and officer who led the Nationalsocialistiska Blocket.

Born on 6 December 1887 in Galsbö (Dalecarlia),

Ekström became a corporal first class in the Swedish army (5th Artillery Regiment) based in Uppsala. He then joined the Persian mounted police in 1911 as the batman to Colonel Carl Petersen and in 1915 was promoted to captain. In 1916 he was back in Sweden as a corporal in the Royal Swedish Army Reserve and later that same year became a first lieutenant in the German army and a volunteer in the Turkish army. In 1918 he moved to the Finnish 'White' army as first a captain and later a major. He took part in the siege of the fortifications in Viborg. From there he moved to Estonia where as a colonel he took part in the Estonian War of Independence. Still on the move he accepted a post of instructor in the Latvian army and helped to organize the Lithuanian gendarmerie.

Returning to Finland he served again in the Finnish army as lieutenant colonel and in Ostrobothnia was head of the civic guard. In 1933 he was talked by Count Erik von Rosen and the lawyer Sven Hallström into accepting the leadership of the Nationalsocialistiska Blocket, an umbrella organization for various fascist and National Socialist groups. His first speaking appearance in an auditorium in Stockholm on 25 January 1934 was an unmitigated fiasco and as a result he did not even attend the party congress of 17/18 May 1934.

Although the Skåne branch of the Furugård (*q.v.*) movement, the Nationalsocialistisk Forbundet (Skåne), and the Svensk Front (Umeå) were won over and for a time the Stockholm branch of the conservative SNU promised to lend their support, the leading Swedish National Socialist, Lindholm (*q.v.*), refused to cooperate because of his disapproval of the movement's partiality for large industry and its enthusiasm for private initiative in the economy. The Blocket advocated what amounted to a very right-wing form of fascism which would outlaw communism and limit Jewish influence in cultural, economic and political life but which was ultimately based on a respect for private property, on an individualist economy and on a few minor rationalizations in government. By 1938 it had virtually disappeared.

In the Finnish Winter War, Ekström volunteered for the Swedish Voluntary Corps and served first in the IIIrd Group which saw no active service and later in the 55th Coastal Battalion of the regular Finnish army. In 1941 he fought at the Front in the Hängö sector. After the war he remained in obscurity in Finland until his death on 28 December 1954 in Tilka military hospital.

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ELIAS, Hendrick Josef (1902–73)

Leader of the Flemish VNV after the death of Staf De Clercq (q.v.) in 1942.

Born on 12 June 1902 in Machelen (Brabant), Elias studied at the Collège Notre Dame du Bon Espoir in Vilvoorde and at the University of Louvain from 1919 to 1923. He was a highly educated man with doctorates in history from Louvain and law from Ghent. Between 1926 and 1928 he studied abroad in Italy, Luxembourg, Paris and Bonn. He taught for a period in the French-speaking departments of schools in Bruges and Ghent. In 1931 he set up a law practice in Ghent.

From 1930 to 1931 he was the secretary of the Vlaams Nationale Volkspartij and Flemish Nationalist member of the Chamber representing Ghent-Eeklo from 27 November 1932 to September 1944. On the foundation of the Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond in 1933 he became a member and was one of the authors of the party programme of 1935 contained in *De Dietsche Volkstaat*. He served as the *gouwleider* of East Flanders. Within the party he was known as a moderate, often opposed to the fascistization of the VNV. After the German invasion he was appointed Mayor of Ghent from 21 February to July 1943. His belief in a federal Belgian state led him to oppose any attempt to incorporate Flanders into a Greater German Reich. He envisaged instead a commonwealth of free and equal Germanic nations. After the death of De Clercq the leader of the VNV in October 1942, Elias took over the responsibility, much against the will of Himmler's representative Gottlob Berger (*q.v.*) who perceived him as an enemy of the germanization of Flanders. Although no democrat, his version of the corporate, organic state was less authoritarian and more Christian than De Clercq's; he was more of a compromiser, more moderate, and easier for the Germans to manipulate than De Clercq. Despite his call in August 1943 for an end to recruitment for the Waffen-SS, his opposition to the SS and to military collaboration, his attempt to disband the Hitler Youth in Flanders, and his desire to end Jef van der Wiele's (*q.v.*) influence through De Vlag, he was prepared to cooperate with the occupying power especially as the end approached and he began to fear a communist bid to fill the power vacuum.

Fleeing to Germany in September 1944, he found himself in Lippstadt (Westphalia) where he was assigned to the Ifen Hotel in Hirschegg near Oberstdorf and where he refused to join the so-called Committee of Liberation and to cooperate with the sad remnants of collaboration under van der Wiele. He was arrested by the French on 27 May 1945 and extradited to Brussels where in 1947 he was sentenced to death, a sentence later commuted to life imprisonment in April 1951. He was freed on 24 December 1959. In 1971 he wrote his account of the Flemish nationalist movement in *Vijftieng Jaar Vlaamse Beweging*. He died on 2 February 1973 in Ukkel.

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ENDRE, László (1895–1946)

Hungarian National Socialist and leading organizer of the deportation of Hungarian Jews to the death camps.

László Endre was born on 1 January 1895 into a wealthy family in Abony; his father was a landowner and his mother a Swabian from Temesvár. He grew up in Kiskunfélegyháza and served in the Imperial Army in the First World War. In 1918 he acquired his degree in political science and then entered the field of local administration, first as chief constable of Gödöllő and then deputy prefect (Alispán) of Pest County. As a local government officer he built up an extensive network of extreme right-wing political contacts and belonged to various nationalist societies including the most prominent, the MOVE (Magyar Országos Véderő Egyesület or Hungarian National Defence Association). He was inclined to strut about in his MOVE uniform accompanied by a bodyguard. He was noted for his eccentric behaviour which may have been the result of syphilis. It later developed into incipient insanity and certainly exacerbated his extreme sadism and notorious cruelty. From as early as 1931 he was connected with Hungarian native National Socialist groups and in summer 1937 was

the leader of Fajvédő Szocialista Párt (Race-Protecting Socialist Party) which he abandoned to become Alispán on 11 January 1938. From October 1937 to February 1938 his party was part of Szálasi's (*q.v.*) United Hungarian National Socialist Party.

In January 1938 Endre joined the government party (then called the Association of Hungarian Life). He came to prominence at a comparatively late date. In 1944 as a well-known friend of Germany and a virulent anti-Semite (Eichmann (*q.v.*) claimed that 'he wanted to eat the Jews with paprika'), he was appointed on 11 April as Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior during the Sztójay government under the prompting of Jaross (*q.v.*). Now as a recognized 'expert' on the 'Jewish question' he was allowed wide powers to ghettoize and deport Hungarian Jews as a friend and colleague of Adolf Eichmann. He is reported to have said to a group of Jews rounded up in the sports stadium in Pécs: 'Why does your famous God Jehovah not work a miracle for you now?'

Endre resigned in September 1944 although he had earlier lost control of Jewish affairs, removed by the Crown Council in June. He was to regain his power as Commissioner of Civilian Administration in the Szálasi administration in November 1944 but gradually his jurisdiction shrank with the advance of the Soviet troops and in March 1945 he was forced to flee to Austria from where he was deported back to Hungary, tried and hanged on 29 March 1946 in Budapest.

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ENGDAHL, Per Claes Sven Edward (1909–)

Swedish poet and extreme right activist from the 1920s, creator of the doctrine of New Swedishness.

Born on 25 February 1909 in Jönköping, the son of a high-church military officer with conservative views, Engdahl studied philosophy in Uppsala University. He began his political activities as a student when in late 1927 he joined the fascist SFKO and in February built up the local branch known as the Uppsala Fascistiska Kampavdelning. In 1929 he fell out with Hallgren and with a rival group in Gothenburg founded the Nysvenska Folkförbundet in early

1930 of which he was the President. It became in October the Föreningen Det Nya Sverige (the Association New Sweden) with the organ *Vägen Framåt* (The Way Ahead) started later in June 1932. He claimed that despite its anti-communism, its cult of leadership, its extreme nationalism and its corporative goals, that it was not a mere imitation of Mussolini's movement but a genuine native Swedish movement in the tradition of Sven Hedin, Adrian Molin (*q.v.*) and Rudolf Kjellen (*q.v.*).

New Swedishness demanded the substitution of occupational representation in the *Riksdag*, a policy of anti-Semitism including at one point the expulsion of all Jews to Madagascar, and promoted the image of the state as a referee between competing and temporary interest groups. The glue which held the ideology together was a radical racism. Although he was in favour of uniting the various Nazi and fascist groups in Sweden he insisted that the ideological basis would have to be his own New Swedishness. In 1933 he visited Germany after which he moved in a more National Socialist direction. In June 1937 the last number of *Vägen Framåt* appeared and Engdahl joined the Sveriges Nationella Förbundet (Swedish National League) as a speaker. This was the former Conservative youth movement SNU in a new guise. In 1940 the *Vägen Framåt* was revived as a vehicle for Engdahl's pro-Nazi propaganda and in October 1941 he founded a new organization Svensk Opposition which urged Swedish participation in the war on the side of Germany. Many of the remnants of Furugård's (*q.v.*) movement and of the Nationalsocialistiska Blocket ended up in Engdahl's new group.

The anti-defamation laws in Sweden forced Engdahl after the war to moderate the tone of his anti-Semitism and he was banned from Switzerland and West Germany. However, these setbacks did little to discourage his continuing extremist activities. He revived the New Swedish movement under the name Nysvenska Rörelsen, an amalgamation of the Riksförbundet Det Nya Svensk and the Svensk Opposition. On the international front he was an active initiator of the Malmö International and of the European Social Movement resulting from it in 1951. His book *Vasterlandets Förmyelse* (1951) was accepted in 1954 as the ideological basis of the movement. He was a frequent contributor to the radical right journal *Nation Europa*. In 1958 he stood in an election in Gothenburg and was able to mobilize enough of his old supporters to deprive the Social Democrats of a majority. In *Vägen Framåt*, he wrote, 'Some day National Socialism in some new form will march again.' He was still alive in 1987.

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EPP, Franz Xavier, Ritter von (1868–1947)

German Free Corps leader, Nazi general and governor of Bavaria.

Born on 16 October 1868 in Munich, the son of an artist, von Epp received a military education in the War Academy in Munich. He served as a professional soldier in China in 1900–1 during the Boxer rebellion and from February 1904 to November 1906 as an adjutant in the 5th Bavarian Infantry Brigade in the South West African expedition against the Herrero people. He was highly decorated during the First World War as a major of a battalion of the Leibregiment serving in Serbia, Macedonia, at Verdun, in Romania, on the Alonzo in Italy, and again on the Western Front. In February 1919 he built up a Bavarian Free Corps based on Ohrdruf in Thuringia having been urged to do so by the Minister of Defence, Noske. He was allowed to recruit in Bavaria but to operate only in Thuringia. The Bayerischen Schutzkorps as it was known became one of the most effective in Germany.

At the same time von Epp served in the new Reichswehr as leader of the 7th Bavarian Army Division. He was the general state commissioner responsible for crushing the Soviet Republic in Munich in May 1919 and as a member of the Reichswehr he continued to pass funds and arms through his ADC Röhm (*q.v.*) to anti-Republican volunteer groups. It was through Röhm that he came into contact with Hitler in 1920 and although he was a member of the Bavarian People's Party he is known to have raised funds for the NSDAP newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*. Von Epp was an SA group leader and in 1926 commander of the Munich area for the SA before he actually joined the party in that year. He was also head of the Deutscher Notbann which the Bavarian cabinet set up to carry out illegal military training.

In 1928 he was elected to the Reichstag and in his tactless and autocratic manner referred to his fellow legislators as 'slime'. The neat, aristocratic von Epp with his blond moustache and aquiline nose was

every inch the soldier in politics. In September 1932 as a reflection of his great popularity in National Socialist circles, he was made *Reichsleiter* in the Wehrpolitisches Amt (Defence Political Department). After the Nazi accession to power von Epp, on 10 April 1933, became *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Bavaria under Hitler. He invested all the powers of government in National Socialist ministerial commissions and constantly interfered in the legislative and personnel policies of the Bavarian government. He was never popular with the SS, who called him the 'mother goddess' general, a reference to his strong religious leanings. In May 1934 he became Reich leader in the party's Colonial Policy Department and in 1935 was made an infantry general. From 1936 he was *Bundesführer* of the Reich Colonial League. After the war he was captured by the Americans and died in an internment camp on 31 January 1947. Part of his estate was forfeited to the government as reparations for war crimes.

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ERIKSSON, Elof (1883–1965)

Swedish farmers' leader and anti-Semite who operated from the 1920s to the 1960s.

Eriksson was the son of the famous botanist and Professor of Plant Physiology, Jakob Eriksson. He was born in Stockholm in 1883 and devoted himself to horticulture and farm management becoming manager of the family farm Hyllie near Malmö. In a series of articles in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* in 1913/14 he condemned the current party system and the liberal politics on which it was based. He identified himself with the farmers' cause and took part in the Farmers' March of 6 February 1914. He became secretary of both the Svenska Bondeförbundet, the Swedish Farmers' Union and the provincial union in Skåne.

In August 1914 he met the anti-Semite Mauritz Rydgren who instilled in him a fanatical concern for Swedish racial purity with all its anti-Semitic con-

notations. In October 1922 he took over the editorship of *Södertälje Tidning* and in September 1925 launched the newspaper *Nationen* which became the mouthpiece for many years of his pro-fascist and anti-Jewish obsessions. A year later he founded the National Unity Movement, *Nationella Samlingsrörelsen*, calling for a strong state authority, the end of class conflict, control over public expenditure and more bizarrely a state monopoly for tobacco and spirits. The Unity Movement collapsed like all his other attempts to found fascist parties but he continued his campaign against communism, 'cosmopolitanism' and the Bonniers and the Wallenbergs, in his newspaper which was eventually proscribed by the government in 1935.

In the 1920s he was in close touch with the Ludendorff (*q.v.*) Movement and in the 1930s with various German National Socialists but especially with the pathological anti-Semite, Julius Streicher (*q.v.*). In 1941 he wrote a two-volume work on Swedish Jewry called *Semi-Gotha: från Ghetton till Riddarhuset*. During the war he was associated with the German international propaganda organization, the World Service and made great use of material from the Deutscher Fichte-Bund. Following the end of hostilities, Eriksson became more isolated but he continued with his racial themes and had extensive connections with appropriate groups in America and Europe including the Carlberg (*q.v.*) Foundation.

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ESCHERICH, Georg (1870–1941)

German paramilitary leader.

Georg was born in Schwandorf (Upper Palatinate) on 4 January 1870. His father had moved from the mining industry to become director of an earthenware factory. He was reported to have been an aggressive youth who spent his leisure-time hunting and duelling. He studied at the Forestry Institute in Aschaffenburg and at the University of Munich. He was granted a doctorate from Tübingen in 1897. In 1909 he was forestry adviser to the Isen Forestry Department. He had already, in 1907, visited Abyssinia and he was to become well known as a traveller. From 1913 to 1914 he worked for the state

colonial department in the Cameroons. During the First World War he was chief of the Military Forestry Administration in Białowicz in Poland.

After the founding of the Munich Soviet Republic in April 1919 he moved from Isen and founded a right-wing people's army to combat the disorder created by the conflict surrounding the short-lived republic. In December 1919 he was appointed chief of the Bavarian home defence force known as the *Einwohnerwehr* which grew increasingly hostile to the Social Democratic regime of Johannes Hoffman set up after the collapse of the red republic. He played a vital role in the resignation of Hoffman during the Kapp *putsch* in 1920. On 9 May an assembly of organizations from all over Germany met in Regensburg and founded the Organisation Escherich or Orgesch as it came to be known with the aim of defending the constitution, preserving the German Reich, and protecting the army from leftist influences. Escherich accepted the leadership of the new grouping. It was intended as a paramilitary auxiliary force to assist the Reichswehr in keeping order against disruption from the left. There were some 300,000 members in Bavaria alone, although this figure may be exaggerated.

Orgesch and its sister organization Orka, acting as an autonomous body outside state control, moved over the border into Austria and set about the task of bolstering and unifying the disparate Austrian Heimwehr groups into an effective fighting force by supplying them with arms and expertise. Escherich was successful for a time in the Tyrolean and Upper Austrian areas. However, by June 1921, the *Einwohnerwehr* had been disbanded and Orgesch was a spent force (it had been banned in Prussia in late 1920). Escherich returned to forestry as an employee of the Bavarian State Forestry Administration. His political activities continued in a limited way and as late as summer 1928 he visited the Heimwehr leader Steidle (*q.v.*) to encourage his paramilitary efforts. In December 1929 he was the leader of the Bayerische Heimatschutz which tried to compete with the Nazis. The movement was banned by the Nazis in 1933. Escherich himself was released by the forestry administration in 1931. He was later to make his peace with the Nazis unlike his former deputy Kanzler (*q.v.*) who joined the opposition. Escherich died on 26 August 1941 in Isen near Wasserburg.

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ESSER, Hermann (1900–81)

German National Socialist leader and early colleague of Hitler's.

Esser was born on 29 July 1900 in Röhrmoos near Munich, the son of a railway official. He served in the later stages of the First World War from July 1917 as a volunteer in the Royal Bavarian 9th Field Artillery Regiment. Following the end of hostilities he was for a time on the council for revolutionary high school students, a member of the Social Democratic Party, and on the staff of a left-wing newspaper. He was responsible for press relations in the education department of the Reichswehr district headquarters in Munich working for Carl Mayr. His radical socialism soon evaporated and he joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, forerunner of the NSDAP, in October 1919 as member No. 881. By 1920 he was among the leading propagandists of the DAP and an editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. A Hitler loyalist from the beginning, he became propaganda leader of the NSDAP in 1923. His articles in VB soon acquired notoriety for their mixture of luridness and fantasy. Noted for his emotional instability, Esser provoked from his colleague Rosenberg (*q.v.*) the description of 'vermin'. His demagogic abilities have been encapsulated in the phrase, 'a demon speech-maker but from a lower circle of hell than Hitler'.

Hitler especially favoured Esser because he was inclined to obey orders; he became godfather to Esser's son. However, Hitler had no illusions about Esser and declared: 'I only employ him when he is useful . . . for instance as an orator for a certain type of public.' Although he was not involved in the 1923 Munich *putsch*, he fled to Czechoslovakia and Austria on his return from where he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in January 1924. During the illegal period of the NSDAP, Esser headed the *ersatz* Nazi organization the Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft with Streicher (*q.v.*) and Artur Dinter (1876–1948). With the NSDAP revived in 1925 he took up once more the role of leading propagandist. Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) was to refer to him as 'a demagogue of the most evil sort'. With Amann (*q.v.*) and Streicher he formed a

part of the violently anti-Semitic wing of plebian and disturbed National Socialists centred on Munich. From 1926 to 1932 he was the editor of the *Illustrierter Beobachter*. He became a member of the Munich City Council (1929–33), was later leader of the Nazi faction in the Bavarian provincial assembly in 1932 and in 1933 elected President of this body.

On 12 November 1933 he became a member of the Reichstag of which he was appointed deputy vice-president. At this time he was also made Minister of Economics by von Epp (q.v.) in Bavaria. Esser, whose private life was almost as colourful and perverted as that of his colleague Streicher, was dismissed in March 1935 after involvement in a sex scandal. Hitler was forced to tread carefully because Esser claimed knowledge of Hitler's relations with the French during the Ruhr struggle in 1923. Esser was later made director of tourist traffic and in 1939 a state secretary to the Ministry of Propaganda. He remained in the doldrums until 1943 when he tried without success to be approved as gauleiter of Bavaria in place of Giessler.

Esser was arrested in 1945 and in 1947 was deemed to be of minor importance to the authorities. A Munich denazification court however classified him as a major offender and he was sentenced in *absentia* to five years' hard labour. Although he was apprehended, he was released in 1952. Esser died in Munich on 7 February 1981.

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ETCHECOPAR, Máximo (1912–)

Argentine nationalist, political essayist and diplomat.

Born in Tucuman on 19 February 1912, Etchecopar was a disciple of the Spanish thinker Ortega y Gasset. He served as Consul-General in Cairo in 1947–8, in London 1948–9, as ambassador to the Vatican in 1950 and again in 1955, and was ambassador to Mexico from 1962. He was always a man of letters rather than a political activist. His name came to prominence as a contributor to the journal *Sol y Luna* (1938–43) and to *Nueva Política* (1940–3) in which he concerned himself especially with the justification of oligarchy, praising authority and extolling hierarchy in the name of Juan Manuel de Rosas, the nineteenth-century dictator (1829–52),

although his *rosismo* (the cult of de Rosas) tended to avoid the more extreme manifestations of some of his contemporaries. Preferring the more moderate nationalism of Ibarguren (q.v.) and the Irazusta brothers (q.v.), this did not prevent him from writing for the journal *Balcón* (1946) controlled by Meinvielle (q.v.), the extreme Catholic anti-Semite. In December 1942 he had been present in Buenos Aires at the Congreso de la Recuperación Nacional aimed unsuccessfully at a unified response from the nationalists to the 1943 presidential elections; Nationalists as diverse as Ramon Doll, Nimio de Anquín (q.v.), Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo and Cesar Pico were present.

In 1946 Etchecopar wrote his memoir *Con mi Generación* explaining the attraction of the nationalist position to his generation. After 1958, under the inspiration of his friend Mario Amadeo (q.v.), he supported President Frondizi and since then has moved away altogether from his devotion to conservative nationalist positions.

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EVOLA, Giulio Cesare Andrea (1898–1974)

Leading Italian philosopher of the extreme right, a potent influence on post-war neo-fascism.

Evola was born on 19 May 1898 in Rome into an aristocratic family of Sicilian origin. He served in the First World War towards the end as an artillery officer on the Asiago plateau. As a very young man before the war he had briefly belonged to the Futurist movement and after the war became something of a Dadaist poet and painter; he wrote for the Dada review *Revue Bleu*. Nor did he dismiss this episode of his life as an aberration of youth but rather as the start of his life-long anti-bourgeois struggle. In his philosophical period (1923–7), he demonstrated a consuming interest in oriental religion, occultism, 'trans-rational' and transcendental philosophy and mysticism as in his works *Saggi sull' Idealismo Magico* (1925) and *Fenomenologia dell'Individuo Assoluto* (1930). In 1927 he founded a group of intellectuals concerned with the esoteric, the Gruppo di Ur. It was in this period of 'magic' idealism that he became associated with the

philosopher René Guénon (1886–1951) with whom he had been linked in the all-embracing attack on modernity and the defence of tradition culminating in *La Rivolta contro il Mondo Moderno* (1934), a work much admired by Gottfried Benn (*q.v.*). Ignored in its time, this work was to become immensely influential in extreme right circles after the Second World War. Expressing Evola's essentially tragic vision, the work describes certain pre-existent, indissoluble and eternal spiritual truths which cannot be altered only remembered; these suprarational truths had been sullied by the decadence of the Greeks, the Romans, the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. An enemy of the transcendent, free modern individual he completely rejected the idea of progress in favour of a return to hierarchy and social caste, to society before the cancer of materialism and social atomism had taken hold. The rot had begun to set in, he believed, between the eighth and the sixth centuries BC.

So deep did the current of Evola's rejection of democratic process run that he despised even the plebeian fascism that he saw coming from below. In Preziosi's (*q.v.*) *La Vita Italiana* (1931–43), in his own journal *La Torre* (1930–1) and as editor of the cultural page of Farinacci's (*q.v.*) *Regime Fascista* from 1934 to 1943, under the influence of Guido de Giorgio, he spoke for elitist conservatism against all egalitarian tendencies, for an uncompromising reactionary fascism, rejecting even nationalism as an ideology. Although Evola was never a member of the PNF nor held a major post during the fascist era, he was loyal to Mussolini right up to his fall. He had met Rosenberg (*q.v.*) and approved Hitler's anti-Semitic policies; Jews exercised a 'corrosive disintegrating action in social and cultural areas', he believed. Indeed, his views on race were to influence Mussolini directly during the racist campaign from 1938; his 'spiritual' racist ideas as summarized in his *Sintesi di Dottrina della Razza* (1941) led him to give his support to Mussolini's anti-Semitic measures and, furthermore, the book was a great success with Mussolini who adopted it as the basis of fascist race policy. However, it must be said that Evola, paradoxically, had misgivings about the purely biological, 'unscientific' racial ideas of the Nazis with their anti-Italian implications. The reservations were mutual, and Interlandi (*q.v.*), who accepted the Nazi view almost without demur, referred in his journal *La Difesa della Razza* to Evola's 'nebulous spiritualism'.

Many of Evola's main influences had been Germanic: Nietzsche and Otto Weininger and the

thinkers of the 'conservative revolution', Moeller van den Bruck (*q.v.*), Jünger (*q.v.*) and Benn (*q.v.*); in May 1941 he was invited by the Germans to speak at a German-Italian Society meeting in Berlin (in the 1930s he had been close to the Berlin Herrenklub). He was in Berlin when Italy defected from the Axis and he approved the foundation of the Italian Social Republic though he later bemoaned the radical social philosophy of the new fascism. Evola had moved to Rastenburg in Germany after the Italian surrender of 8 September 1943 and then to Rome. When Rome fell in June 1944 he fled to Vienna where he was wounded by a Russian bomb which left his left leg paralysed. However, the most influential phase of his life was yet to begin. As early as September 1943 he had launched the Movimento per la Rinascita dell'Italia to continue his campaign for an elitist fascism which would reject bourgeois society but in the name of conservatism.

After the war he was greeted by Almirante (*q.v.*) as 'our Marcuse – only better' and despite his anti-party attitude, he was close to Almirante and Mielville's Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria. In 1951 this relationship was to lead to his brief arrest. He was to influence a whole generation of Evolian 'spirituals' like Rauti (*q.v.*) within the neo-fascist MSI as well as international movements like Amaudruz's (*q.v.*) *Nouvel Ordre Européen*. It was with the founding of Rauti's Ordine Nuovo and others in 1956 that Evola's inspiration became most explicit; he praised the group as the 'only one that doctrinally has held firm without descending to compromise'. Evola was also the motive force for Borghese's abortive coup of 1970 and the father of the Italian 'New Right'.

Increasingly his reaction to a world of 'urban jungles', socialist tendencies and expanding democracy was one of apoliteia and anarcho-nihilist rejection; the greatest hope lay in a resurrection of a multinational elite Waffen-SS in defence of the West (he had called the SS 'a biological and spiritual elite of the Third Reich on a model with the [medieval] Teutonic Order'). The late Sorelian turn of Evola's thought ('it is not a question of contesting and polemizing but of blowing everything up') was reflected in the young Milanese neo-fascist slogan, 'Sorel, Evola, Drieu la Rochelle'. A month after Evola's death on 11 June 1974 in Rome, a group of young disciples climbed Mt Rosa in northern Italy and deposited his ashes in a hole cut in a glacier. His house on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele became a place of pilgrimage and it was no coincidence that the extreme face of Italian neo-fascist intransigence,

EVOLA

Ordine Nuovo and the Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari, began in 1978 its most desperate nihilistic phase of violence, an Evolian-inspired violence, resulting in the Bologna station bombing of 2 August 1980.

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F

FARINACCI, Roberto (1892–1945)

Leading Italian fascist intransigent, leader of Cremona fascism, who became known as the 'Vice Duce'.

Born in Isernia (Molise) on 16 October 1892, the son of a police functionary in a small town, Farinacci had little education and began work on the state railways. His first political dabblings were as a socialist under the influence of Leonida Bissolati, the reformist socialist. Farinacci became an agricultural union organizer in Cremona, the city to which he had moved. In December he joined the army, having been an interventionist since 1914. Although he was awarded the Military Cross his war record was quite indifferent and in 1917 he resumed his duties with the railways. In 1914 he had been Cremona correspondent for *Popolo d'Italia* and had met Mussolini. As early as 1917 he had founded a Patriotic League in Cremona but did not see this as incompatible with the socialism he still clung to although in *La Squilla* he often attacked the left. At this time he was also a member of the anticlerical Società Giordano Bruno.

He attended the meeting in Milan called by Mussolini to found the Fasci di Combattimento in the Piazza San Sepulcro and was appointed political secretary of the *fascio* in Cremona and in September 1919 a member of the central committee of the Fasci. Arrogant, aggressive, resentful of the successful, Farinacci was a typical provincial fascist determined to reconcile the advancement of the local movement with his own colossal ambition. He became increasingly identified with the interests of the large landowners in spite of his earlier experience in the agricultural unions; his later associations were mostly with industrialists like the Milanese Borletti. Another constant in his consistent life was his anticlericalism which brought him face to face with the Catholic peasant leagues.

An opponent of the Pact of Pacification with the socialists, as the unofficial leader of the most intransigent and revolutionary fascists, Farinacci was instrumental in persuading Mussolini to break with the liberal constitution and institute a single party. Through the propagandist efforts of his papers, *La*

Voce del Fascismo Cremona and from 1 March 1922 *Cremona Nova* (later *Il Regime Fascista*), aimed at a bourgeois readership, he succeeded in subduing the local administration in Cremona. In 1922 he became a consul of the MVSN militias and during the March on Rome took over Cremona. The 'crude, uncultured paladin' wanted the state subordinated to the party and declared: 'We want to insert the fascist revolution into the state.' While Mussolini was seeking the widest possible harmony and consensus, Farinacci as *ras* of Cremona encouraged the most violent *squadristi* activity and tried to ensure the conformity of the ex-nationalists and the former syndicalists like Rossoni (*q.v.*).

In February 1925 he was promoted to general secretary of the PNF, a post he held until March 1926. He saw this as a vindication of his uncompromising stance: 'Only through force can fascism give the nation peace and prosperity and dispose of its internal enemies.' Farinacci extended his control from Cremona to other provinces by, for example, his alliance with the police chief of Brescia, Bocchini (*q.v.*) and by his appointment in 1923 as one of the commissioners who purged the Lazio (Rome) party of some 40,000 members.

As party secretary his aim was to 'legalize' fascist illegality' and to establish a totalitarian fascist state with a captive press, nationalized banks, a subservient bureaucracy and a cowed opposition. As the leader of the possible 'second wave' of fascism, Farinacci encouraged violent episodes like the Florence massacres of 3 October 1925; he quarrelled with the Minister of the Interior, Federzoni, to such an extent that he found himself in conflict with the more cautious Duce who finally reacted to his subordinate's indiscipline and removed him as general secretary as a barrier to the 'normalization' he sought. Between 1926 and 1943 when he returned to the forefront of the political scene under Nazi influence, Farinacci was a peripheral figure but still a thorn in Mussolini's flesh. He tried to preserve the purity of fascism in *Il Regime Fascista* and bombarded his leader with letters about the thousands of freemasons in government (he had himself been a freemason in July 1915). He sustained himself as a lawyer on the basis

of a degree he had obtained from the University of Modena by presenting another's thesis as his own in December 1923 (in March 1926 he defended the murderers of Matteotti at their trial).

In 1934 he was rehabilitated as a member of the Fascist Grand Council and a minister of state. During the Ethiopian War Farinacci was a first lieutenant in the Air Force and served for a short time in a bomber squadron. In the late 1930s he emerged as the leader of the anti-Semitic and pro-German faction in the PNF although he clearly did not believe in the racial theories on which Mussolini's policy was based. His real attitude was revealed when in 1944 he defended a number of Cremona Jews from the Germans. By 1937 he was fully back in favour with Mussolini and was sent on a special mission to Spain to 'take stock of the situation of Nationalist Spain' but failed in his attempt to be appointed ambassador. In 1939 he had to make do with the presidency of the legislative committee of the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations (this replaced the Chamber of Deputies). He genuinely admired the totalitarian revolution in Germany and Goebbels (*q.v.*) called him a 'pronounced friend of Germany'. In 1939 he supported an immediate intervention in the war on the side of Germany. In 1941 despite losing a hand in an accident in Ethiopia he was appointed Inspector General of the Militia in that territory.

At the famous Grand Council meeting in 24/25 July 1943 Farinacci presented his own motion in opposition to Grandi's. He favoured an uncompromisingly pro-Axis government. On 27 July he found himself in Munich from where he broadcast defiant messages on German radio urging resistance to the Allies. During the Salò regime, he retained his control over Cremona but retired from public life and ceased to have any noticeable influence. Contemplating an escape to Switzerland, he was apprehended by partisans, tried by a summary court and executed on 27 April 1945 at Vimercate near Milan.

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FEDER, Gottfried (1883–1941)

Early German National Socialist.

Feder was born on 27 January 1883 in Würzburg, the son of a civil servant. Educated in the Technical

High School in Munich, in Charlottenburg, and in Zurich, he became a successful civil engineer, known as an expert on reinforced concrete; from 1908 he worked with Ackermann and Co. as manager of the Munich branch. From about 1917 Feder began to dabble in economics and tried to sell his ideas to the revolutionary government in Bavaria with no success. A familiar figure in the shadowy world of the extreme right after the First World War, Feder was a member of the Thule Society which he joined in December 1918, a contributor to Sebottendorf's (*q.v.*) *Münchener Beobachter*, wrote for the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* but remained a free-lance journalist and publicist until he joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, the forerunner of the NSDAP, as member No. 531; he saw the DAP as an instrument for the implementation of his ideas on 'interest-slavery'. He founded a German League for the Breaking of Interest Capital (Deutscher Kampfbund zur Brechnung der Zinsknechtschaft), an idea which had earlier been mooted by Alfred Brunner, founder of the Deutsche Sozialistische Partei. Feder agreed with Brunner that the 'slavery of interest derives from the East'. Like Silvio Gesell (1862–1930), Finance Minister of the Munich Soviet Republic of 1919, Feder made a distinction between productive, industrial capital and 'exploitative' interest-earning capital. Among Feder's remedies was the nationalization of the stock market.

Although his didactic style of speaking made little impression on the many *völkisch* groups he spoke to, Feder managed to gain one adherent, a certain Adolf Hitler who heard a speech he made on 6 June 1919. The pseudo-socialist content of his message can be gleaned from the titles of some of his talks; for example, he spoke in September 1919 on 'How and by what means can capitalism be eliminated?' and he addressed the first assembly of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund with a talk on 'Mammonism . . . interest slavery'. He was also concerned with the 'invisible power behind the interest-conspiracy' whose identity, in his mind, does not, perhaps, need to be articulated.

His contributions to the embryo NSDAP in 1920 and 1921 were far from spectacular as he concentrated on his German League. Although his fiscal reform proposals were included in the NSDAP's 25-point programme of February 1920, evidence suggests that it was more the work of Drexler (*q.v.*) and Hitler than of Feder. His main preoccupation was to get his German League programme accepted by the party; this occurred in August 1921 when it was accepted in Linz by the party although it was against Hitler's wishes. After

the Kampfbund, the DSP, and the DVTSB folded, Feder was forced to work through an NSDAP growing progressively more dependent on Hitler. Feder fled to Czechoslovakia after the abortive beer hall *putsch* of November 1923; he was of those who wanted a demilitarization of the party. In 1924 he was elected to the Reichstag where he remained until 1936. As his anti-capitalist programme fell out of favour under the exigencies of the new, more pragmatic and moderate economic strategy advocated by Funk (*q.v.*) and Schacht (*q.v.*), one more attuned to the need for support from leading industrialists, Feder became increasingly marginal. His rigid, obsessional economic ideas were suffered for so long only to retain the allegiance of the anti-capitalist petty bourgeois elements in the party.

Although in 1926 allowed to act as the final judge of problems arising from the interpretation of the 25 points and in November 1931 given leave to establish a Reich Economic Council of which he became chairman (in 1932 co-chairman with Funk), Feder was given only a minor post as state secretary in the Ministry of Economic Affairs in July 1933 after the *Machtergreifung*. Schacht was to sack him from this post with a reference to the inventor of the 'feather-weight currency'. In 1932 he had also been made head of the Commission for Economic Technology and Work Creation within the Political Central Commission; this was merely a grand-sounding sinecure. Hitler, who had once called his book, *The German State on a National and Social Basis*, 'the catechism of the movement', was anxious to control the 'left-wingers' after the resignation of Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*).

In March 1934 Feder was appointed Reich Commissioner for Settlement Policy and Chairman of the Reich Association of German Technology, an association of engineers, but lost the offices soon after. He became Professor of Settlement, Area Planning, and Urban Development at the Technical Institute of Berlin. Feder died on 24 September 1941 in Murnau (Upper Bavaria).

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FEDERZONI, Luigi (1878–1967)

Italian nationalist journalist, writer and politician, and fascist minister.

Federzoni was born in Bologna on 27 September 1878, the son of a Professor of Italian Literature from an Emilian family with a long patriotic tradition. He developed a great enthusiasm for journalism, literary criticism and creative writing. He wrote in the Dannunzian journal *Il Tesoro* under the anagrammatic pseudonym Giulio de Frenzi. In 1904 he began work on *Il Resto del Carlino* (Bologna) and on *Giornale d'Italia* from 1905. Federzoni was one of the founders of the Italian Nationalist Association in December 1910, becoming the most important leader after Corradini (*q.v.*) and serving on its central committee. From March 1911 Federzoni was also a member of the executive board of the nationalist journal *L'Idea Nazionale*. Self-confident and intelligent, though a man of action rather than an ideologue, he was a firm opponent of freemasonry, as he demonstrated during his 1913 election campaign.

Federzoni had become famous in irridentist circles for his articles on German influence in the Lake Garda area. His ideas were expostulated in *Per l'Italianità del Gardasee* (1909). He was an active supporter of the Libyan war in 1911 and after his election to the Chamber in 1913 as a nationalist made a particular issue of colonial affairs and of what he saw as Italy's manifest destiny in the Mediterranean. He had resigned from Sidney Sonnino's *Giornale d'Italia* after a disagreement over alliances during the 1913 election; Federzoni was elected as an independent nationalist with help from the centre and the moderate left against the opposition of Sonnino. Although he came from a right liberal tradition, Federzoni was to reject after the Great War the climate of liberalism in favour of economic direction and state regulation. During the war he fought in the artillery, an affirmation of his strong interventionist stance in 1914.

After the defeat at Caporetto, Federzoni became a member of the parliamentary group known as the Fascio Parlamentare di Difesa Nazionale. His visceral anti-socialism had been exacerbated by his war experiences. Re-elected to the Chamber in 1919 he was again re-elected in 1921 in alliance with the fascists with whom he preferred a close cooperation rather than an outright merger. He signed the Pact of Union between the nationalists and the fascists in 1923 while remaining fully aware of the significant differences between the two ideologies; he had in June 1921 proposed joint foreign and domestic policies. On 23 March 1922 he was chosen as vice-president of the

Chamber and after the merger of the two forces, a member of the Fascist Grand Council. From October 1922 to June 1924 he served as Minister of Colonies after the establishment of the Mussolini government. In his memoirs he plays down his part in the March on Rome which he believed would lead not to an exclusively fascist government but to a National Right cabinet led by Salandra.

As Minister of the Interior (June 1924–November 1926) after the Matteotti assassination, Federzoni helped to give credence to the illusion that Mussolini was subject to the veto of the more moderate elements. As Minister Federzoni restricted the free press, destroyed the old system of elected *sindaci* (mayors) to be replaced by an appointed *podestà*, and strengthened public security in the interests of the survival of the regime. However, he proved to be opposed to *squadristi* excesses and to any second violent wave of revolutionary fascism. Unlike his fellow nationalist Corradini, Federzoni was slow to show any symptoms of disillusion but by the mid-1930s, these had, indeed, developed. Reappointed Minister of Colonies from November 1926 to December 1928, he was then appointed to the Senate on 20 April 1929 (until 1939), taking up the Presidency from 1929 to 1934.

Federzoni's innate conservatism prevented him from viewing the spreading German influence and the anti-Semitic laws of 1938 with anything other than suspicion, a scepticism he also applied to the corporatization of the economy. Many of his consolations at the time were intellectual; he became director of *Nuova Antologia* in 1931 and from 1938 to 1943 was President of the Royal Italian Academy and President of the Institute of the Italian Encyclopedia. He was a genuine Dante scholar. By the time of the fateful vote in July 1943 in the Fascist Grand Council, he had become very close to the Grandi (*q.v.*)/Bottai (*q.v.*) faction and duly voted for the Grandi motion for which he was in January 1944 condemned to death in *absentia* by the Verona Tribunal. After the war he was tried by the High Court for 'acts relevant to the maintenance in power of the Fascist regime' and in his case, in addition, the charges included his measures against the liberty of the press and he was condemned to life imprisonment. In May 1945 but amnestied in December 1947. Meanwhile Federzoni had flown to Portugal where he was appointed Professor of Italian Literature in the University of Coimbra. He returned to Italy in 1948 and died on 24 January 1967 in Rome.

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FERNÁNDEZ CUESTA Y MERELO, Raimundo (1896–)

Spanish Falangist.

Born on 5 October 1896 in Madrid, Fernández Cuesta was educated in Madrid University where he received a degree in law. He was a childhood friend of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). He joined the Falange Española from the beginning in 1933 and was not only an effective speaker but also first secretary of the movement. In the 1936 elections he stood as a Falangist candidate. Imprisoned on the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936, he was exchanged for a Republican prisoner, Justino de Azcarata, in October 1937 after escaping twice and being recaptured. On 29 October 1937 he was in Seville and on 2 December was appointed secretary-general of the unified Falange/Carlist movement, largely because he appeared to be no threat to Franco (*q.v.*). However, he discharged his responsibilities with little self-confidence, demonstrating a lack of administrative ability, and in 1939 he was replaced by Muñoz Grandes (*q.v.*). On 31 January 1938 he had also been created Minister of Agriculture, a post in which he had little more success. On 7 January 1940 Fernández Cuesta was entrusted with the Spanish embassy in Brazil and on 21 November 1942 appointed ambassador in Italy. In this latter year he also held the Chair of Doctrine and Politics of the National Movement in the Faculty of Political Science in Madrid.

Fernández Cuesta, as a Franco loyalist, was to be favoured with the Presidency of the State Council and on 21 July 1945 became Minister of Justice, a post he held until 19 July 1951. His first political principle was utter and absolute loyalty to Franco which resulted in his recall to the secretary-generalship of the party in November 1948. In an interview with Sheelagh Ellwood he admitted that as secretary he tried to ensure 'being in harmony with the political line followed by Franco'. In 1951 he was upgraded to cabinet rank and became a minister secretary-general. After the student troubles of February 1956 he was once again removed. As a member of the Cortes and still an active party member, he developed into one of the most reactionary of the

immobilistas, the most devout Franco supporters. In 1965 he believed the Falange to be 'en estado gaseoso' and as Franco approached death in 1974 opposed the creeping reforms of the more liberal members of the regime.

After Franco's death with the appearance of four different claimants to the mantle of the Falangist succession, Fernández became in 1976 the leader of the Frente Nacional Español which changed its name to the Falange Española de las JONS in October of that year. He was simultaneously a member of Piñar's (*q.v.*) Fuerza Nueva. In the 1977 elections the combined parties won only 0.21 per cent of the vote. Fernández announced his retirement from the leadership in February 1983 and in July Diego Marqu岸ez Horrrillo was elected to succeed him. In 1985 he published his memoirs *Testimonio, Recuerdos y Reflexiones*. He was still alive in 1988.

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FERRETTI DI VAL D'ERA, Lando (1895–1977)

Italian fascist journalist.

Born in Pontadera (Pisa) on 2 May 1895, Ferretti obtained a degree in law and letters from the University of Pisa and entered journalism as a career. An interventionist in 1915, he was a well-decorated participant in the Great War. After the war he worked for the Italian administration in the Trento region. With a consuming interest in physical education, he became deputy director of the *Gazzetta dello Sport* (1919–24) and was then appointed editor of Milan's *Il Secolo* (1924–6) and of *Corriere della Sera* (1927–8). Involved in the March on Rome in 1922 as part of the Lamarmora Column, Ferretti became the first secretary of the fascist syndicate of journalists, a deputy from 1924 to 1940, a member of the Fascist Grand Council, and an officer in the MVSN militia.

From 1926 to 1928 he was Mussolini's press officer and head of the official press office from 1928 to 1931, where he presided over the tightening up of the censorship laws. He not only sent out censorship orders to newspapers but modernized the organization of the Office, took over certain functions from the Ministry of the Interior and increased radio

coverage of state-organized events. From 1931 to 1939 he was president of the literary prize the Premio Letteraria Viareggio. During the Salò Republic from 1943 to 1945 Ferretti continued to work on *Corriere della Sera* and at the end fled to Como with Mussolini. He emerged after the war as Senator for Lazio for the neo-fascist MSI and was re-elected in 1963. He was a member of the European Parliament from 1959 to 1969. Ferretti died on 8 January 1977 in Rome.

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FESTETICS, Sándor, Count (1882–1956)

Hungarian National Socialist.

Born in Dég on 31 May 1882 into a rich aristocratic family, Festetics was the nephew of Prince Tassilo Festetics, one of the largest landowners in Hungary. He did not personally benefit from his family fortune until the death of his uncle in May 1933. He served as Minister of Defence in Mihály Karolyi's cabinet of 1918 and thereafter joined the government party of Count Bethlen and remained with it through most of the 1920s. It was in 1933 that he first became involved in National Socialist politics when he decided to finance one of the innumerable small groupuscules that were to appear in the 1930s in Hungary, a tiny sect run by Aladár Hehs called the Hungarian National Socialist People's Party; it depended entirely on the enforced support of the local peasantry.

In 1934 with Meskó (*q.v.*) and Pálffy (*q.v.*) he created a National Socialist 'Directorate' but was expelled in June for not demonstrating enough anti-Semitic zeal. It is known that he continued to employ Jews on his estate. However, it was the policy of almost all the National Socialist parties to forbid citizenship to all but 'Turanian' or 'Aryan' Hungarians. After his expulsion, he allied himself with another minuscule group run by a landowner from Debrecen, István Balogh. Festetics displayed a penchant for driving around his estate in a large limousine.

In 1935 he was elected to Parliament on the Hungarian National Socialist Party ticket but was deposed as leader by Balogh who took over himself. Festetics continued in Parliament as an independent

member on the extreme right until the summer of 1938 when he joined Kálmán Hübner in his Hungarian National Socialist Party–Hungarist Movement. Festetics retired from politics in 1939 and died in Balatonrendes on 12 September 1956.

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FEY, Emil (1886–1938)

Austrian police chief, vice-chancellor and leader of the Vienna Heimwehr.

Born on 23 March 1886 in Vienna, the son of an imperial councillor, Fey became a career officer. He fought in the First World War with the Viennese Hoch- und Deutschmeister No. 4 Regiment on the Serbian Front. He was wounded four times, lost an eye on the Italian Front and was decorated with the Maria Theresa Order. Following the end of the war he became a leader of the *Frontkämpferversammlung* (Ex-servicemen) and in 1920 was an active participant in the Carinthian campaign against the Yugoslavs. In 1921 he was promoted to major. Fey was also editor of the paper *Österreichische Wehrzeitung*. Politically he was drawn at first to the Christian Social Party but in 1923 was involved with the Deutschmeister Heimwehr and in 1926 became the President of the Wiener Kameradschafts- und Kriegerbund. A year later he became a founder member of the Vienna Heimwehr and in 1930 attained the leadership. Within the Heimwehr leadership he was to become the strong rival of Steidle (*q.v.*) and the bitter enemy of Starhemberg (*q.v.*). Fey proved himself an intransigent opponent of socialism in all its forms and an enemy of democracy. In many ways he was the typical soldier in politics, ruthless, self-opinionated and rather brutal, although he could also display coolness in judgement and a level head when required. Von Papen (*q.v.*) called him a *condottiere*.

When the Heimwehr entered the ruling coalition, Fey was appointed state secretary for security and chief of police in the Dollfuss government on 17 October 1932. The Heimwehr was transformed into a semi-official paramilitary auxiliary force for maintaining order. On 10 May 1933 he was pro-

moted to minister in charge of security and took special measures against communists, National Socialists and their allies the Styrian Heimatschutz. Fey became vice-chancellor on 21 September 1933, but lost charge of security until 11 January 1934 when this portfolio was restored to him. As vice-chancellor he tried to effect an understanding between the *Heimwehr* and the National Socialists. A set-back was suffered in this process when some Nazis tried to assassinate him in Salzburg on 27 April 1934 but he survived and continued up to July to intrigue through Major Lahr to achieve a reconciliation behind Dollfuss' back. He was to lose the post of vice-chancellor to his deadly rival Starhemberg on 1 May 1934 but was kept on as Security Minister and placed on the Commission for Internal Security.

During the attempted Nazi coup of July 1934 Fey was to play a controversial role, claiming to act as an honest mediator. Starhemberg and others accused him of having taken a treasonable pro-Nazi line and of being privy to Nazi plans for the operation. He had ordered the Heimatschutz to parade on 25 July and was hoping to step in as saviour to the Fatherland in order to humiliate Dollfuss. A military Court of Honour exonerated him of these charges in March 1937. Starhemberg also accused Fey of accepting bribes from the Alpine Montangesellschaft in Styria (his part of the bargain was, allegedly to ease the burden of government control).

Although Fey remained as General State Commissioner for the Interior in the Schuschnigg government up to 17 October 1935 and until November 1935 remained as head of the Vienna Heimwehr (when he handed over to Starhemberg), his credibility was deeply tarnished by the July events. He continued to be active in ex-servicemen's affairs becoming a leader of the Kameradschaftsverband of ex-Heimatschutz members and entered the business arena as President of the Danubian Steam Navigation Co. When Anschluss came he claimed he could not live under a Nazi government and on 16 March 1938 committed suicide in Vienna with his wife and child.

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FILIOL, Jean Paul Robert (1909–)

French Cagoulard activist, member of the MSR and milicien.

Born in Bergerac (Dordogne) on 12 May 1909, the son of a Poste, Télégraphe, Téléphone official, Filiol (sometimes spelt Filioli) was a far from brilliant secondary scholar before doing his military service. As a buyer's assistant for the Hachette publishing house he became a member of the Camelots du Roi of Action Française in which he served as organizer of the 16th arrondissement in Paris. By 1935 he had grown restless and disillusioned by the AF's lack of revolutionary fervour and by its hostility to systematic violence and in that year visited Italy where he met Mussolini. With Deloncle (*q.v.*) and other revolutionary militants he left the AF with a record of violent street brawling, an expertise in terrorist methods, and a history of strike-breaking and strong-arm action against pickets, to join the Comité Secrète d'Action Révolutionnaire known popularly as the Cagoule. Filiol, small, muscled, excitable, dynamic, athletic, without a trace of a sense of humour and reputed to carry a revolver, was in charge of the murder gang that dispatched a number of anti-fascists including the Rosselli brothers and the Russian emigré banker Navachine. As chief killer of the CSAR, and known as 'Fifi', according to Georges Soulès (*q.v.*) (R. Abellio), he was the typical '*ange exterminateur*'.

He fled in November 1937 first to Italy and then to San Sebastian, Spain, after bombs had been placed in the Paris headquarters of two employers' organizations which the Cagoulards hoped would be blamed on the communists. After the armistice in 1940 and a pardon, Filiol returned to Paris in December 1940. In December 1941 he was involved in arms trafficking between France and Spain with black marketeering thrown in for good measure. Earlier in the year he had been chosen as director for the Paris region of Deloncle's Mouvement Social Révolutionnaire (in charge of security and information). He also became joint head of the short-lived Légion National Populaire, the militia formed by the MSR and Déat's (*q.v.*) RNP in their brief period of amity. Filiol was the inspiration behind the raids on Jewish-owned businesses and synagogues.

As part of the Charbonneau (*q.v.*)/Filiol faction of the MSR he grew tired of Deloncle's leadership, suspecting him of having expropriated funds and almost fighting a duel over Madame Deloncle. By early 1942 the group had broken up. It may well have been Filiol who supplied the would-be assassin Paul Colette with his weapon in his failed attempt on

the lives of Laval and Déat in August 1941. In October 1942 Filiol was interned by Laval in Saint-Paul-Eyjeaux for threats he had addressed to him and for calling a prominent German a freemason. After his release he joined the milice and became one of its most feared operatives particularly in Clermont-Ferrand and in Limoges. With the Allies heading for Paris, Filiol moved to Sigmaringen in Germany where he organized sabotage and espionage. He is described in Céline's (*q.v.*) account of these months in *D'un Château l'Autre*, as the character Restif.

Filiol escaped once more after the war to Spain where he had built up a large number of contacts. It is rumoured that in 1943 he tried to approach General Guiraud of the Free French through his Spanish friends. However that may be, he was condemned to death *in absentia* after the Cagoule trial on 11 October 1948 and was believed to be still in Spain in the 1960s. An enquiry to the *mairie* in Bergerac failed to reveal a death certificate but this is perhaps hardly surprising.

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FINZI, Aldo (1891–1944)

Italian Jewish fascist Undersecretary and associate of Mussolini.

Born in Badia Polesine (Rovigno) on 20 April 1891. Finzi was the only Jew to play a major role in the PNF, although he was, in fact, baptized a Catholic, married the niece of Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli and had good relations with the Church. A member of D'Annunzio's (*q.v.*) air squadron, Finzi, who was also a keen motor-cyclist, was a participant in the Fiume adventure. A fascist deputy from 1921 he had very close relations with Mussolini. In December 1922 a member of the Fascist Grand Council and Vice-Commissioner for Aviation in January 1923, he served as Undersecretary of the Interior from 1922 to 1924, a post in which he had considerable

power. He not only assisted at the birth of the fascist militia but also helped to organize the secret anti-fascist 'ceka'. On the whole, however, he was a moderating influence who opposed a continuation of the squad violence and the excessive power of the local *ras*; he was in favour of 'normalization'.

Finzi was dismissed on 14 June 1924 as a scapegoat after the Matteotti trial, although he had little to do with the murder. Following his dismissal he remained in the shadows, known only for his lying, deceit and corruption, and in connection with a number of financial scandals. His newspapers *Corriere del Polesine* and *Corriere Italiano* were financed by industrialists in the sugar trade. During the anti-Semitic agitation of 1938, Finzi was 'aryanized'. Expelled from the PNF in November 1942 by Vidussoni (*q.v.*), he retired to a villa in Castelli Romani in the hills south of Rome from where he aided the partisans with arms and food, having for a time been incarcerated in the prison in the Via Tasso and been released by the Gestapo. Finally arrested in 1944 and imprisoned in Regina Coeli he was one of the 335 hostages shot in the Ardeatine caves on 24 March 1944 by Herbert Kappler's (1907–77) (the German police chief in Rome who was later helped by Roman Catholic priests to escape in 1977 from the island of Gaeta) SS men.

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FLORIAN, Friedrich Karl (1894–1975)

German National Socialist gauleiter of Düsseldorf.

Born on 4 February 1894 in Essen, the son of an East Prussian civil servant, Florian took a job as a mining official in Buer in 1912. He volunteered for the infantry in the First World War and in 1918 was captured by the British. In 1920 he was active in the anti-French Ruhr campaign and a member of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund and in a patriotic organization called the Westfalen-Traubund. Deported by the French in 1923, he joined in the following year the Völkischsoziale Block and the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung. After the reconstruction of the NSDAP, Florian became *Ortsgruppe* leader (district leader) on 25 August 1925 and an SA leader in Buer (Westphalia).

In 1927 he was elected town councillor in Buer and became leader of the *Ortsgruppe* in Gelsenkirchen. In October 1929 he was appointed Gauleiter of Bergisches-Land-Niederrhein which in the following year became the Gau Düsseldorf. A member of the Reichstag in 1930 and of the Prussian State Council in 1933, Florian was an effective propagandist in Düsseldorf with his newspaper *Volksparole*. Later the *Rheinische Landeszeitung*; an example of his style is in the minimally subtle, 'fight the black-red-Jewish rabble, fight against the incompetent, corrupt November system, freedom and bread for the productive Germans', and yet it seems to have weaved its magic on the good citizens of Düsseldorf. He was elected to the City Council in 1933. As gauleiter of Düsseldorf and a powerful voice in that city's government during the period of the Third Reich, Florian proved to be corrupt; he kept a large 'special account' for his own private purposes. He was not averse to using the terror weapon in his battles with the authorities in his struggle for control of Düsseldorf. He was engaged in a constant conflict with the civil, state authorities particularly with Carl-Christian Schmidt, with the mayor Dr Helmut Otto, and even with his fellow Nazi Josef Terboven (*q.v.*) for control over the city administration. As an enemy of religion Florian said on one occasion, 'Either you kneel before God or you are loyal to Adolf Hitler'. In 1942 he was appointed a Reich Defence Commissioner.

In 1949 Florian was indicted on the charge of having ordered the shooting of a police officer but was acquitted. In September 1949 he was sentenced by a Bielefeld denazification court to six years' imprisonment but was released in May 1951. In June 1953 he was connected with the Naumann circle of neo-Nazis and was in the early 1960s in touch with the revisionist historians of the Gesellschaft zur Förderungsgeschichtswissenschaftlicher Forschung (Society for the Promotion of Historical Research). Florian died in Lauterbach on 25 October 1975.

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FLYG, Nils Svante (1891–1943)

Swedish journalist and communist politician who founded

the Socialist Party in 1937 which transformed itself into a pro-Nazi party.

Born on 9 June 1891 in Stockholm, Flyg worked as a printer in the Bonnier Printing Works from 1906 to 1917. He was an autodidact, having received little formal education, a handicap that was partially remedied by the education he received as he worked his way up through the trade union movement. He was in some ways a contradictory character, normally sanguine he would occasionally demonstrate a violent temper, periods of hard work and application would alternate with bouts of laziness and indifference. He could also be arrogant and intolerant. In 1917 he joined the Social Democratic Left Party (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Vänsterparti) and from 1919 to 1924 was the leader of a study circle for the youth movement Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbundet. In 1921 he joined the Communist Party, served on the central committee and until 1929 was the communist student leader. From 1924 to 1929 he was in charge of the Communist Party publishers Fram.

In 1929 he created the Kilbomsgruppen, a break-away movement which could not accept the new 'class against class' Comintern line. In 1934 this became the Socialistiska Partiet. Flyg was the leader of this party from 1937 to his death in 1943. Although revolutionary in its socialism, the new party was to be transformed by Flyg into an anti-Stalinist and anti-revisionist party which eventually embraced a kind of 'German' socialism and finally fascist 'national' socialism. It gradually moved away from the socialist consensus accepted by all the other socialist parties. Flyg, as chief editor of the *Folkets Dagblad* from 1937 to 1940 and again from July 1942 when it was relaunched with German subsidies, presided over this odyssey. Despite his arrogance he had charisma and was an excellent speaker who was always able to retain a hard core of enthusiastic supporters. In 1938 he contacted the German embassy and went to Berlin and by the summer of 1940 had reached the apogee of his anti-Stalinism which inclined him ever closer to the Germans.

In 1942 he had further talks with the Germans about a possible new authoritarian pro-Nazi government in Sweden. Although the party had reached a high point of 4–5 per cent of the vote in the mid-1930s, by 1944 it could only muster 0.2 per cent. In 1940 it had lost all its representatives in the legislature. In the same year Flyg spoke for the extreme conservative Nationella Förbund and thereafter began to criticize the very foundations of democracy, the party and electoral systems. By the autumn of 1942 the party had added corporatism and

anti-Semitism to its policies. Flyg came to associate the possible allied victory with a victory of large-scale capitalism. His new ideology is contained in his book *Arbetarklassens Väg till Socialismen* (*The Working-Class Road to Socialism*) published posthumously in 1944. Flyg died in Nacka on 9 January 1943.

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FONJALLAZ, Arthur Robert Gaston (1875–1944)

Swiss fascist colonel.

Born in l'Aisile de Cery (Prilly) near Lausanne on 2 January 1875, the son of a rich radical wine-grower from Lutry who was also a high-ranking officer who had served on the Grand Council, Arthur Fonjallaz was educated in Geneva but expelled from his cantonal Gymnasium in Lausanne for striking the director in 1892. He attended the Military Academy in Modena (Italy) from 1893 to 1895 where he acquired an italophile outlook which was to remain with him. In 1895 he was a lieutenant in the Swiss army and by 1916 commandant of the Neuchâtel Regiment until December 1920 when he was promoted to colonel in command of a brigade. In August 1923 he resigned as commandant of the 4th Infantry Brigade.

For some time he had been ambitious for a political role; beginning as a radical, but one who admired the Italian nationalist Corradini (*q.v.*), he narrowly missed being elected in 1928 to the National Council as a representative of the Party of Peasants, Wine-growers and Workers in the Vaudois. He abandoned this party in January 1932 having been the editor of its journal *Le Paysan Vaudois* from July 1929. In 1931 he was appointed as principal of military sciences and war history at the École Polytechnique Fédérale in Zurich, a post he held until 1934. On 7 November 1933 he was relieved of all his military functions because a year earlier he had joined the Heimatwehr (founded in Zurich in December 1925) a semi-fascist, anti-Semitic nationalist group; he served on its central governing board. He then founded the Helvetische Aktion

gegen das Geheimbundwesen dedicated to the outlawry of freemasonry and was also to September 1933 a member of the National Front.

Already in 1929 he had proposed to the Italian legation in Berne that they create a Swiss press agency under Italian control and on 10 June 1931 had met Mussolini. In October 1933 he led a Swiss delegation to Mussolini and wrote a hagiography of the Italian leader called *Énergie et Volonté* (Paris, 1937). In the same month he launched the *Fédération Fasciste Suisse*, a slavish reproduction of Italian fascism in Switzerland. Mussolini subsidized the movement to the tune of 2 million lira. Fonjallaz's vision of Switzerland was as a province of Italy with himself as head of a Swiss MVSN. It is not surprising that he was the Swiss representative at the Fascist International meeting in Montreux in 1934.

Fonjallaz was forced out of the *Heimatwehr* at the end of 1934 after criticism of his open fascist sympathies. In 1936 his concern moved to the problem of freemasonry and he introduced an anti-masonic initiative which was rejected by the Federal Council and by the Chamber in 1937. After the Italian subsidy dried up in 1936, Fonjallaz disappeared into oblivion. He was arrested on Schaffhausen railway station on 25 January 1940 as he was about to depart for Germany; he was accused of contact with German agents despite his well-known reservations about the Nazis. He was sentenced to three years on 28 February 1941 and released on 10 April 1943. He died on 24 January 1944 in St Moritz.

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FONTENOY, Jean (1899–1945)

French journalist and author of the extreme right.

Fontenoy was born in Fontainebleau (Seine-et-Marne) on 21 March 1899 and educated at the School of Oriental Languages. A correspondent of the Havas news agency in Moscow from 1924 to 1926 and then until the mid-1930s in China, Fontenoy traced his hatred of the left and of Jews to the time when Léon Blum had him dismissed from the agency. In China he established the newspaper *Journal de Shanghai* and according to rumour had an

affair with Madame Chiang Kai-Chek. Fontenoy was for a time in the 1930s a member of the French Communist Party. He was a large, blond, robust, peasant type but psychologically unstable, erratic and subject to fits of terrible melancholy and anxiety. Returning to France he joined Doriot's (*q.v.*) PPF and became a member of its national council. He left in January 1939 in disgust at Doriot's personal behaviour and foibles but rejoined the PPF later and was instrumental in reorganizing it. He had been on the boards of the PPF journals *L'Emancipation Nationale* and *La Liberté* and was also a frequent contributor to the independent fascist journal *Je Suis Partout* between June 1937 and March 1940 and to the short-lived but lively and polemical extreme right journal *L'Insurgé*; he became known as a specialist on Russian and Chinese affairs. Brasillach (*q.v.*) described him as the 'oddest person' he had ever met and in many ways he was the 'intellectual gangster' to whom Martin du Gard referred. After the death of his wife in 1941, he became a morphine and opium addict to add to the alcoholism that already afflicted him. At heart he was a romantic adventurer who wrote novels, a 'sort of fascist Malraux' (Saint-Loup).

Avoiding military service in 1939, he volunteered for the Finnish Winter War in January 1940 where he served on Lake Lodoga with a ski battalion. He was severely wounded and appears to have suffered some brain damage. Returning to France he was charged by Laval, as his envoy, with the task of liaising with the German ambassador Abetz (*q.v.*) (July 1940). Shortly afterwards he launched the short-lived *La Vie Nationale* with the assistance of Abetz; it was published in the PPF offices in Paris. When Doriot returned from the south he expelled Fontenoy who thereafter lived in fear of his life at the hands of the Doriotistes; whether he believed this with reason or as a result of his paranoia is not entirely clear. The biweekly *Lectures 40*, his next venture, was equally ephemeral. Laval appointed him director of the daily *La France du Travail* but he abandoned this early in 1941. In October 1940 he had joined *L'Agence Française d'Information de Presse* which transmitted news from the German DNB to journals in the occupied territories.

Shortly before this, in October 1940, he had been a founding member with Deloncle (*q.v.*) and Jean Goy of the *Mouvement Social Révolutionnaire* and in December with Déat (*q.v.*), Deloncle, Goy, and others of the *Rassemblement National Populaire* which he served on its national directorate. In October 1911 he launched *La Révolution Nationale* at first the journal of MSR but later directed by Lucien

Combelle (both Brasillach (*q.v.*) and Drieu (*q.v.*) contributed to this). Until June 1942 he was the deputy leader of the MSR and editor of the RNP's *Rassemblement*. Fontenoy's adventurist streak could not be suppressed, and in December 1941 as head of propaganda for the Légion des Volontaires Français, he spied on the anti-Bolshevik force for the Germans on the Eastern Front. In December 1943 he became director-general of the Office Français d'Information and during 1944 wrote for the Milice journal *Combats*. Fontenoy was killed in Berlin, shot in the head, during the last days of the Third Reich (April 1945).

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FORGES DAVANZATI, Roberto (1880–1936)

Italian nationalist and later fascist journalist.

Born in Naples on 23 February 1880, Forges Davanzati took a degree in law after which he moved into socialist and syndicalist circles. Having worked on *Avanti* and on the syndicalist-inclined *Avanguardia Socialista*, he left the Socialist Party in 1906 and briefly collaborated with *Pagine Libre*, the journal with national syndical tendencies. Converted to nationalism, he worked as Rome correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera* and from 1911 was editor of the nationalist *L'Idea Nazionale* and later *La Tribuna* of Rome. A leading member of the Italian Nationalist Association, he fought in the First World War.

After the war he joined the fascist *squadristi* and above all the other nationalist leaders identified himself with the more violent currents of the new movement. When the ANI was amalgamated with the PNF, Forges became the secretary of the new PNF provisional directorate virtually sharing the leadership of the party with Farinacci (*q.v.*) with whom he did not get on; Forges had special responsibility for culture, propaganda and higher education. From December 1925 he edited the amalgamated *La Tribuna-Idea Nazionale* and concentrated almost

exclusively on cultural and propaganda matters. He was a member of the Fascist Grand Council.

Forges Devanzati taught political science at the University of Rome and in the 1930s gave a daily commentary on the radio entitled *Chronicles of the Regime*. A prolific writer and a prominent lecturer on cultural affairs, he wrote a popular educational textbook *Il Balilla Vittorio*. He was appointed senator in 1934 and died on 1 June 1936 in Rome.

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FORSTER, Albert (1902–54?)

German National Socialist Gauleiter and Reich Governor of Danzig.

Born on 26 July 1902 in Fürth (Bavaria) into a Catholic family originally from the Tyrol, the son of a chief prison administrator, Forster took an apprenticeship after Gymnasium in a large textile firm and then worked for a bank, a post he lost because of his anti-Semitic agitation; he remained unemployed between June 1924 and February 1928. In February 1928 he obtained a post as a cashier with the Deutschnationale Handlungsgehilfen-Verband, the conservative white-collar union. He joined the NSDAP in Fürth in September 1923 and became an SA leader in which capacity he took part in the abortive beer hall *putsch* of November 1923. During the ban on the NSDAP, Forster led the local group of the Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft and on 5 April 1925 rejoined the NSDAP, resurrected in February. As district leader in Fürth working under Julius Streicher (*q.v.*), he was a familiar and ubiquitous speaker throughout Franconia and a contributor to Streicher's scurrilous *Der Stürmer*. In September 1930 at the age of 28, Forster was elected to the Reichstag as the youngest member and in October was appointed gauleiter for the Free City of Danzig on Göring's (*q.v.*) recommendation.

Forster began work revitalizing the Gau and making secret preparations for the Nazi takeover; with the achievement of an absolute majority by the Nazis, he played a major role in the coordination of the policies of the Danzig free city with those of the Reich in 'the creeping National Socialist takeover'. With his colleague Greiser (*q.v.*), he undermined the position of the moderate Nazi Hermann Rauschning, president of the Senate, who in 1935 fled to Switzerland.

Forster, who had been appointed a Prussian State Councillor in July 1933 and was leader of the German employees' union, the *Deutsche Angestelltenschaft*, later incorporated into the German Labour Front, was one of the great survivors of the Third Reich; neither his corruption (his acquisition of large landed estates), nor his incompetence (he approved theatres, swimming pools and other projects without funds), nor his clashes with both Greiser and the SS, whose headquarters in Königsberg he tried to by-pass by the creation of a Danzig headquarters, shook his authority. He introduced the anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws in November 1938, leading to the emigration of almost all 10,000 of Danzig's Jews. On 23 August 1939 he was appointed *Staatsoberhaupt* (Head of State) of Danzig and on 1 September Danzig was declared to be part of Germany. In October 1939 Forster became *gauleiter* and *Reichsstatthalter* of Danzig-West Prussia and in 1940 a Reich War Commissioner. All Polish residents were declared ethnic Germans and Polish property expropriated.

As an *SS-Gruppenführer* he was in conflict with his leader Himmler (*q.v.*) over the efforts by the Reich Commission for the Consolidation of Germanism to settle Germans in his Gau. His incompetence and corruption became even more notorious and Richard Hildebrandt, Higher SS and police leader, wrote of his Gau: 'I have never yet met with a Gau in which things are done so arbitrarily and with so little reason and sense.' After the fall of Danzig Forster fled to the West but was arrested and extradited to Poland where he was tried and sentenced to death on 29 April 1948. However, the sentence was not carried out immediately and there are varying accounts of his death, the most likely being that he was finally hanged on 31 March 1954. The other versions claim that he was hanged shortly before Christmas 1955 or that he died in prison in 1952.

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FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, Francisco (1892–1975)

Spanish head of state from 1936 to 1975.

Born on 4 December 1892 in El Ferrol near la

Coruña in Galicia into a middle-class family with a naval tradition and a minor aristocratic ancestry (his father was a naval paymaster, and later vice-admiral), Franco was educated at the Infantry Academy in Toledo from the age of 14 and in 1910 passed out as a 2nd lieutenant. Sent to Morocco in February 1912 to fight the Kabyles he proved to be efficient, courageous, orderly, and immune to the traditional soldierly attractions of cards, women and drink. He was seriously wounded in June 1916; in the same year he was promoted to major. The years from May 1917 to September 1920 were spent in Oviedo and in October he returned to Africa as second-in-command of the Spanish Foreign Legion, the *Tercio de Extranjeros*, known as the 'Bridegrooms of Death'; the commanding officer was Millán Astray who was a great source of Franco's political ideas. In June 1923 as Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, he was the youngest lieutenant-colonel in the army. During the Moroccan campaign against the Berbers (1924–7) he again demonstrated courage and resourcefulness, and the cool judgement he was later to show at times of crisis. From 1928 to 1931 Franco was director of the *Academia General Militar* in Zaragoza established by the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera. He was generally sympathetic to the dictatorship but also well disposed to the monarchy whom he served in the honorary capacity of a *gentilhomme de chambre*. It was at this time that his forthright anti-communism emerged; he was a member of the international anti-communist movement based in Geneva, the *Entente Internationale Anti-Communiste*.

His political views, which he never expressed in public, were those of an *africanista*; a simple nationalist and conservative looking back to Antonio Maura (1876–1923), who conceived of the military as the ultimate guarantor of national coherence, he had little sympathy with parliamentary democracy. In March 1932 Franco became military commander for la Coruña but was not involved either with General Sanjurjo's attempted coup nor with the secret *Unión Militar Española*. Although he was hostile to the Republic, he remained loyal and in February 1933 was rewarded with the post of Captain General of the Balearic Islands. Gil Robles offered him the chance to stand as a CEDA candidate in the elections, an opportunity which Franco rejected but when the CEDA leader became War Minister, he appointed Franco as Chief of the Central General Staff in May 1935. Franco had already in 1934 acted as adviser to the then War Minister, Diego Hidalgo, in directing the repression against the rebel miners in the Asturias and against the brief Catalan rising.

For this he was created overall commander of the Spanish forces in Morocco in January 1935.

Franco was not a charismatic figure, a poor public orator with a high-pitched voice, he was dull and complacent, a short, muscular figure tending to corpulence. When the liberals returned to power under Azaña, Franco was offered a position, in effect a demotion, where he could be watched, as Captain-General of the Canary Islands. In Tenerife from February to 18 July 1936, he stayed aloof at first from the preparations for a military rising through as early as March he had considered a scenario according to which the military would be forced to act. Cautious and procrastinating (he was dubbed Miss Canary Islands for his suspected lack of *cojones* by some of his colleagues), he only joined the conspiracy of Falangists, Catholic reactionaries, monarchists, Carlists and military men organized by General Emilio Mola after 1 July when he realized the consequences of not taking part; when he was offered the command of the Moroccan army, he accepted. On 18/19 July 1936 he was flown from Tenerife to Tetuan. The whole success of the conspiracy depended on the 32,000-strong Moroccan army and its ability to reach the mainland. On 30 July Franco was brought into the junta and on 21 September made supreme commander in Salamanca, 'generalissimo' of Nationalist forces, and on 28 September, 'Chief of the Government of the Spanish State' with a view to assuming 'all the powers of the new state'. The *Caudillo* hoped not only to win the war but to build a new state.

In his achievement of the first objective he was assisted by the disarray and by the internecine conflicts of his opponents, by foreign intervention by his fascist and Nazi allies, and by his natural caution in a slow and methodical campaign. In the pursuit of the second, Franco took Serrano's (*q.v.*) advice to unify the Falange and the Carlists in a new state party, the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS, with a Junta Política and a Consejo Nacional. Modelling himself more on Salazar than on Mussolini, Franco adopted some of the rhetoric of national syndicalism and, indeed, was forced to introduce, after he had almost complete legislative power in his hands in January 1938, some national syndicalist measures but he continued to prefer a more simplistic traditionalism. His first cabinet in January had a high military content but in his future cabinets he tried to balance the various elements of his nationalist coalition. On 29 March 1939 Franco's army entered Madrid to be followed by a period of repression with many executions. His government over the next few years was one of personal fiat and paternalism, 'a magistracy for

life' based on a few simple propositions, opposition to regionalism, the suppression of all parties (expressed in the Law of Political Responsibilities of February 1939), the restoration of Church privileges, and an autarkic economic policy.

Franco succeeded in retaining Spain's 'neutrality' during the Second World War although from 12 June 1940 his 'non-belligerency' policy was far short of a strict neutrality and his Blue Division fought alongside Hitler's troops on the Eastern Front from 1941 (he had joined the Anti-Comintern Pact in March 1939). At Hendaye on 23 October 1940 Franco was able to fend off Hitler's desire to have Spain actively on his side in the war by January 1941. After October 1943 Franco reverted to orthodox neutrality and began to seek the inevitable accommodation with the Allies. However, Spain was to be excluded from the infant United Nations. When she was accepted in December 1955, Franco remarked: 'I have finally won the Civil War'. Franco became an ally of the United States who saw him as 'the sentinel of the Western world'.

Franco hated intellectuals and loved the simple pursuits of hunting and fishing rather than reading; he won nearly 1 million pesetas on the football pools in 1967. He had relatively uncomplicated political ideas and though he adopted a number of Falangist solutions, including the Labour Rights Law, government-controlled unions and a semi-corporatist structure, he was correct when he maintained: 'I have never been a fascist'. More a clerical reactionary, his ideal was the 'social monarchy' of Ferdinand and Isabella, 'a Catholic and organic democracy', rather than the fascism of Mussolini. After 1957 the economy showed signs of increasing liberalization and an end to autarky; in July 1958 Spain joined the IMF and during the 1960s (after signs of a financial crisis in mid-1959) with the four year development plan, the increase in tourism and generous US aid, began a process of economic modernization, though as David Gilmour has pointed out, everything was done with 'solemn efficiency and without flair'. In its later years, as Paul Preston has admirably described, Francoism became corrupt and venal. In July 1969 Franco nominated Juan Carlos, the heir to the throne, as his successor as Head of State.

In his last years he showed progressive symptoms of physical decline mostly due to Parkinson's disease but continued as though he were 'the sentinel who is never relieved'. The influence of Carrero Blanco as prime minister, until his assassination by ETA in 1973, became paramount, tipping the balance temporarily away from the *apertunistas*, who wanted

change, to the conservatives. When Franco died on 20 November 1975 in Madrid after a long agony, Francoism was already in its last death throes easing the transition to a democratic Spain. His legacy was the 'peaceful, prosperous, and united Spain' that J.W.D. Trythall refers to but, as many have asked, at what cost?

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FRANÇOIS, Josephus Alphonsus Marie (known as Jef) (1901–)

Leader of the Flemish Verdinaso after Van Severen's (q.v.) death, commander of the Flemish (Germania) SS and later a supporter of the Vlaamse Militanten Orde.

Born in Ghent on 22 May 1901, Jef François was a member of the activist group of Flemish nationalists in Jong Vlaanderen in Ghent during the First World War. In 1929 he joined the Front Party but two years later meeting in the Hotel Richelieu with Wies Moens, Van Severen, Enile Thiers and others who believed the nationalist movement should adopt national solidarism, disciplined, heirarchical and militant in its opposition to the 'hyper-democracy', he was one of the founders of Verdinaso. In 1932 he was elected a deputy for the movement and in 1937 was appointed as leader of the paramilitary militia, the Dinaso Militanten-Orde (first called the Dinaso Militie). He was also the director of the DMO journal *Recht en Trouw* in May 1938. With Wies Moens he launched the journal *De Vlag*.

He proved himself, after the German invasion in 1940, one of the most pro-Nazi and pliable of the Flemish collaborators. After Van Severen's death, he became leader of Verdinaso and took it into compulsory union with the Vlaams Nationaal Verbond on 5 May 1941. François became the commandant of the joint militia formed from the fusion of the Dietsche Militie and the so-called Grey Brigade. In August 1941 he enrolled in the SS to fight in the Vlaams Legioen and found himself on the Eastern

Front as an SS-Obersturmführer in the SS-Langemarck Division.

François was condemned to death after the war but freed in July 1952. Since that time he has taken part in the activities of the ex-SS organization the Hertog Jan Van Brabant and has been present at the meetings and ceremonies of the neo-Nazi Vlaams Militanten Orde. In the late 1970s and early 1980s he wrote for the Eastern Front veterans' journal *Berkenkruis*. He was believed to be living in Ghent in 1986.

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FRANK, Hans (1900–46)

National socialist lawyer and General-Gouverneur of occupied Poland.

Born in Karlsruhe on 23 May 1900, the son of a comfortable lawyer who had been expelled, for corruption, from the Lawyers' Chamber, Hans Frank was a volunteer in June 1918 in the Bavarian König Infantry Regiment. At the end of the war he joined the von Epp (q.v.) Free Corps, served in the Reichswehr for a time, and was a member of the Thule Society. As a socialist he had been elected to one of the Soldiers' Councils in Munich and stood in November 1918 as a guard outside Kurt Eisner, the socialist leader's, office. He calls Eisner in his diary a 'hero'. It was not long before he realized that the *völkish* variety of socialism had more appeal and he joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. From 1919 to 1923 he studied law and economics in Kiel, Munich and Vienna Universities. While he was employed as a junior lawyer (a *Referendar* in the Bavarian judiciary) he joined the SA in September 1923 and the Munich Ortsgruppe of the NSDAP on 5 October in time to take part in the failed Munich *putsch* of November. After his return from a brief exile in Austria, he set up in legal practice in Munich in May 1924. In 1926 he left the NSDAP briefly in opposition to the party position on the South Tyrol; but rejoined in 1927.

Frank was Hitler's personal lawyer and acted in many libel and slander cases for him as well as on

party arbitration tribunals. He acted in numerous cases for the party as their chief counsel, including in September/October 1930 the Leipzig Army case when three young Ulm artillery officers were charged with high treason. In October 1928 Frank founded the League of National Socialist Jurists (BNSDJ), later called the NS-Rechtswahrerbund, which by the end of 1932 had 1,300 members, and in October 1930 he became head of the Law Section (Rechtsamt) of the Reich Leadership (in 1934 this was elevated to a Reichsrechtsamt). In 1931 he became the editor of the law journal *Deutsches Recht*. Frank was never entirely accepted by Hitler who was hostile to the principles of legality when they became a barrier to his wishes and, after the accession to power, Frank noticed 'a positively systematic persecution of jurists'. His professional advancement was swift; he became Bavarian Minister of Justice (3 March 1933–December 1934), from April 1933 Reich Commissioner for the Coordination of Justice in the Provinces and 'for the Renewal of the Legal Order' whose task was to put the law at the service of the Nazis, and from October 1933 President of the Academy of German Law, a pseudo-scientific party body. By 1935 the process of *Gleichschaltung* had resulted in the removal of all Jewish judges under the Nuremberg laws. In 1930 he had been elected to the Reichstag and in 1934 was appointed to the powerless position of Reich Minister without Portfolio. In this post he was unwise enough to intervene, ineffectually, in the execution without trial of the SA leader in Munich during the Röhm purge, an action that merely hastened his political decline. Nevertheless, Frank retained his regard for Hitler until 1944.

Many of his posts were in fact only ceremonial. In 1935 he wrote the NS handbook for law and legislation. He continued to believe, despite his search for some 'Germanic common law', in legal norms and in the primacy of law. As early as 1933 he clashed with Himmler over his insistence on investigating Dachau concentration camp and in 1942 in Poland he was to complain about 'the arbitrary use of police and executive power'. Hitler's loyalty to Frank led to his rehabilitation in October 1939 when he was recalled from the army unit in Potsdam where he was serving to become chief of the military government in West Poland and then Governor of the Generalgouvernement created from the rump left of occupied Poland, administered from Cracow. From an ancient royal palace on a rock overlooking the Vistula he presided over the first NS experiment in racial and economic exploitation in their conquered territories. Frank was responsible for the creation of the Institut für

Deutsche Ostarbeit out of the ruins of the ancient Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Michael Burleigh has recently painted a graphic picture of the 'imitation man of violence's' (Fest) 'court' as described by Malaparte (*q.v.*) in his *Kaputt*, with its superficial culture and stone age morality: 'a class given over to mindlessness, consumption, and destruction took refuge from its own awfulness'. His rule was also to be marked by constant bickering and in-fighting between Frank, his own staff and the SS. He was in perpetual conflict with the *SS-Obergruppenführer* responsible for the SS and Police in Poland, Friedrich Krüger (1894–1945).

Frank himself acknowledged that Poland was 'a gigantic labour camp in which everything that signifies power and independence rests in the hands of the Germans'. His reputation as the 'murderer of the Poles' was based on his often expressed statements that 'we must destroy the Jews whenever we meet them and whenever opportunity offers' and 'but, of course, in one year I could eliminate neither all lice nor all Jews'. At the core of Frank's personality was an inconsistency which allowed him to state that he 'would rather die than give up [the] idea of justice' and, at the same time, to exalt the idea of 'popular' justice which he opposed to the 'dead law of jurists'. Weak and emotionally unstable, he was only nominally in control of the Governor-generalship, the real power being in the hands of Bormann's representative Schalk and Krüger.

Frank saw clearly that two or three million Jews could not be liquidated easily but after the introduction of Zyklon-B he referred to 'steps which in one way or another can lead to success in extermination'. He discovered by bitter experience that expulsion was not possible and accepted the logic of extermination as the only way out of a bureaucratic impasse. In July 1942 after the series of lectures in which he called for a return to constitutionality, he was deprived of all his offices except the governorship of Poland and was succeeded by Thierack (*q.v.*) as Reich Commissioner for Justice. He described his years in Poland as the 'most terrible years' of his life and certainly, as he said at Nuremberg, he could hear 'the angry laughter of God'. He was hanged after his trial in Nuremberg on 16 October 1946, having been belatedly converted to Catholicism.

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FRANK, Karl Hermann (1898–1946)

Sudeten German National Socialist.

Frank was born on 24 January 1898 in Carlsbad, the son of a primary school teacher who was an enthusiastic supporter of Schönerer's (*q.v.*) Pan-Germans. Karl Frank was to be driven all his life by a fierce hatred of the Czechs. He spent one year at the law school of the German University in Prague but his education was fitful and truncated. After service in the army at the end of the First World War he took a number of posts as a poorly paid bookkeeper with various firms. He was a member of the Böhmerlandbewegung youth movement and a Wandervogel leader. His first overtly political experience was in the Deutschnationale Partei, in the Turnverein of politicized gymnastic societies and later in the Sudeten National Socialist Party, the DNSAP. In the early 1930s he had set up a bookshop in Loket to disseminate National Socialist propaganda but it soon failed. When the DNSAP was dissolved by the Czech authorities, he became recruiting and organization leader of the Sudeten-deutsche Heimatfront on its foundation in October 1933. When it evolved into the Sudetendeutsche Partei in May 1935, Frank was its deputy leader and a member of parliament in the Czech Assembly.

More radical than Henlein (*q.v.*) he was at first prepared to play his leader's game of moderation and respectability but he came later to overshadow the more cautious Henlein with his belief in more violent solutions. Frank came into his own in October 1938 after the incorporation of the Sudetenland into the Reich when he was appointed deputy gauleiter. With the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Frank was appointed as the Protector Konstantin von Neurath's (1873–1956) deputy with the title of Secretary of State although he was the real power rather than the ineffectual von Neurath; his knowledge of the Czech scene was considered vital to the German authorities. Frank pushed for severe and radical measures against the Czechs, tried to persuade Himmler (*q.v.*) to arrest the ostensible but only shadow head of the government of the Protectorate Eliáš and to push the Czechs into active collaboration. With the post of

State Secretary went the rank of *SS-Gruppenführer*; Frank had served in the SS from late 1937. From October 1940 Hitler had entrusted Frank with the process of complete germanization. When Neurath fell in September 1941, his demise engineered by Frank, Frank was devastated to find himself passed over in favour of Heydrich (*q.v.*) but quickly found an accommodation with the new Deputy *Reichsprotektor*.

After the assassination of Heydrich on 4 June 1942, Frank was again passed over in favour of Daluge (*q.v.*) but was allowed to handle most important matters of policy because of his indispensable experience. From August he became a Minister of State as a Reich Minister for Bohemia and Moravia. The persecution of the Czech people tended to become more selective than systematic. Tried after the war between 22 March and 28 April 1946, he was sentenced to death by a Prague court and executed publicly on 22 May 1946 in the garden of the Prankratz prison in Prague. Neurath's reaction to his death was to claim that Frank was 'the one who had exercised the reign of terror in Czechoslovakia'.

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FRAUENFELD, Alfred Eduard (1898–1977)

Austrian National Socialist.

Frauenfeld was born on 18 May 1898 in Vienna, the son of a privy councillor and official of the Court of Appeal. For a time he attended the Technical High School in Vienna. He served in the First World War on the Italian Front as a lieutenant in the Imperial Air Force. From 1920 to 1922 he worked as a stonemason and from 1923 to 1929 as a bank clerk in the Allgemeine Österreichische Bodenkreditanstalt. At first a member of the Christian Social Party, he joined the Frontkämpferversammlung (Front Fighters Association) in 1920, and after hearing Hitler in full cry joined the Austrian NSDAP, probably in August 1929. He was *Bezirksleiter* from September to December 1929, and in January 1930 he was promoted to gauleiter of Vienna, a post in which he demonstrated dynamic

leadership and was able to increase the Gau membership from a few hundred to some 40,000 by 1934. He was the founder of the Gau journals *Die Braune Woche* and *Kampfzruf*. Frauenfeld was leader of the Nazi group both in the *Gemeinderat* (Community council) and on the *Wiener Landtag* (Vienna provincial parliament) in April 1932.

His abrasive personality and his dictatorial inclinations led to friction with the Hitler Youth leadership, with Gauleiter Leopold (*q.v.*), and above all with the Linz administrative leader Proksch (*q.v.*). Proksch disliked him to such an extent that he wanted him removed as gauleiter. For a time after 1931 he was considered the most powerful man in the Austrian party. When the party was proscribed in June 1933 Frauenfeld remained in Austria but was arrested on 9 December 1933 and spent a few months in Wöllersdorf internment camp from where he was released in May 1934. In June he was offered a cabinet post by Dollfuss whose aim was to discomfit the Nazis and cause dissension in their ranks. In the same month he fled to Germany and took part in the preparations for the July *putsch*. After its failure Hitler refused to allow him to return to Vienna, jealous of his popularity in the Austrian capital.

Frauenfeld was appointed *Geschäftsführer* in June 1935 but was left with the minor function of executive manager of the Reich Theatre Chamber. He took little part in the preparations for the Anschluss but he was compensated in 1936 with a seat in the Reichstag representing Düsseldorf East. In April 1940 he accompanied Habicht (*q.v.*) on his mission to Oslo to investigate the situation in Norway. In July 1942 he became General Commissioner for the Crimea (Taurida) where he opposed the more ruthless treatment of the native population advocated by men like Erich Koch (*q.v.*) leading to serious public differences with the latter.

He returned to Vienna and after the war was tried, in January 1947 *in absentia*, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was a member of the neo-Nazi Bruderschaft in August 1951 and of the Freikorps Deutschland set up in 1954 in opposition to the democratic Bonn regime. Arrested in February 1953 for plotting against the government, Frauenfeld was freed and the indictment dropped for lack of evidence. However, Frauenfeld, the unreconstructed SS man, continued his extremist activities. In Jun 1953 he set up as the director of a building firm in Hamburg. He died on 10 May 1977 in Hamburg.

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FREY, Gerhard Michael (1933–)

German newspaper proprietor and chairman of the extreme nationalist Deutsche Volksunion.

Born on 18 February 1933, the son of a wholesale merchant, Frey founded the Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung Verlag GmbH in 1958 for the publication of a newspaper which became at the end of 1960 the *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung und National Zeitung* with an ideological outlook similar to that of *Nation Europa*, a journal in which he had a large shareholding. With unconcealed anti-Semitism and what can only be called a neo-Nazi *Weltanschauung*, it appealed, according to the Ministry of Defence in Bonn, to the ineducable and to the confused. At its peak it reached a circulation of between 10,000 and 15,000. An article of 12 March 1965 threw doubt on the historical authenticity of the Holocaust and compared the murdered Jews unfavourably with the 'million' dead in the Dresden bombing.

As a local leader of the National Democratic Party (NPD), Frey stood in the Landtag elections of 1968 in Baden-Württemberg. In 1971 in an attempt to form a national movement to the right of the CSU/CDU supporting a Gaullist-type foreign policy within NATO, he formed the Deutsche Volksunion as a pressure group to drag the Christian Democrats to the extreme right rather than supporting the ailing NDP which he has claimed to see latterly as a divisive force. The Volksunion includes his People's Movement for German Amnesty and Initiative for a Limit on Foreign Workers.

With the creation of the *Deutsche Anzeiger* as the organ of the DVU in 1976, Frey possessed another vehicle for the propagation of his ideas. His activities are closely monitored by the Federal Republic's Verfassungsschutz issued by the Interior Ministry. A number of unrepentant Nazis like Rudel (*q.v.*) were connected with the DVU. In 1972 Frey set up the Freiheitliche Rat as a mass organization covering Frey's DVU, Erwin Alt's AKON, Alfred E. Manke's AUV, Dr S. Pohlmann's ANR, and the Wiking-Bund. As the regional Chairman of the Wiking-Bund, he was involved in instilling military traditions and racial ideas into German youth. Frey's three newspapers all supported the NPD for the first time in January 1987, perhaps with the rise of the

Republikaner, belatedly. They have continued to be fiercely anti-communist and to oppose the presence of the *Gästarbeitern*. In March 1987 Frey announced the formation of a new party the Deutsche Volksunion/Liste D with a very similar ideology. His aim remains to create a united front of all the right-wing extremist elements.

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FRICK, Wilhelm (1877–1946)

National Socialist Minister of the Interior and bureaucrat who helped Hitler consolidate his power.

Born on 12 March 1877 in Alsenz (Palatinate) of peasant stock, the son of a school teacher and a farmer's daughter, Frick studied law in Munich, Göttingen and Berlin and obtained his law degree in 1901 from Heidelberg. He was too poor to have his thesis on the Bavarian postal law published. From 1900 to 1903 he practised as a lawyer in Kaiserlautern and from 1904 worked as a junior legal officer in the police department in the Upper Bavarian state government. Prevented by a weak chest from taking part in the war (instead he was responsible for distributing ration books), he was in 1917 promoted to assistant secretary (*Oberamtmann*) in the police leadership. An associate of the Munich police president Ernst Pöhner, he gave assistance to the NSDAP in its early years as a member of the police praesidium. Frick had been removed from the political police for his overfriendly relations with the NSDAP and at the time of the beer hall *putsch* in Munich in November 1923 he was head of the criminal section. During the *putsch* he used his powers to ensure that there was no effective police counter-attack against the insurgents.

Arrested for his part in the coup attempt he was sentenced to fifteen months in detention but was released, in the event, after only four months and continued in the police service from 1926 to 1930; from 1932 to 1933 he was head of the insurance department in Munich. In May 1924 Frick was elected to the Reichstag for the NSDAP-substitute Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung and by 1928 had become leader of the NS parliamentary

faction. In the Reichstag he introduced a Bill designed to exclude Jews from all public offices and to limit their participation in economic affairs. As the Minister of the Interior and Public Education in Thuringia, the first state to have known a NS minister as a consequence of the Nazis holding the balance of power in the provincial legislature (he was appointed on 23 January 1930), the 'chilly and taciturn' (Bradley Smith) Frick was on 1 April 1931 the victim of a vote of no confidence and was forced to resign. In Thuringia he experimented with some of the measures the Nazis would introduce when they came to power nationally; he endeavoured to put pressure on the police to employ Nazis and ruthlessly purged liberal and republican elements from the civil service, he instituted a chair in Jena University for the racial ideologist Hans Günther (*q.v.*), caused conflict between his adopted state and the central government, ordered anti-Semitic prayers to be adopted by the schools, and forbade 'negro and jazz music' (*Negerkultur*) in the local taverns. He declared that he would make 'use of one official position of power to seize another'. In 1932 Frick acted as an important intermediary in negotiations with both the government and in 1933 with the Centre Party to try to ease the takeover of power by the NSDAP. Frick was now at the height of his power as the one leading Nazi with any experience of government and in 1932 the choice of NSDAP presidential candidate was no mere formality for Hitler.

When the *Machtergreifung* came Frick was appointed Minister of the Interior. He created a powerful bureaucracy and strove to bring the various states in line with the central government. As Interior Minister he was also responsible for the race laws and for the effective suppression of the internal opposition. As a civil servant his main function was to consolidate Hitler's power within a semi-legal framework and often he was deeply disturbed at the extent of the autonomous initiatives available to the *gauleiters*. Yet his achievement was not only to bring on to the agenda issues like the suppression of trade unions or the establishment of the oppressive machinery of a police state but to implement them within a bureaucratic and legalistic environment. Frick was nominally Himmler's (*q.v.*) superior until August 1943 but in February 1936 both Himmler and Heydrich (*q.v.*) had deprived Frick of any real power over their SS machine.

In 1939 Frick took on the post of General Plenipotentiary for Administration to Oversee Justice, Church and Cultural Affairs, an ambiguous post without real definition typical of Hitler's determination to create overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions. On 20

August 1943 Frick accepted the title of Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia but it was made quite clear that the real power was to be in the hands of his deputy, K.H. Frank (*q.v.*), but the appointment provided relief neither to Frank nor to the persecuted Czech population; Frick also became Minister without Portfolio. Basically weak, Frick had, by 1943, long relinquished any real influence he had held and he conducted most of his business from his estate on the Starnberger See. His relations with Hitler were exacerbated by the fact that the Führer could not abide to hear the second Mrs Frick sing.

Frick was condemned to death at Nuremberg on 30 September 1946 as a major war criminal who had done invaluable work on consolidating the NS hold on power. He was hanged on 16 October 1946 in Nuremberg.

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FRITSCH, Theodor (1852–1933)

Important German pre-First World War anti-Semite.

Born on 28 October 1852 in Wiesenau near Leipzig, the son of peasant parents from Saxony, Fritsch was trained as a milling engineer. In October 1880 he began to publish the *Kleiner Mühlen-Journal* and in 1882 the *Deutscher Müller*, two professional milling journals; the profits were ploughed into his political activities. In the course of his defence of small business interests against the unfair competition of big business Fritsch, at the head of the Leipzig branch of the Association for the Defence of Artisans' and Traders' Interests, discovered what he claimed was an attempt by Jews to monopolize the economic life of Germany. From this time he became what Pulzer has called 'the most tireless of anti-Semitic publicists'. Notwithstanding his poor speaking ability he assisted in the spread of anti-Semitic clubs throughout Silesia, Saxony and Westphalia. Fritsch believed that anti-Semitic propaganda in the form of his *Handbuch der Judefrage* (which appeared in 1887 under the name Thomas Frey and was called the *Antisemiten-Catechismus* until 1893) would be more successful than overt political action; this proved to be the case with his ill-fated foundation in 1886 of

the Deutsche Antisemitische Vereinigung. After the 1889 meeting of anti-Semites in Bochum which resulted in two anti-Semitic parties, Fritsch supported the Antisemitische Deutschsoziale Partei in opposition to Böckel's (*q.v.*) Antisemitische Volkspartei which Fritsch considered to be too left-leaning.

Fritsch's anti-political prejudices appeared to be vindicated by the increasing absorption of the anti-Jewish movement by the conservatives culminating in the electoral failure of 1912. As part of his cultural and extraparlimentary activity, Fritsch had in 1902 founded the *Hammer-Blätter für Deutschen Sinn*, a monthly and later fortnightly journal which claimed to be an organ of 'scientific anti-Semitism'. In 1908 the Hammer-Communities which had grown up around the journal were consolidated into the German Reawakening Committee and in 1910 into the Deutscher Hammerbund.

In May 1912 under the inspiration of the Pan-German Heinrich Class's (*q.v.*) call to action embodied in *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär* (If I were the Kaiser) there came into appearance the Reichshammerbund under Colonel Hellwig, the amalgamation of Fritsch's Hammer-Groups and a sister organization the Germanen-Orden. Fritsch, who differed from a more conventional anti-Semite like Liebermann von Sonneberg (1848–1911) in his radical and revolutionary goals, lamented the electoral failure of the anti-Semitic movement but realized the opportunity the demise of the conservatives gave to the radicals like himself and Class to put forward their ideas on the abolition of the *Reichstag* and its replacement by a 'constitutional dictatorship'. The Reichshammer-Bund, open only to 'Aryans', numbered only 1,000 members and was one of the first organizations to revive the medieval practice of vigilante Feme courts to deal with socialists and Jews.

After the war the Reichshammerbund became one of the units of Roth's (*q.v.*) Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. In December 1922 Fritsch, one of the founders of the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei, was briefly a member of the Reichstag on behalf of its successor the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei. Considered an old master by the Nazis, Fritsch died on 8 September 1933 in Gautsch near Leipzig.

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**FULLER, John Frederick Charles
(1878–1966)**

British soldier and military thinker, and member of the British Union of Fascists.

Born on 1 September 1878 in Chichester, the son of an Anglican clergyman and a French mother brought up in Germany, Fuller was educated in Malvern School (1893) and Sandhurst Military Academy (1897) and in August 1898 was commissioned in the Oxfordshire Light Infantry in time to take an active part in the Anglo-Boer War. In autumn 1903 he was posted to India where he developed a fascination for Indian religion and culture. In 1905 he met Aleister Crowley and began a life-long interest in the occult. One of his favourite authors at this time was Thomas Carlyle and in 1908 his interest in the works of Clausewitz became apparent. On the outbreak of war in 1914 Fuller was in Southampton as deputy assistant director of railway transport. He was posted to France in July 1915 to serve with the VII Corps and was later awarded the DSO but it was as a General Staff Officer from December 1916 with the branch of the Machine-Gun Corps that was later to become the Tank Corps that he first developed his belief in a 'mechanical army which requires few men and powerful machines'. His *Plan 1919*, written in May 1918, for winning the war with tanks, has been called 'one of the most remarkable documents in the history of war' (Orgell, 1970).

As an expert on mechanized and tank warfare, Fuller was to have an immense influence on military theory. The same impulse which led him to appreciate the influence of the industrial revolution on the conduct of war and the importance of new weapons also led him to embrace 'the scientific state' as a 'social engine under politico-military direction', disciplined and authoritarian. Following his retirement from the army in December 1933, he joined the British Union of Fascists in June 1934 as a member of the policy committee. Fuller was a prolific contributor to the fascist press (his virulent anti-Semitism was on display particularly in the *Fascist Quarterly* in an article on the 'Cancer of Europe'), the BUF parliamentary candidate for Westminster, and its spokesman on defence. He had long been suspicious of democracy, of politicians and of the 'chaos

of littleness . . . nothing grand but everything small, wormy, and miserable', and was ripe for the kind of leadership that Mosley (*q.v.*) offered. 'No system, no plan, no reform, no organization can rejuvenate us unless great men lead us once again.' Fuller admired the regimes in Italy and Germany, believing that fascism was concerned with the 'creation of a higher freedom'. In works like *Empire Unity and Defence* (1934), *The First of the League Wars* (1936), *Memoirs of an Unconventional Soldier* (1936) and *Towards Armageddon* (1937), he urged support for fascists who are 'better prepared for Armageddon' because they recognize that 'the fundamental problem is a political one'.

Fuller left the BUF but remained a fascist in movements like the Nordic League and Sir Barry Domvile's The Link. In April 1939 Fuller attended Hitler's birthday celebrations in Berlin. It is probable that Churchill protected him from internment during the war but after the war Fuller was to compare the internment camp at Ascot where 186 extremists were detained in comparatively civilized conditions with Dachau. As in the case of Ezra Pound (*q.v.*), Fuller's life raises unanswered questions about the uneasy coexistence in an individual of a supreme expertise or even genius in one field with the lack of a self-critical faculty, of a higher, imaginative intelligence, or even a simple common sense, the absence of which can lead to such lunacies. Fuller's biographer Trythall describes him as 'a man of very great vitality and intelligence, application, and integrity' and yet this 'flawed genius', much admired by experts like Jay Luvaas, was capable of writing, 'the Jews for centuries have plotted world revolutions . . . their history . . . is one long record of disturbances', or this from *Machine Warfare* (1942): 'In total war a nation can only be fully organized when all freedom is exorcised . . . logically it follows that all who are incapable of fighting or working should be liquidated.'

Towards the end of the war Fuller was an active member of A.K.-Chesterton's (*q.v.*) National Front after Victory and later took up a firm anti-communist stance continuing his fascist obsessions by writing for the neo-fascist *Nation Europa*. Fuller died on 10 February 1966 in Falmouth.

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FUNK, Walther Emanuel (1890–1960)

Hitler's Minister of Economic Affairs, earlier intermediary between the NSDAP and big business.

Born in Trakehnen (East Prussia) on 18 August 1890, the son of a master builder, Funk studied law, political science, philosophy, literature and music in the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig. He had a varied career: in 1912 he became a journalist; in 1916 he was invalided out of the army with bladder trouble; in 1920 became an economic editor; and in 1922 editor-in-chief of the conservative, business-oriented *Berliner Börsenzeitung*. Hostile to Social Democrats and trade unionists and an enemy of democracy, Funk was a sympathizer and a fellow traveller with National Socialism before being introduced to Hitler by Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*). He had frequently addressed the Herrenklub, a prestigious nationalist society with many business members, and at the end of 1930 at the prompting of Strasser, Funk resigned his editorial post to establish himself as an editor of an economic and political press service directed by Otto Wagener. Even before Funk became a member of the NSDAP in the summer of 1931, he became convinced that the party would come to power.

Until 1933 his official appointments in the NSDAP were minor, his major contribution being in reassuring the business community, suspicious of Feder's (*q.v.*) eccentric ideological economic theories, of the Nazi's conservative intentions as far as the economy was concerned. Funk had many important connections in the industrial world especially in the coal and steel circles in the Ruhr. Through the Mining Association and other channels, he collected funds from insurance and banking interests like Karl Schmitt and August von Finck and from the large chemical firm I.G. Farben. A corrupt man, Funk diverted some of the funds for his own purposes. So pleased was Hitler by his activities on 21 November 1931 that he arranged for Funk to be appointed to the Economic Council of the Reich leadership of the party (this ceased to exist after January 1933) and in 1932 for a few months to the Amt für Privatwirtschaft (Office for the Private Economy); Feder controlled the equivalent 'state economic office' IV A of the Hauptabteilung. From December 1932 to February 1933 Funk was in charge of the nebulous Kommission für Wirtschaftspolitik.

Funk, who was a homosexual, a drunkard and weak, was appointed, after the *Machtergreifung*, Press Chief of the Reich Government on 30 January 1933 and on 11 March Undersecretary to the Ministry of Propaganda where his function was to act as an inter-

mediary between Goebbels (*q.v.*) and the bureaucratic machinery of the Ministry. He later became Vice-President of the Reich Culture Chamber. As Schacht's (*q.v.*) star waned so Funk's, as a favourite of Hitler's waxed, and in January 1938 he replaced Schacht as Minister of Economics and in January 1939 became President of the Reichsbank. In the former post, subject to Göring's (*q.v.*) domination and bullying and often by-passed by Hitler, he was ineffectual.

Thereafter as Plenipotentiary for the War Economy he was instrumental in the economic preparations for war against Poland and he later assisted Rosenberg (*q.v.*) in his plans for the economic exploitation of the Soviet Union before the invasion of mid-1941. In 1943 Funk served on the Central Planning Board responsible for the supply of slave labour from the occupied territories to large industrial concerns. Funk was not considered 'a dominant figure' by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal but he was sentenced to life imprisonment for war crimes. He was released in 1957 from Spandau due to ill-health and died on 31 May in 1960 in Düsseldorf.

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FURUGÅRD, Birger (1887–1961)

One of three brothers active in the Swedish National Socialist movement.

Born on 8 December 1887 in Silbodal (Värmland), Furugård was from an old local family and the son of a policeman. In autumn 1911 he enrolled in Lund University but failed to get his diploma. He worked as the local veterinary surgeon in Deje from 1928 to 1934 and then in Molkom. After an early contact with 'Nordic' thought and especially under the influence of Bengt Linforss, he developed a local variant of the *Blut und Boden* ideology which placed the Swedish peasantry at the core of national life. It was to Germany that he looked for inspiration and in 1922 he met the writer Dieter Eckart (*q.v.*). He had also read the works of the anti-Semite Fritsch (*q.v.*) and became friendly with the racist thinker Hans Günther (*q.v.*).

On 12 August 1924 he launched in Älvadalen, with his brothers Sigurd and Gunnar, the Svenska

Nationalsocialistiska Frihetsförbundet (Swedish National Socialist Freedom League) whose basis was the supposed racial struggle. Nationally he was of little importance. In 1927 Furugård attended the Nuremberg rally where he met Hitler, Goebbels (*q.v.*), Strasser (*q.v.*) and others. In 1925 the name of his organization had been changed to the Nationalsocialistiska Bonde- och Arbetarpartiet (NS Farmers and Workers Party). It included among its policies the protection of smallholders and a ban on immigrants of 'lesser races'. This movement joined in 1930 with Lindholm's (*q.v.*) Nationalsocialistiska Folkpartiet (NS People's Party); the combined party was eventually known as the Sveriges Nationalsocialistiska Parti, with Furugård as leader.

From the beginning relations between Furugård and Lindholm were riven with jealousy and hostility; Lindholm resented Furugård's gluttony and alcoholism, was disturbed by the bourgeois nature of the party and by the Värmland leader's reactionary friends, appalled by the shambles that had been made of the party's finances, and apprehensive about what he considered excessive anti-Semitism. Furugård was a weak leader who had little control over his

members, who in October 1933 caused a scandal by flying the swastika from the People's Palace.

In January 1933 Lindholm left and in October Furugård was ousted by the Gothenburg branch who preferred Ekström's (*q.v.*) Nationalsocialistiska Blocket. After the fiasco of the 1936 elections the party was dissolved on 13 November of that year and Furugård urged his supporters to join Lindholm.

Furugård left public life but continued to cling to his ideas. His attempts to resurrect the party with a subsidy from Hitler failed when the latter refused to play his part in the enterprise. In an interview in 1951 he claimed that the existence of the Cold War demonstrated that Hitler had been right in his war against the Soviet Union and communism. He died on 4 December 1961 in Nyed (Värmland).

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G

GAJDA, Radola (formerly Rudolf Geidl) (1892–1948)

Czech fascist.

Born on 14 February 1892 in Kotor (now in Yugoslavia, then an Austrian naval base, Cattano), Gajda was a slavicized German who had learnt to speak Serbo-Croat, the son of an NCO in the Austrian army. Gajda was arrogant and quarrelsome, vain and lacking in sophistication. He had an erratic education and became an apothecary's assistant. He served in the war in the Imperial Army Medical Corps as a pharmacist on the Serbian Front. He deserted to the Montenegrins in 1915 and then served in the First Serbian Division in Russia which he reached by way of Albania and Corfu. From 1917 he was a staff captain in the Czech Legion in Siberia. He became a major-general, commander of the Czech armies in Siberia and Kolchak's chief of staff on the White side in the Russian Civil War. On his arrival in Czechoslovakia the authorities sent him to France to study at the École de Guerre in November 1920 but in 1921 he returned and was given a post away from the centre in Kosič district in eastern Slovakia where he had contacts with the Slovak nationalist Hlinka Party and the leader of the National Democrats Karel Kramář (1860–1937). He was eventually brought back to Prague under the influence of Masaryk, but continued to make trouble despite his appointment in November 1924 as deputy chief of the Czech General Staff.

In 1925 Gajda helped found the Národní Obec Fašistická (National Fascist Community), based on the Italian fascist model. It was later subsidized by the Italians. Gajda could not be a member owing to a ban on military personnel belonging to political organizations but served as the *eminence grise* in the background. In autumn 1925 he compounded his sins by launching a rival to the official Legionary Movement, the Union of Independent Legionaries. He was appointed temporary Chief-of-Staff in March 1926 but removed in August by Masaryk after rumours of a possible coup staged by Gajda with Kramář. In December a military tribunal found him guilty of treasonable activity and of contacts

with the Soviet secret service. Although he was involved in fascist agitation with Štribňý (*q.v.*), Kramář, and the poet Victor Dyk (1877–1931) it is doubtful if he was actually guilty of espionage. He was sentenced to loss of some pension and forcible retirement.

He next became open leader of the NOF for which he served as deputy between 1927 and 1931. In the 1929 elections Gajda's organization joined an electoral pact with Štribňý as the League against Fixed-List Candidates but won only 0.9 per cent of the vote. He did much better in 1935 with 12 per cent of the vote and six seats. In 1938 the NOF joined the Party of National Unity but retained a certain amount of autonomy. In the following year Gajda offered his services to Göring (*q.v.*) who refused to see him after the German legation had described him as a Czech nationalist. He set up a number of Committees of Collaboration with the Germans which were disbanded in March 1939. Prime Minister Eliáš and President Emil Hácha (1872–1945), who had an official monopoly of political power through the National Solidarity Movement bribed Gajda to retire from public agitation after the May riots in Brno and Prague led by the Action for National Restoration and the Vlajka led by Rys-Rožsčvač (*q.v.*); the fascists had called for racial laws against the Jews and a full fascist policy. Gajda was prepared to drop his claims to a share of government when Eliáš offered to save him from his creditors.

By February 1941 Gajda had gone into full retirement leaving the field free for Vlajka on the extreme right. After the war Gajda was put on trial and died in Prague on 15 April 1948.

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GALBIATI, Enzo Emilio (1897– ?)

Italian fascist squadristi leader and head of the MVSN militia.

Born in Monza on 25 March 1897, Galbiati served first as a corporal then as a lieutenant in the crack Arditi. Wounded in the battle of Monte Fauti Sul Carso in August 1917, he did not leave the army until 1920. Without any previous political experience in 1919 he became a fascist in Monza; he took over the local squad and became notorious for his violence. In March 1924 he was acquitted of the murder of Carlo Cattaneo in Monza on 7 August. During the March on Rome in October 1922 he was in charge of the squad that protected Mussolini in Milan in the offices of Popolo d'Italia. As a consul of the Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale he served in various places, in August 1923 as commander of the 25th Legion, later with the 116th in Pieti, and then in Perugia, Varese and Turin. He was an active participant with Aldo Tarabella and 31 others in the 'revolt of the consuls' and on 31 December 1924 they saw Mussolini to demand war on the opposition.

In the summer of 1925 Galbiati was expelled for these expressions of rebellion from both the militia and the party but was allowed to resume in 1926. With Tarabella he founded an anti-masonic association. In 1933 he became commander of the 21st group of the MVSN in Rome. During the Ethiopian War he was wounded serving with the 'Vittorio Veneto' Legion made up of veterans of the World War; from the outbreak of the Second World War he became an Inspector of the University Militia with the rank of lieutenant-general. During the war in the Balkans, Galbiati served on the Greek-Albanian Front and on 25 May 1941 reached the high point of his career as Chief-of-Staff of the MVSN in succession to Starace (*q.v.*), a post he held until the fateful night of 24/5 July 1943 when he voted against Grandi's motion at the meeting of the Grand Council; he pressed for the arrest of those who had given comfort to Grandi against the Duce. Ironically, when Badoglio took over, Galbiati surrendered the militia to him on 26 July with little protest. In August he was arrested as part of the Cavallero plot to restore the fascist government.

Galbiati was forgiven by Mussolini to the extent that he was not indicted by the Verona Tribunal although neither was he given any important function under the Salò regime, however, a letter in the St Antony's Papers makes clear that in June 1944 he was still keen to serve the regime in a major capacity. Sentenced to 11 months in prison under the new

democratic regime, he was known to be still alive in Bordighera in 1970.

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GÁLVEZ, Manuel (1882–1962)

Argentinian realist novelist, cultural nationalist and admirer of Mussolini.

Born in Paraná (Entre Ríos) on 18 July 1882, the scion of a wealthy, important and traditional family, Gálvez received a Jesuit education followed by a period studying law at the National University of Buenos Aires, from where he graduated in 1904. Three years earlier he had founded with a group of law students the literary review *Ideas* which Rock, called 'an organ of traditionalism and anti-materialism'. After a brief interlude of liberalism, he came under the influence of the writers of the Spanish Generation of '98 and the Hispanidad movement which stressed the spiritual, linguistic and historical links between the mother country and its former colonies. His visits to Europe, including Spain between 1906 and 1910, reinforced these beliefs and found expression in his book *El Solar de la Raza*, (1913). His recurring nightmare was to see the Argentina of his imagination flooded by a tide of Jewish anarchists and Italian peasants with their materialistic (they brought 'an exclusive respect for material values') and radical mores and an expanding cosmopolitanism (the '*ambiente extranjerizante*') fuelled by foreign capital. In the collection of essays *El Diario de Gabriel Quiroga*, he claimed to be among the first to recognize a genuine Argentinian nationalism; he was certainly among the first to adhere to the cult of the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas for whom he developed a life-long devotion. He wrote a cycle of five novels set in the time of Rosas, was the joint-editor of the journal *Juan Manuel de Rosas*, and from June 1938 was vice-president of the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas 'Juan Manuel de Rosas'. From 1906 to 1931 he found employment as an inspector of schools.

After 1925 Gálvez became a strong supporter of Italian fascism as an antidote to the dissolution and to the weak government he saw around him. Like many of the other Argentinian nationalists he condemned Yankee imperialism, communism and the lack of a national consciousness which he blamed on

lax immigration policies and the subsequent influx of Jews. Although he denied any anti-Semitism in his works, excusing himself by declaring: 'for having expressed hostility to Jewish immigration into Argentina, the Jews consider me anti-Semitic. It is not so,' as late as 1962 his novel *El Mal Metafísico* is full of anti-Semitic stereotypes. However, although with other members of the Nueva República group he embodied a certain philo-fascist outlook, he was always more in sympathy with Maurras (*q.v.*) or Barrès (*q.v.*) and more anti-liberal than purely fascist; nostalgia was the starting point of his ideas.

Among his more interesting works containing autobiographical material are *Entre la Novela y la Historia* (1962), *Recuerdos de la Vida Literaria* (1934) and *Amigos y Maestros de mi Juventud* (1961). Gálvez died in Buenos Aires on 14 November 1962.

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GAMERO DEL CASTILLO, Pedro (1910–84)

Spanish Falangist.

Born on 20 November 1910 in Seville, Gamero was trained in the law and practised as a lawyer. At the University of Seville he was a leader of the Catholic students and already an Alfonsine monarchist by conviction. He joined the monarchist organization Acción Española and then passed over to the local unit of the Falange Española in Seville in July 1936. He served the Andalusian organization as a technical expert then moved into the National Technical Services organization of the FE in Salamanca. He remained at heart both a monarchist and a conservative.

He was to be appointed Civil Governor of Seville. In 1937 with Dávila (*q.v.*) and others he took part in Portugal in talks with the Carlists on a possible unification. He was, with other respected experts on legal and constitutional matters, consulted by Serrano (*q.v.*) before the actual unification took place. Following the decree of unification which created one all-embracing state party (the FET y de las

JONS) he was a member of its Junta Política. Gamero, after relinquishing the post of Civil Governor, served in the Navy during the last period of the Civil War. In 1938 he was a member of the commission set up to examine party structure and for his part advised a greater Falange influence on national affairs, a view rejected by Franco (*q.v.*). From 9 August 1939 to 19 May 1941 he served as Minister without Portfolio and vice-general secretary of the Movement, acting as Serrano's deputy. In party affairs he gained a reputation for favouring the promotion of Falangist cronies, for corruption and for less than straightforward dealing.

He remained as a member of the Cortes, but after 1943 lost his seat on the Council of State. In that year he called on Franco to restore the monarchy and in 1946 was involved with General Alfredo Kindelán's petition calling on Franco to come to an agreement with the pretender to the throne, Don Juan de Borbón. He was listed as one of the shadow ministers in a putative monarchical government which would have replaced Franco if Kindelán's plot had succeeded. After 1943 he virtually retired into private life and thereafter was connected with organizations like the Union Española de Financiación and the Spanish Society for Naval Construction. Gamero died on 9 December 1984 in Madrid.

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GEELKERKEN, Cornelis van (1901–76)

Co-founder of the Dutch Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging.

Geelkerken was born in Sint-Jans-Molenbeek (Belgium) on 19 March 1901, the son of a railway official who became director of the labour exchange in Zeist. After a basic elementary education he became a clerk in the local administration of Zeist and in 1919 moved to the provincial record office in Utrecht. He gravitated towards various extreme nationalist groups in the 1920s, belonging in turn to Sinclair de Rochemont's (*q.v.*) Verbond van Actualisten and then to the Nederlandsche Oranje-Nationalisten in Utrecht. He was an active Calvinist. He met Mussert (*q.v.*) through membership of the action committee set up to oppose the Netherlands–Belgian Treaty of 1925 which he saw as against Dutch interests.

He proposed to Mussert the idea of a new authoritarian, anti-democratic movement, an initiative to which Mussert responded positively. The outcome was the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging launched on 14 December 1931 with Geelkerken as member No. 2. Taking on a large part of the administrative grind and becoming director of the Nationale Jeugdstorm, the NSB's youth corps, he became indispensable to Mussert. He was forced to leave the civil service on 1 May 1934. From 1936 to 1940 he served as general-secretary of the NSB with special responsibility for propaganda. He was, in effect, the deputy leader although this was contested by his great rival, the radically pro-Nazi Rost van Tonningen (*q.v.*).

After the German invasion Geelkerken, who was charming, clever, humorous and one of the best NSB orators (earning him the nickname Kees de Prater), performed as one of the political secretariat which Mussert set up in January 1943 in the expectation of taking power in Holland. In vain Geelkerken waited to take over the portfolio of national security and home affairs. However, he was appointed Inspector-General of the home guard, the Nederlandsche Landwacht, set up to combat the Resistance in November 1943. (This was the second force of the same name that had appeared; the second put in charge of Geelkerken as a sop to Mussert by the Germans.) This organization under the control of Rauter the SS and police chief in Holland came by mid-1944 to be regarded by Mussert as simply an arm of the SS and in consequence he ordered Geelkerken to resign as chief. However, with the backing of both Rauter and Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) and with Mussert's attempt to dismiss him from the NSB having been overruled, Geelkerken was able to cling precariously to leadership of the organization. In 1943 he wrote the history of the movement. After the war he was condemned to life imprisonment but released in 1959. He died in Ede on 29 March 1979.

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GENECHTEN, Robert van (1895–1945)

Leading member of the Dutch NSB.

A Belgian by birth, Genechten was naturalized as a Dutchman on 14 June 1930. He was born in Antwerp on 25 October 1895, the son of a teacher. He studied jurisprudence in the University of Ghent, ironically the university set up by the German occupiers in the First World War. He was accused of collaboration with the Germans in the Flemish nationalist activist movement and was forced to flee into exile in the Netherlands. He was condemned *in absentia* in 1920 to eight years in prison by an Antwerp court. In exile he continued his studies, specializing in economics which he developed at the University of Utrecht, and shortly after set up in practice as a lawyer. From 1928 he was also employed as a private university teacher in Utrecht. Well respected as a lawyer, he continued his efforts on behalf of Flemish autonomy.

Returning to Belgium after the charges had lapsed, he, perhaps paradoxically, joined the Dutch NSB in 1934 and in January 1936 was on the editorial team of *Nieuw Nederland*, NSB's ideological journal, and from January 1938 to September 1944 was editor-in-chief. Over the years he contributed numerous articles on cultural, economic, political and other matters, many of which demonstrated his suspicion of rationalism and his bias against humanism. From 1938 he was the movement's spokesman on education.

Interned in Hoom prison during the German invasion from 10–15 May 1940, he was freed by the occupiers and under the guardianship of Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) was appointed Solicitor-General to the Court of Justice in The Hague where he presided at the apex of the system of gross injustice whose base was the cynically-named 'peace courts', set up by Seyss. As political prosecutor Genechten proved to be possessed of a meticulous and prodigious memory when it came to revenge for past slights and hostile acts against NSB interests. Despite his willingness to be a loyal cog in the occupying machine, he on occasion showed a certain independence, when he opposed recruitment for the Waffen-SS and criticized the oath to Hitler *Nederlandsche*-SS members were required to take. In 1943 he was appointed by Mussert as shadow Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences in the state political secretariat, though this was never to take power. In February he was relieved of all his functions and appointed Commissioner for the province of Zuid-Holland. Following this demotion he made an abortive suicide attempt in May. Revealing publicly the unstable character

that underlay the undoubted intellect, this attempt was perhaps a reaction to his frustration at his inability to intrigue or to manoeuvre in his own interests. The result of this lack of diplomatic skills was his removal from all NSB functions and his relief as Commissioner.

Arrested in Voorburg after the Liberation, he was condemned to death on 7 October 1945 but hanged himself in The Hague on 13 December 1945 while awaiting the outcome of his appeal.

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GENTILE, Giovanni (1875–1944)

Italian idealist philosopher and educationalist who became the 'official philosopher of fascism'.

Gentile was born in Castelvetro (Sicily) on 30 May 1875, the son of a small town chemist. He attended the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa where he took an interest in idealist philosophy under the tutelage of Donato Jaja. His teaching career began in 1898 in the liceo in Campobasso. In 1896 he met the older Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), a fellow idealist, the beginning of what was to be a close alliance until 1924/5 when the two disagreed not only over personal matters but also over Gentile's 'philosophy of the act' which led him to embrace fascism. Gentile once wrote to Croce, 'outside the family you have been the whole world for me.' From 1903 to 1924 the two men collaborated on *La Critica*.

In 1906 Gentile was awarded the Chair of Philosophy in Palermo and in 1914 succeeded Jaja at the University of Pisa. The move to Rome as Professor of the History of Philosophy came in 1917 where he completed the first volume of the most systematic version of his philosophy *Sistema di Logica come Teoria del Conoscere*. His philosophy, based on the Hegelian idea of the supremacy of the 'ethical

state', entailed a search for a civil religion. An early enemy of positivism and materialism, Gentile developed a theory of actualism or 'actual idealism' which denied the existence of individual minds and the distinction between thought and action, theory and practice. In his striving to reconcile actual experience with the Absolute, he embraced a spiritual conception of reality which was at the same time, he claimed, not 'dogmatic metaphysics'. As Bellamy has argued, actualism has 'radically subjectivist' principles but Gentile came to believe that the state had an absolute value from which it followed that 'the only freedom that can be taken seriously is that of the state and the individual within the state' and that 'the more authoritarian the state was the freer the individual citizen would become'. The logic of this position was clear.

Following his support for the interventionist cause through Pisa's Committee for Civil Preparation and War Mobilization, Gentile joined the PNF on 2 June 1923, although there was a sense in which he remained a Right Liberal. The Italian defeat at Caporetto was a catalyst in his political development and forced him to confront the progressive undermining of state authority that had taken place under a series of weak Liberal governments. In November 1923 he became a senator and between 1923 and 1929 served on the Fascist Grand Council. The famous 1925 Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals, issued at the suggestion of the Bologna Fascist Conference of Intellectuals, bore Gentile's name. In September 1924 Gentile was the head of the Commission for Constitutional Reform but perhaps his most important function was as the theologian of the regime, Mussolini's official philosopher, and in his capacity as Minister of Education from October 1922 to July 1924 in Mussolini's cabinet.

Gentile's grandiose conception of education as no less than a revelation of the Absolute was more practically expressed in the *Riforma Gentile*, the set of laws enacted in May 1923, which fundamentally reorganized Italian education. For the first time, a national curriculum was introduced and it set a new national moral purpose reflected in the education system: 'There can never be real pupils where masters are lacking', and indeed, there was a new emphasis on improved conditions for teachers. The general direction of the reforms was towards specialization and selectivity. Gentile was to come into conflict with the Church over his educational reforms and discovered that the hostility was continued even after the Lateran Treaty of 1929.

Gentile held the Chair of Theoretical Philosophy in Rome from 1928 until his death, was the founder

and director of the *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana* (1920–43), and in works like *Che cosa è il Fascismo* (1925) and *Origini e Dottrina del Fascismo* (1928) began the task of systematizing the philosophy of fascism. He was President of the National Fascist Institute of Culture, the hub of fascist cultural activities, editor of *Educazione Fascista*, planned and edited the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1925–43) and served as commissioner in charge of the Scuola Normale of Pisa.

As the relationship between Mussolini and Hitler became closer, Gentile began to have distinct reservations, as he did about the race laws, but he remained silent. Loyalty led him to support the Salò Republic after he had addressed the Italian people on the need for national unity on 24 June 1943. In this period he was appointed to the Accademia d'Italia and edited *Nuova Antologia*. His record for defending anti-fascist professors and for recruiting non-fascists to the *Enciclopedia* was a good one. In spite of this he was killed by communist partisans in Florence on 15 April 1944.

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GIMÉNEZ CABALLERO, Ernesto (1899–)

Spanish writer and essayist who has been called the Spanish D'Annunzio (q.v.) and was the most important of the intellectual Spanish fascists.

Born in Madrid on 2 August 1899, Giménez was a moderate socialist as a student in the University of Madrid. He obtained a doctorate of letters from the University of Strasbourg. The early anti-democratic influence of Ortega y Gasset proved too cosmopolitan and he adopted the more acceptable anti-democratic nationalism of Unamuno. His academic career was interrupted by military service in 1921 (he later resumed in Strasbourg in 1924). He fought in Morocco and left his impressions in *Notas Marruecas de un Soldado* (1923). In a Maurrasian vein he made the distinction between 'official' Spain and 'vital' Spain. His book provoked the wrath of the generals and he was pardoned by the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera only after a period of imprisonment.

Known as Gece from his initials, he was literary critic for *El Sol*. On a trip to Italy in 1928 he saw the Corporation of Writers and Artists at work and was impressed by Gentile (q.v.) and Bottai (q.v.) and became a friend of Malaparte (q.v.) and Marinetti (q.v.). On his return in an article of 15 February 1929 that is one of the milestones of Spanish fascism, Giménez, in *La Gaceta Literaria* (which he had founded in 1927) called for a Hispanic fascism. The *Gaceta* featured many of the best writers of the day before it became an idiosyncratic vehicle for Gece's fascist views. It was cultural despair, the result, as Giménez conceived it, of modern liberal society which more than anything led him to the fascist panacea. In his *Genio de España* (1932) his imperial fantasies, with their speculative resurrection of the Empire of Charles V with Mussolini at its head, were given full rein. As an upholder of unity and a foe of decentralization he considered the Pact of San Sebastian in 1930, which gave autonomy to Catalonia, a disaster. In 1933, the second edition of another of his most characteristic works *La Nueva Catolicidad* appeared. He insisted that 'Fascism for Spain is no fascism without Catholicism.' In 1931 he was prepared to give his full approval to the first serious manifestation of fascism on Spanish soil, Ledesma's (q.v.) *La Conquista del Estado* and in 1933 was an inspirer of and a contributor to the single issue of *El Fascio* to appear.

Fascism on the Italian model for a country with the traditions of Spain would be 'less venomous, more digestible' than a Westminster-style democracy. His search for an indigenous form of fascism which would lead from the necessary spiritual renaissance to the final stage of a full flowering of imperial expansion drew him first into Ledesma's JONS and then into the Falange Española. He was a frequent contributor to both the monarchist and the Falangist press including *ABO* and *Arriba*. Although he was a member of the first National Council of FE he had very marked ideological differences with José Antonio Primo de Rivera (q.v.), the leader. He was expelled from the FE in February 1936 when he began a weird collaboration with the reactionary millionaire Juan March in the Partido Español de Patronas y Empresarios, but he was later readmitted. He escaped to Italy at the beginning of the Civil War but later encouraged Franco (q.v.) in his work of unification of the Falange and the Carlists; he had visions of becoming Franco's Minister of Propaganda and, in fact, he was appointed Vice-Secretary for National Education in the first Nationalist cabinet.

He became a member of the National Council of the Falange once again, a member of the Cortes, and in 1956 ambassador to Paraguay and later to other

countries. He also continued to write many books and articles including in 1982 an account of the Falklands War. In 1985 he won a prize for his *Retratos Españoles*. He was still alive in early 1989.

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GIRÓN DE VELASCO, José Antonio (1911–)

Leading Spanish Falangist.

Born on 28 August 1911 in Herrera de Pisuergra (Palencia), Girón studied in the Jesuit College of Orduña. At San Juan College, Valladolid, he gained a reputation as a violent youth and having failed his exams was banned from the College and had to continue his legal studies in Salamanca University in 1933. He was detained by the police in Palencia for a time for his extremist activities on behalf of Redondo's (q.v.) Juntas Castellanas de Actuación Hispánica which he joined in August 1931 and he later joined Ledesma's (q.v.) JONS organization in February 1932. In 1935, now in the Falange Española, he was plotting with González Vicén (q.v.) against the influence of the Redondo brothers in the Valladolid party. He became the *jefe provincial* of the militias in Valladolid and was known to be a violent enemy of democracy.

On 16 April 1936 he was detained in San Sebastián for possession of firearms and imprisoned, but was released on 18 July. In the Civil War he was one of the best-known militia leaders and won a reputation as a brave fighter. He fought on the Guadarrama Front in July/August 1936. Appointed as Inspector Territorial of Castille, he was named to the new National Council by Franco (q.v.) on 2 December 1936. He distrusted the new provisional leader Hedilla (q.v.) and supported Aznar's (q.v.) opposition to him. When the militias were amalgamated under the ex-combatants organization, Girón became its leader in September 1939. Though at this time he was on the fringes of General Yagüe's (q.v.) opposition group, he refused to play any serious part in any anti-franquista conspiracies.

His major contribution to the Franco regime

began on 19 May 1941 with his appointment as Minister of Labour, a post he held until 25 February 1957. As Minister he introduced legislation to create a minimum of social legislation and made such efforts to satisfy the demands of the working classes that he achieved a certain limited measure of popularity even among the intransigent Asturian miners. A degree of job security was attained but in the mid-1950s the consequences of pushing up wages was an increase in inflation. After his dismissal in 1957 he was to become one of the leading *immovallistas* in the regime and at the same time acquired a large personal fortune developing the areas of the Costa del Sol around Malaga and Marbella. He served in the Cortes and on the Council of the Realm. As Franco's death approached, Girón fought fanatically against the more liberal elements of the regime. Fraga and Areilza, and on 28 April 1974 in a manifesto in Arriba denounced press freedom and democratic reform. In 1975 he wrote *Reflexiones sobre España* in which among other matters he appealed for a return to austerity and discipline (notwithstanding his own huge personal holdings which earned him the ironic title of the Lion of Fuengirola). In 1981 he was accused by *Cambio 16* of provoking Tejero's *coup* attempt with an article he had written in *El Alcázar*, the journal of the National Brotherhood of Ex-Combatants of which he was president. He was still alive in late 1988.

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GIULIETTI, Giuseppe (1879–1953)

Italian trade unionist close to D'Annunzio (q.v.) and the fascists.

Born on 21 May 1879 in Rimini, the son of an illiterate fisherman, Giuliani consorted with anarchists and syndicalists during his military service. As a seaman from 1905 his vision was to create one union for all seamen, an objective he was later to achieve. A pacifist and anti-militarist, he was elected in 1910 to the central committee of the Federazione Italiani dei Lavoratori del Mare. A strong leader and a member of the National Council of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, he was able to negotiate wage increases and improvements in conditions for his members with apparent ease. In 1910 FILM was affiliated to the Association of Merchant Marine and

Giulietti became President. He had joined the socialists in 1903 and FILM was closely affiliated to the Socialist Party but there had existed for many years a tradition of independence among the nationalist, Mazzinian workers of Liguria. Local socialists had accused Giulietti of autocracy and financial irregularity in his union administration, and his interventionist support for De Ambris' view that war would destroy capitalism further alienated him from the more mainstream, orthodox socialists.

Giulietti served in the navy in the eastern Mediterranean during the World War. He secretly supported Mussolini's *Il Popolo d'Italia* with funds from FILM and by 1915 he was already anticipating a more 'national' form of socialism. After the war his hijacking of the ship *Persia* with 31 tons of arms aboard for the White Russian cause in the Straits of Messina and his delivery of them to D'Annunzio began an association between the two men that was to lead to some years of close collaboration. Giulietti planned a March on Rome by his *Gente del Mare*, by the *Dannunzian Legionaries* and by some dissident socialists, but in February 1924 D'Annunzio was to withdraw his backing for Giulietti as head of his union under pressure from the employers' organizations. Giulietti's ambiguous position on the left/right spectrum can be attested by his relations with the anarchist Malatesta with whom he organized a gathering in January 1920 in Rome, his early support for Soviet Russia, and his unstable relations with the fascists.

Notwithstanding the concordat with the fascists in October 1922, undertaken in order to increase his bargaining position with the shipping interests, the Genoese fascists continued their attacks on Giulietti. In November 1926 he was arrested, and in 1927 tried for the illegal transfer of union funds to an account in the Banca di San Remo. He was found not guilty but none the less was 'exiled' to Nuoro in Sardinia and then to Potenza; he then continued to be watched closely even after his return to normal life when he was forced to appeal to Mussolini personally for financial aid. Tough, energetic and popular though he was, there was a suspicion from the beginning that he could not keep his fingers out of the till; a long period of control at the head of a powerful union with the daily immersion in wheeling, dealing and manoeuvring had left him with few scruples.

He was absolved after the war by a court of the charge of support for fascism. In April 1948 he was elected a deputy for the Republican Party and continued his maritime interests in FILM. In 1949 he became a member of the confederal executive of the

Confederazione General Italiana del Lavoro. He died on 20 June 1953 in Rome.

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GIUNTA, Francesco (1887–1971)

Leading Florentine fascist, deputy for Trieste and Secretary-General of the PNF.

Born on the 21 March 1887 in San Piero (Siena), Francesco Giunta married a descendant of Napoleon. He studied law and philosophy before opening a practice as a lawyer in Florence. After service in the First World War from 1915, Giunta organized the ex-servicemen's organization, the *Associazione Nazionale dei Combattenti* in Florence and became active as commander in chief of the military group of the *Alleanza di Difesa Cittadina* founded in July 1919. He took part in anti-socialist actions against those that Balbo called 'the savage and bestial persecutors of officers and those who denigrated the war [effort]'. Early in 1920 he was sent by Mussolini from Florence to the Venezia Giulia region to found the fascist movement there with Professor Ruggiero Conforto; Giunta founded the *fascio* in Trieste, one of the first Italian cities to experience *squadristi* violence. From 1921 to 1939 he was the fascist deputy for Trieste. He was also one of the founders of *Il Popolo di Trieste*.

A savage opponent of the Slovenian minority which was beginning to organize in Trieste, Giunta was chosen by D'Annunzio (*q.v.*) to lead the Fiumean cause. In his clashes with the Slavs, he pronounced himself a believer in 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', a principle he practised during the assault in March 1922 on Fiume when, with five companions, he boarded a destroyer, overpowered the crew and bombarded the government into surrender. At the head of 1,000 *squadristi* he banished the autonomous leader Riccardo Zanella and declared Fiume annexed to Italy. In October he was in Bolzano in Trentino with 2,000 *squadristi*, who provoked the fall of the local authority commissioners there and imposed fascistization.

During the March on Rome he seized Trieste on behalf of fascist Italy. In January 1923 he was

appointed to the Fascist Grand Council and in October became the political secretary of the National Directory of the PNF. In this important period for the development of the party, Giunta was confronted with the problem of internal dissidence; it was Giunta who organized the attack on the dissidents Cesare Forni and Raimondo Sala. As a reward for his loyalty he was made vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies after his removal from the secretaryship in April 1924. The Milan magistrates wanted to prosecute him for the attack on Forni but in March 1925 the Chamber refused to authorize the prosecution. Giunta offered his resignation as deputy but it was not accepted.

From December 1927 to July 1932 he served as Undersecretary of State in the department of the President of the Council and in 1932 he returned to Trieste to administer the shipyards, the Cantieri Riuniti. He had for some time been connected with large industrial interests. In December 1934 he called for closer cooperation between Berlin and Rome and in February 1943 was appointed governor of Dalmatia. He was not a wholehearted adherent of the Salò Republic. When the war ended Giunta was involved in the Dumini trial (for the murder of Matteotti) in 22 January 1947. He was freed but held for further charges in April. He died in Rome on 8 June 1971.

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GIURIATI, Giovanni Battista (1876–1970)

Italian follower of D'Annunzio (q.v.) and later a fascist. Born in Venice on 4 August 1876 into a bourgeois Venetian family noted for its patriotism during the Risorgimento, Giuriati was brought up in an atmosphere of irridentism and hatred of Austrian ambitions in the Adriatic. His first political act was to form and to become President of the Trento and Trieste Society in 1913. Giuriati had a university education and graduated with a degree in law. He had belonged to local Venetian Italian nationalist groups but was not involved in the Italian Nationalist Association, being more of an independent hater of socialists. With Vittorio Fresco he had been the

guiding light of a committee to provide assistance for Italian cities against the 'encroachment' of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Giuriati fought on the Isonzo Front during the First World War and was gravely wounded in 1916; by January 1918 he had been invalided out of the army. He then set up a new association, Patto Nuovo, with Olivetti (*q.v.*) and Rocca which was concerned with ensuring that Italy received its fair share of the spoils of war. In 1919 he was caught up in D'Annunzio's first Fiume expedition as President of the Committee of National Vindication which organized the proceedings alongside industrialists like Oscar Sinagaglia. From September to December 1919 Giuriati was the head of D'Annunzio's cabinet. He hoped that the disaffected minorities in Yugoslavia would revolt, leaving Italy with Dalmatia, but the project came to nothing. As D'Annunzio's second-in-command it was Giuriati more than anyone who created and organized the volunteer army that took Fiume.

Giuriati joined the Fasci di Combattimento and took part in the founding of the Rome *fascio* with Sinagaglia and Carli. He was elected in 1921 as a fascist deputy. He opposed the Pact of Pacification with the socialists. Deeply conservative by nature, he never had any great enthusiasm for the revolutionary side of fascism but his personal loyalty to Mussolini assured him the posts of Minister of the Liberated Lands in October 1923, Ambassador Extraordinary in Latin America from February to October 1924, and Minister of Public Works from 1925 to October 1929. From 1929 to 1934 he was President of the Chamber of Deputies but the greatest impact was made by his short tenure of the post of party secretary between 8 October 1930 and 7 December 1931. Giuriati continued Turati's (*q.v.*) policy of purification; an enemy of the mass party he devoted himself to eliminating opportunists, expelling some 120,000 members rather than the 15,000 expected by the Duce. Under his secretaryship the Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento was established; in 1931 he composed the commandments of the movement, the *Declogue*.

An anti-clerical, he made many enemies in the Vatican and proved to be a liability in the attempt to establish good Church-State relations, to such an extent that his downfall was partly a result of this weakness. In his zeal to prevent the Ministry of the Interior interfering in party matters, he fell foul of the Minister Arpinati (*q.v.*). In February 1934 he ceased to be a member of the Fascist Grand Council but in March was elected to the Senate. He later became disillusioned by Mussolini's caesarism and by

GIURIATI

the cult of personality associated with it. He was cleared of fascist crimes after the war and died in Rome on 7 May 1970.

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GLIMMERVEEN, Joop (1928–)

Leader of the ultra-right Nederlandse Volksunie.

Born on 14 November 1928 in Utrecht, Joop Glimmerveen was educated in Hilversum and Amsterdam and from 1945 to 1951 worked in the salary office of the Calve-Delft firm. In March 1951 he volunteered for service with the UN forces in Korea. From 1958 he was employed as an accountant in NATO's SHAPE office in the Hague but was dismissed after trouble with the law in July 1974. (His political activities and, in particular, his opposition to black immigration constantly laid him open to charges of inciting racial hatred.)

In 1949 he joined the youth organization of the Partij van de Arbeid (the Labour Party), the Nieuwe Koors. He renewed his membership of the Nieuwe Koors after returning from the Korean War and remained a member of the Labour Party until summer 1962. In October 1971, having in the meantime moved fundamentally to the right though clearly he was always a violent opponent of communism, he joined the Nederlandse Volksunie founded in March of that year. The NVU was dedicated to opposing black immigrants and foreign workers, to the protection of the self-employed and to promoting a Greater Netherlands in the form of a union of northern European countries; it found some support in the less affluent areas of Rotterdam and the Hague.

In September 1971 Glimmerveen became president of the movement. In the earlier municipal elections in The Hague he had published a leaflet entitled 'The Hague must remain white and safe', directed against the Surinamers and the immigrants from the Dutch Antilles. This earned him a 1,000 guilder fine for inciting racism. In August 1976 he was sentenced to fourteen days in prison for referring, in an article in *Wij Nederland*, to Hitler as a political genius, a great economist and as absolutely opposed to anti-Semitism. In May 1981 he was temporarily deposed as leader by a more moderate conservative faction led by Berenregt, an opportunity he took to form the Jongers

Front Nederland. On his return to the presidency in 1983, he again presided over a more radical right party. From 1969 to 1978 he was a member of the nordicist and racist Northern League.

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GLOBOCNIK, Odilo (1904–45)

Austrian National Socialist.

Born into a Catholic family on 21 April 1904 in Trieste, Globocnik was the son of a cavalry officer and himself underwent a brief military education. He operated as a master builder and timber merchant. After the World War he was active in radical right-wing activities in Carinthia from 1922 and he may even have been a member of the Austrian NSDAP but officially his entry into the party is given as 1 March 1931. He acquired a number of criminal convictions for various violent offences (in 1933 it appears he murdered a Jewish jeweller and fled to Germany to avoid the consequences). Even at this time he was noted for his lack of ordinary human feelings and for his extraordinary self-assurance. He became known as 'Globus'.

In 1933 he became the propaganda leader and for a time the deputy gauleiter of Carinthia. In the following year with the help of Heydrich (*q.v.*) he found himself in charge of the 'special service' in the Carinthian Gauleitung responsible for intelligence work. He joined the SS on 1 September 1933 when he acquired the SS number 292,776. He was appointed in 1935 by his leader in Carinthia, together with Rainer (*q.v.*), to a position of great influence as a leading party organizer with particular responsibility for organization and contact with the Reich. As a *Geschäftsführer*, Globocnik constituted, with Rainer, the real leadership of the party while the official *Landesleiter* of the Austrian region, Leopold (*q.v.*), was imprisoned. One of his functions at this time was to act as liaison officer between the Austrian party and the Führer himself, a delicate duty which earned him the hostility and suspicion of Leopold who sacked him in mid-September 1936. Leopold had good reason to fear his unbridled ambition. After the Anschluss in March 1938 he became, the gauleiter of Carinthia, Klausner's (*q.v.*) Chief of Staff until his appointment on 24 May as gauleiter of Vienna and a state secretary.

On 30 January 1939 Globocnik was removed from his position as *gauleiter*, on Göring's suggestion, for his failure to work harmoniously with Bürckel (*q.v.*), for foreign exchange speculation, and for his creative accounting in the issue of party stamps, a tendency for speculation he had already demonstrated by the misuse of funds supplied to him by the NS charity organization *Hilfswerk*. In February 1939 he was appointed to Himmler's personal staff. His subsequent notoriety was to be based on his activities during the next five years. In November 1939 he was promoted to *SS-Brigadeführer* and created SS and police chief in the Lublin area of occupied Poland. He was entrusted by Himmler (*q.v.*) with Operation Reinhard (*Aktion Reinhard*), involving from May 1942 to October 1943 the systematic extermination of Jews in the *General-gouvernement* through the establishment of four large concentration camps: Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibór and Majdanek. He was also responsible for a bizarre and massive programme of expulsion and resettlement of Germans in the cleared areas which earned him the wrath of Governor Hans Frank (*q.v.*). On 9 November 1942 he had been promoted to *SS-Gruppenführer* and lieutenant-general of Police. As a result of enriching himself from the operation, he was removed on 19 September 1943 and appointed higher SS and Police Chief for the Operationszone *Adriatisches Küstenland* based in Trieste. He was arrested in the Carinthian Alps by British troops and committed suicide on 31 May 1945 near Weissensee.

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GOEBBELS, Paul Joseph (1897–1945)

German National Socialist journalist, propagandist, creator and keeper of the Führer cult, and effective Minister of Propaganda, whom Bullock called the 'most interesting of the men around Hitler'.

Born on 29 October 1897 in Rheydt (Rhineland) into a lower-middle-class Catholic family, the son of a bookkeeper and later head clerk in a gas-mantle factory, Goebbels felt physically inferior all his life due to weak health and a crippled foot, the result of polio (he was later to claim it was the result of a war

wound). His early life was later to be romanticized and dramatized. Some of the later behaviour of the small, dark and unAryan-looking Goebbels can be explained as compensation for his handicaps and early disappointments. His colleague Amann (*q.v.*) was later to refer to him as Mephistopheles, the devil with the cloven hoof. A clever schoolboy, Goebbels was disliked for his excessive intellectuality. His embitterment at life appeared early; in his diary he wrote 'life is shit' and again, of his 'boundless contempt for the *canaille*'.

Rejected for military service after volunteering, Goebbels attended the universities of Freiburg, Bonn, Würzburg, Munich and Heidelberg from 1917, assisted financially by the Catholic Albertus Magnus Society. His doctoral thesis for Heidelberg was on the Romantic movement in Germany. His own personal romantic idealism was expressed in his autobiographical novel, *Michael*, written in 1923 and published in 1929; it displays his vulgarity, sentimentality and an anti-bourgeois streak, which he was never to lose. He was to be estranged from the Catholic Church although he had his six children baptized. His consciousness of rejection first became apparent when he failed to gain entrance to the Stefan George Circle at Heidelberg through, he claimed, the pernicious influence of Professor Friedrich Gundolf, who was Jewish. His anti-Semitism was confirmed by the return of articles submitted to the Jewish editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Theodor Wolff.

In January 1924 Goebbels was rejected as editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and in August of the same year he attended, under the patronage of Ludendorff (*q.v.*), a meeting of the National Socialist Freedom Movement, an electoral alliance of *völkisch* elements; in the same month he took over the editorship of the movement's organ the *Völkische Freiheit*. Until this time he had earned his living as a bank employee, as a clerk in the Cologne Stock Exchange, and then had worked for a publisher and politician close to the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei, member of the Prussian Diet and former editor of the *Völkische Freiheit*, Franz von Wiegand. In 1925 Goebbels joined the NSDAP in Elberfeld in the capacity of a business manager in the Ruhr district of the North Rhineland Gau, after this had been formed in March by Koch (*q.v.*) and Kaufmann (*q.v.*).

In the NSDAP Goebbels moved close to the Kaufmann group, becoming in 1926 a member of the triumvirate with Kaufmann and Von Pfeffer, which ran the North Rhineland Gau. For a time he was a dynamic member of G. Strasser's (*q.v.*) northern opposition group the National Socialist Working

Association and Strasser's secretary. His diaries graphically illustrate his transition from an ordinary party member to a slavish admirer of Hitler: 'that man who has got everything to be a king. A born tribune. The coming dictator' (November 1925); 'Who is this man? Half plebeian, half God. In fact Christ or only St John?' (October 1925). It was in these years that he began to develop his oratorical abilities, to copy his idol Hitler in his practised gestures in order to be able to shape his audience as if they were wax. His conversion away from Strasser's cause (he was later to refer in his diaries to Strasser's brother Otto as 'the Satan of the whole movement') came in April 1926 after his invitation to Munich where he concluded: 'Hitler is a great man. He forgives us and shakes our hand. Let us forget the past.' His abnormal attachment to Hitler whom he seized upon as a father figure appeared to be a psychological necessity. On 9 November 1926 Hitler showed his gratitude by appointing Goebbels as gauleiter of the conflict-ridden Berlin Gau with special mandatory powers. When he arrived in Berlin, the party business office had been in an opium den and Goebbels was determined to eliminate the 'professional anarchist element' responsible for the faction in-fighting.

In Berlin Goebbels employed his demagogic skills to play on the masses as 'on a piano'. He successfully manipulated the anxieties and the latent sentimentality of the average German; in particular he addressed the increasing armies of the unemployed. For the first time he invaded the red districts of north and east Berlin, 'making noise', employing processions, street brawls, crude anti-Semitism, on the principle that all publicity was good. When Heinrich Brüning (1885–1970) refused to appear on the same platform, Goebbels recorded Brüning's radio speech which he stopped and interrupted to answer points at his own convenience. He created the cult of Horst Wessel (*q.v.*), the NS martyr, as a unifying myth and proved a highly effective graveside speaker at Wessel's funeral. Such was the level of violence orchestrated by Goebbels that the NSDAP was banned in Brandenburg in May 1927, but this proved to be only a temporary setback. The most potent weapon in Goebbels' armoury was *Der Angriff* launched in June 1927, in which he relentlessly attacked the November system, parliament and the Jews, particularly in the persona of Bernhard Weiss, the vice-president of the Berlin police. The slogan '*Deutschland Erwache, Juda Verrecke*' proved overwhelmingly successful.

Goebbels was elected to the Reichstag in 1928. During 1930 (the exact date is uncertain) Goebbels became Reich propaganda leader and in 1932 through his mastery of propaganda techniques con-

tributed hugely to Hitler's successful bid for power. After the *Machtergreifung* he was placed in charge of the Nazi Reichstag campaign of March 1933 which began on the 4th with 'the day of the awakening nation'. At the age of 35 Goebbels was appointed on 13 March 1933 Minister for National Enlightenment and Propaganda. He set up a system of indoctrination, of press, radio, theatrical and cinema control in the interests of the 'coordination' of cultural life, though he was not, as often believed, the instigator of the book burnings of May 1933 which began as spontaneous student outbursts and were hurriedly and with typical ingenuity exploited by Goebbels. Reorganizing and centralizing the Ministry, 'the little man from Rheydt' proved 'in his capacity as wind machine, broth beater, and barker' that 'he was simply the extraordinarily talented apprentice of the Führer' (Heiber). In June 1933 he took over 'all tasks of spiritual direction of the nation'. By September 1934 *Gleichschaltung* had given way to the idea of total propaganda in all areas of German life: film, theatre, radio, journalism, news, book production and culture.

As the propaganda struggle was won, Goebbels lost influence. As the chief organizer of the *Kristallnacht* anti-Jewish pogroms of 9/10 November 1938 he tried to regain his standing with Hitler. The consequences were particularly bad in Berlin as a result of Goebbels' influence there. When war came in 1939, he was acutely aware of the difficulties an extended conflict would cause in his relations with the supreme command of the Wehrmacht's propaganda department and, indeed, extremely realistic later about the supreme necessity for victory because 'we have committed so many misdeeds that we must gain victory, because otherwise our whole people, with us at their head, will be exterminated.' Hampered by a sense of impotence in the early part of the war, he nevertheless continued to believe that propaganda would be crucial for the war effort and from May 1940 in *Das Reich*, he recovered some of his dynamic flair. His anti-bourgeois prejudices and acute sense of decadence emerged with his lurid descriptions of Churchill lounging in pink silk underwear (this was true, apart from the lounging).

His total victory speech of 18 February 1943 marked Goebbels' return to favour. He had been critical of many aspects of the war effort and now, partly in a desperate ploy to undermine Bormann's (*q.v.*) progressively sinister influence, called on his countrymen for 'total warfare'. As defeat loomed, his determination seemed to increase. 'The more desperate the situation, the nearer to victory we are.' On 24 July 1944 he was belatedly appointed General

Plenipotentiary for Total War with power to issue orders to all Reich agencies, but his task, already made difficult by the critical military situation, was further undermined by the machinations of the evil eminence Bormann. Named Reich Chancellor on 29 April 1945 in Hitler's final act of state, Goebbels shot his wife and then himself in the Reich Chancellery in Berlin on 1 May, after poisoning his children with a fatal injection. Although not the demon of popular mythology, Goebbels was 'one of the troop of hypertrophied Babbitts, washed up by the muddy flood of the times' (Heiber). His diaries published in full in 1988 were preserved in a project undertaken by the pioneer of microfilm coincidentally called Dr. Joseph Goebel.

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GÖRING, Hermann Wilhelm (1893–1946)

German Reich Marshal, Commander-in-Chief of the Luftwaffe and, by 1933, second only to Hitler in the Third Reich.

Born on 12 January 1893 in Rosenheim, the son of a soldier turned diplomat and Reich Commissioner in German South-West Africa, Hermann Göring was descended from a family of many judges and state officials. His education was on the whole a failure, except for his military studies as a cadet in Karlsruhe and in Lichterfelde. Brought up in Bavaria in a curious aristocratic, feudal atmosphere, he acquired a particularly emotional and romantic sense of nationalism.

In 1912 he served with the infantry in Alsace and during the war moved from the infantry to the air force, serving as the last commander of the deceased von Richthofen's Air Squadron. In 1917 he was decorated with the Pour la Mérite. When the guns had been silenced, Göring was one of a mass of ex-

soldiers too restless and frustrated to settle into ordinary, bourgeois life under the hated Weimar Republic. Göring combined a contempt for the conservative establishment with a firm belief in the *Dolchstoß* (stab-in-the-back) myth. In 1918 he wrote: 'I implore you to cherish hatred – a profound, abiding hatred for those animals who have outraged the German people.' Voluntarily exiled for some years in Scandinavia where he married Carin von Fock, a Swedish aristocrat, Göring returned to Germany where he met Hitler in 1922, took an oath of allegiance to him and in December of the same year was given charge of the SA, which he led in the November 1923 *putsch* in Munich. He was wounded in the groin in the March on the Feldherrnhalle, a wound which compounded with his later morphine addiction rendered him impotent: 'I joined the party', he said, 'because I was a revolutionary not because of any ideological nonsense.'

When the *putsch* collapsed, he fled to Austria and then to Italy and Sweden. He drifted into morphine addiction and in September 1925 spent some time in a mental asylum in Sweden. During these years Göring set about educating himself politically but was never very clear about the precise ideology of the NSDAP. He returned to his homeland in 1927 only after Hitler had offered him a chance of election to the Reichstag and, after a legal amnesty, Göring rejoined the party, worked in Berlin as a salesman for the Bayerische Motorenwerke and was chosen by Hitler for the Reichstag elections of May 1928. Although he had no official position or personal power-base, he became Hitler's representative in his master's attempts to seduce the bankers and the business community; to this end he played down the Nazis' economic radicalism and was able to solicit large sums of money from industrialists like Thyssen. In 1931 he was given the title of Higher Political Commissioner East in order to suppress the Stennes revolt within the SA.

On 30 August Göring, who had been deputy-chairman of the NS Reichstag delegation, was appointed President of the Reichstag as a result of the fact that the NSDAP was now the largest party in parliament and of the triumph of Gregor Strasser's (*q.v.*) strategy of encouraging coalition; Göring demonstrated real energy in the process of wheeling and dealing with other groups to ensure Hitler's coming to power by constitutional means. Hitler rewarded him for his efforts with the post of Reich Minister without Portfolio on 30 January 1933. In this post he was responsible for air transport but more importantly as the Reich Commissioner to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior he had command of all the

police forces. Confirmed later as Prussian Minister of the Interior and from 27 April as Minister President Göring had already begun as early as February a process of *Säuberung* (cleansing) carried out by a *Sonderabteilung* which included an anti-communist drive (following the excuse given him on a plate by the burning of the Reichstag), the purging of some 1,500 policemen from the former Prussian force which had had a 'leftist' reputation, a 'house-cleaning' operation on the bureaucracy which replaced old civil servants by the party faithful, and the creation of the Gestapa (only later the Gestapo). He carried out at the same time an administrative revolution through special commissions. In January 1934, the Prussian police were taken under Reich control to be followed by the Prussian Ministry of the Interior; as the post of Minister President was only a nominal one, Göring lost a considerable amount of face and at this time was probably at his most vulnerable.

Though he was motivated to some extent by a genuine nationalism, Göring had a very low opinion of man whom he considered in general a *Raubtier*, a beast of prey. Loyal he may have been but also vicious, unscrupulous, boastful and at times sentimental and naive. In his luxurious house Carinhall he lived a life of Baroque vulgarity and acquisitiveness, art-purloining, hunting, requisitioning (in the war years) fine wines and foods, patronizing architects, like some latter-day Renaissance potentate; he indulged in extravagant displays of jewellery (including platinum rings studded with rubies), played with diamonds and appeared like a 'heraldic salad', as British diplomats called him, in bizarre costumes.

In May 1933 the Air Force was brought under Göring's control, a move opposed by the Reichswehr, and on 1 March 1935 he became Commander-in-Chief of the Luftwaffe and presided not only over a rapidly expanding aircraft production but over the creation of a force independent of the other branches of the armed services. He had the foresight to see that his future lay in economic affairs although he had no formal training in economics, and that the possibility of large-scale rearmament depended on the creation of an autarkic economy. In April 1936 he became the head of the new raw material and foreign exchange office and a few months later, on 18 October 1936, Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan. These appointments marked the end of the hopes of the conservatives like Schacht (*q.v.*) to retain direction of economic and military policy in their own hands. Göring had been brought back from the doldrums to the forefront of economic and military policy-making. Under his direction the

economy turned from expanding trade and consumer satisfaction to war preparations; rearmament became the major priority. In vital sectors of the economy state direction took over from the control of industry by the traditional elite. Göring reshaped German economic life with government regulation, state investment and an attempt to free the economy from its dependence on foreign raw materials. On his own initiative he founded the Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' industrial complex which was to become the largest in Europe.

Known as the 'Iron Man', Göring said on one occasion, 'I have no conscience, my conscience is Adolf Hitler.' Hitler, indeed, admired him because he was 'brutal and ice-cold', but after 1943 relations between the two men became more and more strained. Göring was popular with the German masses (at least until the end of 1942 when his reputation suffered irreversibly from his failure to protect them from the devastating Allied bombing), but he did not enjoy good relations with many of his colleagues (Heydrich being the exception). He was able to build up a network of contacts in all areas of German life. 'Dining with the Warden of New College, Göring might pass as almost civilized,' the British ambassador opined, perhaps underestimating the committed National Socialism in Göring, who believed fervently in the building of a German Empire in Europe. After *Kristallnacht*, Göring, whose only objection to the terrible events of November 1938 was his preference for carrying out the Jewish expropriations more systematically, fined the Jewish community 1 billion marks.

On 30 August 1939 he reached the high point of his power as Reich Council Chairman for National Defence and on 1 September as Hitler's successor. He directed the air force campaigns in Poland and France and on 19 June 1940 was promoted to Reich Marshal. He had designs on the War Ministry but Hitler thought him too lazy and, in fact, as Speer (*q.v.*) has pictured him, he was greedy, corrupt and lethargic as well. He failed in the Battle of Britain, failed to defend Germany from Allied bombing and finally proved incapable of achieving the necessary aircraft production. By the time of the Battle of Stalingrad in 1943 he had lost most of his influence and was in sad decline; one of his few successes was his extensive wire-tapping intelligence organization. Hitler rejected his offer to replace Todt (*q.v.*) as Minister of Armaments in early 1942. By late in that year Hitler was the one who took all important decisions in economic and military strategy. Speer believed that Göring had 'sunk into his lethargy and for good' and it is certain that physically he suffered a

decline through overwork and extravagant living. Yet despite this degeneration, he survived numerous conspiracies because the Führer was determined, even in the face of his better judgement, to retain the vain and vulgar Reich Marshal. However, by the end, Göring had been dismissed from all his posts and arrested.

Captured by the Americans and put on trial, he was found guilty on all four counts and sentenced to hang by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal. Göring committed suicide by taking a cyanide pill in Nuremberg on 15 October 1946 just before his scheduled execution, after he had given one of his most impressive performances before the Tribunal. He died desiring martyrdom, unrepentant, as morally insensitive as he had lived.

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GOGA, Octavian (1881–1938)

Romanian poet, journalist and politician of the extreme right.

Goga was born on 1 April 1881 in Râșinari (Transylvania) and educated in the Universities of Budapest and Berlin after his schooling in Sibiu. In the University of Budapest his political leanings were towards the socialists and then for a time he was a supporter of the mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger (*q.v.*). He began an active participation in the Romanian nationalist movement as an opponent of the Magyarization of Transylvania. In 1905 he was a candidate for the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies for Chisinev in the Arad district on behalf of the National Party of Transylvania; he lost the election by a few votes. It was in the same year that he founded the nationalist magazine *Țara Noastră* (Our Land) by which time his conservative and nationalist views had become paramount. As a result of his nationalist activity he was imprisoned in Szeged in 1912.

On his return to Romania after the World War during which he was a leading advocate of Romanian participation, Goga joined General Avarescu's conservative People's Party and in 1920 was

appointed Minister of Education and in 1926 Interior Minister. Meanwhile he had been elected a member of the Romanian Academy for his popular but seriously crafted lyrical poetry. He became a well-known figure among the Romanian people who marked his 50th birthday in 1931 with nationwide celebrations. In 1936 he accepted the Chair of Modern Romanian Culture in Cluj University.

Politically he developed in a rightist direction, coming in the 1930s to admire Mussolini and to embrace a Szeged-type of fascism similar to that of Gömbös (*q.v.*). In 1927 he worked closely with Cuza's (*q.v.*) League of National Christian Defence and in 1932 became head of his own party, the National Agrarians, after falling out with Avarescu. He came increasingly under German influence after 1933. Two years later the National Agrarians fused with Cuza's party to form the National Christian Party; Goga hoped at the same time to achieve right-wing unity by the inclusion of Codreanu's (*q.v.*) Total Pentru Țara (All for the Fatherland) in his coalition of forces. The German National Socialists had by this time backed the Cuza/Goga party through the foreign department of the NSDAP and, in particular, Arno Schickedanz, as the political combination most likely to favour German interests.

Goga was to be appointed prime minister on 28 December 1937 by King Carol who hoped to exploit the National Christians as a stop-gap before assuming power himself. His appointment gave Goga a long-sought opportunity to introduce anti-Semitic measures which would begin the process of removing the Jews from state service and from the professions. On his dismissal as prime minister on 10 February 1938 he ended his farewell broadcast with the words, 'Israel, you have won.' He was ousted after he concluded an understanding with the arch-enemy of the royalists, the leader of the Iron Guard, Codreanu.

Goga combined a sophisticated international outlook with a hankering for a backward, provincial, peasant world. His works are full of pessimism and the sadness of the peasant condition. He died in Ciucea near Cluj on 7 May 1938.

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GÖMBÖS, Gyula (1886–1936)

Hungarian prime minister and founder of the extreme right MOVE organization.

Born on 26 December 1886 in Murga near Tolna, the son of a village schoolmaster, Gömbös was of Swabian ancestry and originally called Knöpfle. His mother was unable to speak Hungarian. At the close of hostilities in 1918 Gömbös was a captain on the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian army and at the time of the revolution in Hungary was responsible for the formation of anti-Bolshevik committees in Vienna; he edited the weekly *Magyar Futár* (Hungarian Courier). Gömbös was to become the most important of the counter-revolutionary Szeged leaders. In November 1918 he founded and became President of the Magyar Országos Védő Egyesület (Association of Hungarian National Defence), an extreme right-wing officers' movement, which he described in an Italian newspaper as a fascist organization. As early as 1919 he referred to himself as a National Socialist and talked of creating a 'Hungarian fascism'. He was an early advocate of fascist unity and of a Fascist International; he had contacts with Mussolini, with Kahr's group in Bavaria and with certain expatriate White Russian groups. He became known in Hungary as 'Signor Gömbölini'. In 1922 he was Vice-President of the government Egységes Párt (Unity Party) but was to break with the conservatives under Count Bethlen (1874–1947) to launch the Hungarian National Independence Party and the Fajvédő Párt (Party of Racial Defence) whose main support came from the lower middle classes; this party peddled a part-Poujadist, part-fascist cocktail of social demagoguery including anti-Semitism, support for agriculture, a corporative reorganization of parliament and redistribution of wealth, allied with a belief in the rights of property.

Gömbös secretly plotted a coup against Bethlen, for which he prepared by making contact with Hitler in Bavaria and by cultivating disaffected officers. In 1925 he organized a World Anti-Semitic Congress in Budapest and in 1926 was the only member of the Racial Defence Party to be re-elected to parliament. It has been suggested that he received financial support to overthrow the conservatives from Jewish sources like Kenyeres-Kauffmann and Lincoln-Trebitsch. However, in 1928 he did something of a *volte-face*, dissolved his own Racial Defence Party, and joined the government party which became once more the Unity Party. He was immediately appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Defence and in 1929 became Minister of Defence; he proceeded to pack the up-

per echelons of the army with counter-revolutionary Szeged cronies.

In October 1932 he became Minister-President but found his powers curtailed by the more conservative elements to the extent that it was difficult to introduce a fully-fledged fascist and anti-Semitic programme. He was, however, able to introduce and encourage a cult of personality and to pursue a radical foreign policy on the premise of cooperation between Austria, Italy and Hungary and centred on the Rome-Berlin Axis with the intention of establishing Hungarian hegemony in East Central Europe. With Gömbös's dictatorial interference in the administrative process, parliamentary government became atrophied and when Gömbös's death came unexpectedly in a Munich sanatorium on 6 October 1936, many conservatives, including Regent Horthy, gave a sigh of relief; though it is said that he was personally charming.

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GONZALEZ VON MARÉES, Jorge (1900–62)

Author, politician and leader of the Chilean Movimiento Nacional Socialista.

Born in Santiago on 5 April 1900, the son of a prominent doctor, Gonzalez was German on his mother's side and was brought up in the German tradition of bourgeois self-reliance. Educated at the University of Chile, he obtained his law degree in 1923. He had already shown an interest in the education of the working classes by his presidency of the League in Favour of Popular Education which took a rather patronizing attitude to workers by minimizing economic explanations for their problems in favour of moralistic and cultural ones. Gonzalez worked his way up the administrative ladder from justice of the peace (1924/5) in the Santiago suburb Ñuñoa, through municipal police judge, to legal secretary to the Mayor of Ñuñoa in 1932.

Politically he came under the early influence of Spengler (*q.v.*) which he translated into practical

support for clean, nationalist government freed from any taint of corruption. This preference led him to lean towards Ibañez as the best hope of fulfilment of his ideals. He founded the Unión Cívica as a vehicle for these. In character Gonzalez was in the same mould as the Bolivian Unzueta de la Vega (*q.v.*), intense, ascetic and moralistic, and like many strong-willed politicians, he was described as having fanatical eyes. On his birthday in 1932 Gonzalez and others of a similar outlook founded the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile, an anti-democratic movement determined to reverse what they saw as the degeneration of their country. It stood for the nationalization of foreign firms, was anti-American and strongly anti-communist. The example of European models of fascism was clearly apparent but the leader always stressed the native Chilean roots of the movement. Underlying the declared policy was a moralistic drive which demanded that a 'social function' should replace reliance on naked market forces and strove for honest, classical and sound government in the same manner as some Argentinian Nationalists, the Integralists in Brazil and Portugal or, indeed, the American Progressives (although in very different style). With its étatism, its appeals to racial pride often spilling over into anti-Semitism, and its constant denunciation of demo-liberalism as the underlying enemy, it could with justice be described as fascist if not National Socialist in the European sense.

Gonzalez was elected a deputy in March 1937 for Santiago and he gave his support to Ibañez who had returned from exile in 1937. On 12 July 1937 he was arrested for the strange events of 21 May when he had walked out of Congress during a speech by President Alessandri and fired a pistol in the air in protest. For this he was sentenced to one and a half years in prison where he secretly organized a plan for a coup in September 1938, hoping to force Ibañez' hand in a seizure of power. In the ensuing débâcle, sixty-one young *naistas* were shot by the police though they were already in custody. Gonzalez was sentenced to twenty years in prison for his part in the attempted coup but the incoming President Aguirre Cerda pardoned him. In January 1939 the movement became the Vanguardia Popular Socialista with a more 'leftist' orientation, the more fascist elements moving to the newly-founded Movimiento Nacionalista de Chile; Gonzalez continued to sympathize with the New Order in Europe and to struggle against the intentions of the government to break with the Axis powers.

After a fracas involving *vanguardistas* in May 1941, Gonzalez was held for psychiatric examination, an

incident which some have seen as evidence of his mental instability. His colleague Carlos Keller (*q.v.*) wrote a thinly disguised portrait of his former leader in his novel *La Locura de Juan Bernales* which took this view. In March 1945 Gonzalez lost his congressional seat after which he joined the Liberals and became general secretary of the party in 1951. His political career ended with the irony of Gonzalez giving support to the son-in-law of his old adversary Alessandri. After 1952 he retired from active politics and in 1960 wrote his memoirs which have not yet been published. He died on 14 March 1962.

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GONZÁLEZ VICÉN, Luis (1910–)

Spanish Falangist.

Born in Valladolid in 1910, González qualified as a medical doctor; he began his political life as a member of Redondo's (*q.v.*) Valladolid group of the Falange Española and worked closely with another Falangist, Girón (*q.v.*). He turned against Redondo's more clerical and reactionary brand of Falangism and with Girón struggled against the faction led by the Redondo brothers, eventually succeeding in having Andres Redondo dropped from the leadership. During the Civil War he fought at the Front as one of the most successful militia leaders. In the faction fight that broke out after José Antonio Primo de Rivera's (*q.v.*) death, González Vicén gave his support to the anti-Hedilla (*q.v.*) group led by Aznar (*q.v.*) and Dávila (*q.v.*).

Following the unification of 1937, Gonzáles Vicén refused to endorse any of the anti-Franco (*q.v.*) conspiracies, preferring to make his career in the new FET y las JONS. He was reputed to be a member of the Falange secret service. There is evidence to suggest, however, that he was concerned to broaden the appeal of the party and in 1945 made contact with the clandestine CNT to try to arrange a more ecumenical appeal for Falangist national syndicalism.

In the 1950s he became the leader of the extreme right Guardia de Franco (founded in 1944) from

which he was dismissed in 1955 after radical outbursts by some of the younger members. In the following year he served as a commissioner charged with altering the Fundamental Laws of the movement in order to increase the popular representative base of the regime. González Vicén favoured an extension of Falangist influence at the expense of the more conservative elements, Church and Army; he had proposed that the Cortes be partly directly elected and movement officials be selected by indirect election. He resigned from the commission which had been packed with conservative *Franquistas*. His opposition to 'Caudillo-rule' increased and in 1959 he was elected President of the *Circuitos Doctrinales* José Antonio, a fundamentalist Falange organization dedicated to the rehabilitation of José Antonio's national syndicalist doctrines.

In 1964 González was dropped from the national council of FET y las JONS and in mid-1965 he relinquished the presidency of the *Circuitos* to Marquez Horillo. He retired from active politics but continued his opposition to what he called 'regimes of personal rule'. In 1979 he was reported to be head of the casualty department of the Francisco Franco Hospital in Madrid. He was believed to be still alive in 1988.

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GRANDI, Dino, Conte di Mordano (1895–1988)

Major Italian fascist leader and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Born in Mordano (Bologna) on 4 June 1895, Grandi came from a rural family of Mazzinian inspiration. His father was first an agricultural estate manager and then a small landed proprietor of liberal, monarchical disposition. His earliest influences were Nietzsche, Alfredo Oriani and the syndicalist Christian Democratic ideas of Romolo Murri. Dino Grandi began his higher education in classical studies but it was not until after the World War that he graduated in 1919 with a law degree from the University of Bologna. He was at first a member of the Lega Democratica Nazionale and worked as a journalist on *Il Resto del Carlino* but in November 1914 he wrote to Mussolini expressing his admiration and immediately joined the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* in Ferrara where the movement was led by Panunzio (*q.v.*). An

enthusiastic interventionist Grandi served in an Alpini regiment in the war reaching the rank of captain. Grandi was typical of those young combatants with a romantic streak who were led to fascism by their war experiences and by a need for a radical break with the past.

His first political concern after the war was to foster an anti-Giolittian, post-liberal developmental regime but one which could also encompass free trade and international cooperation. In Imola where he opened a law practice he formed an ex-servicemen's organization as the basis of an anti-socialist group. It was in September 1920 that he joined the fascists in Bologna and became editor of the daily paper *L'Assolto* and leader of the republican-syndicalist tendency; as a convinced national syndicalist he founded with Gino Baroncini the Syndical Chamber of Bologna. At the same time he was also secretary-general of the Confederation of Intellectual Workers. In Bologna he rose from a member of the local directory to regional secretary of Emilia-Romagna in April 1921 and member of the central committee of the party. In 1921 he was also elected to parliament but being under age was not allowed to take his seat.

Grandi's first disagreement with Mussolini was over the proposed Pact of Pacification with the socialists. He orchestrated the opposition to the understanding in the Po Valley which culminated in August 1921 when local fascists declared themselves 'completely foreign to the Pact of Pacification' and went on to accuse Mussolini of cowardice. A sceptic about the whole idea of parliamentary fascism (he envisaged some more direct kind of relationship between people and state and often spoke about 'making the masses join the state'), Grandi's concept embraced something close to the Dannunzian national syndicalism embodied in the Fiumean Charter of Carnaro. However, Grandi was prepared to defer to Mussolini although he was hostile to the Duce's moves to form a party out of what Grandi still considered a revolutionary movement; in future he was to be a representative of the revisionist or moderate wing of the PNF. Fascism he believed was only an emergency, transitional stage on the way to an idealist 'national democracy'.

Grandi was only to be forgiven for his 'opposition to the insurrectional plan which is called the March on Rome' in April 1924. The outcome of the March he favoured was a conservative-fascist government headed by Antonio Salandra. As a result of his lukewarmness he was excluded from the Grand Council. On his re-election as a deputy in 1924 he was appointed Vice-President of the Chamber and in

1925 Undersecretary in the Ministry of the Interior serving under the conservative fascist Federzoni (*q.v.*). On 15 May 1925 he became Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and was enthusiastically in favour of the Locarno agreement. As Mussolini controlled policy, however, Grandi was confined to trying to persuade his professional diplomats to join the PNF. In 1929 he was promoted to Foreign Minister where he was to play an important role in disarmament talks; he had always been wary of both the League of Nations and of disarmament but managed to give the impression of strong support for both.

Grandi was also in favour of Italian colonial ambitions even at times being prepared to face a war with France over Tunisia, Corsica and French Somaliland. In July 1932 Grandi was removed when Mussolini took back control of foreign policy in the climate of the rise of National Socialism in Germany. Named ambassador in London in July 1932, he was to report back to his Duce on Britain's decadence and lack of will to fight but at the same time deceived the British by his pro-British sentiments and his good political relations with members of the British establishment. He was instrumental in causing Eden's resignation in February 1938 by his whisperings to Chamberlain; to Grandi Eden was an obstacle to an Italo-British agreement. Seen as pro-British by Ciano (*q.v.*) and by the Nazis, Grandi attempted to remain in favour with Mussolini by his protestations of loyalty and undoubtedly he admired the Duce's charisma at the same time as he entertained grave doubts about his policies. At the time of the Spanish Civil War Grandi was a prominent member of the Non-Intervention committee.

After the Pact of Steel of May 1939, Grandi was recalled from London to become *Minister Guardasigilli* (Justice Minister) and on 30 November became President of the Chamber, now called the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations. He opposed Italy's alliance with Germany but was forced to face the inevitability of war which would eventually involve his country. In October 1940 with Ciano, Bottai (*q.v.*) and others he was sent to the Greek-Albanian front. It was this time that saw the genesis of Grandi's resolve to remove Mussolini's absolute power by restoring the King's command of the armed forces, an aim that was not to find fulfilment until the night of 24/5 July 1943. Grandi's famous motion at the Fascist Grand Council calling for a revival of the existing organs of government and the restoration of the King who was to assume the 'supreme initiative' as commander-in-chief of the armed forces was approved by a majority of 19:7 with one abstention. Mussolini called Grandi's

speech 'that of a man at last giving vent to a long-cherished rancour'. Following the arrest of the Duce and the appointment by the King of Marshal Pietro Badoglio in his place, Grandi was prevented by the Americans from serving in the new administration.

From August 1943 he was in Portugal, posing as Domenico Galli, where he was when condemned to death *in absentia* by Mussolini's Verona Tribunal after the foundation of the Italian Social Republic in the North. From Portugal he moved in January 1948 to Brazil. He returned to Italy in 1957 after a High Commission had acquitted him in 1947 of all charges. Back home he founded a model industrial enterprise and worked as a consultant to the pharmaceutical industry. Grandi died at the age of 92 on 21 May 1988 in Bologna. Renzo de Felice has called him 'more a Mussolinian than a fascist'.

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GRAY, Ezio Maria (1885–1969)

Italian journalist, member of the Italian Nationalist Association, the National Fascist Party and the neo-fascist MSI.

Gray was born on 9 October 1885 in Novara. He was a founder member of the Italian Nationalist Association. As a journalist he was a correspondent in 1911 during the Libyan War for *Illustrazione Italiana* and in 1914 war correspondent in Belgium for the *Gazzetta del Popolo*. He also contributed to *La Riforma* (Novara), *Difesa* (Forlì) and *Provincia* (Ferrara). Gray served in the World War in Dalmatia and afterwards in the occupation forces in that territory. He first worked with Corradini (*q.v.*) in Florence in the anti-socialist movement before he became one of the founding members of the Novara *fascio* in 1920 and director of *La Tribuna Novarese*. Elected to parliament as a fascist deputy in 1921 he opposed all collaboration with the left. In parliament he was a member of the *Alleanza Parlamentare Economica*, a group of industrial and agrarian deputies.

Gray was a member of the fascist National Directorate from 1924, a member of the Grand Council

from 1925, editor of *Il Pensiero di Benito Mussolini* (1927), played an important part in the Dante Alighieri Society and was president of the Ente Autonomo della Stampa. From 1926 to 1934 he was director of L'Economia Nazionale. In the late 1920s he had become known for his shady financial transactions and a document in the St Antony's Papers dated 1927/8 refers to him as 'a businessman of few scruples'.

Gray served in the army during the Second World War and later as a radio broadcaster. He was also vice-president of the Chamber of Fasces and of Corporations from 25 July 1943. He was a faithful adherent of the Salò Republic during which time he directed the *Gazzetta del Popolo* (Turin). Condemned to twenty years' imprisonment after the war, he was amnestied and survived to direct the neo-fascist journal *La Rivolta Ideale* (1947/8) and later the MSI journal *Il Nazionale*. As a member of the Movimento Sociale Italiano, Gray was elected a deputy from 1953 to 1958 and then served as a Senator from 1963 to 1968. In the MSI he represented the pro-Almirante (*q.v.*), anti-Michelini (*q.v.*) 'left-wing spirituals'. He died on 8 February 1969 in Rome.

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GRAZIANI, Rodolfo (1882–1955)

Italian fascist general and later Minister of Defence.

Born in Filetino (Frosinone) on 11 August 1882, Graziani attended the law faculty of Rome University from October 1902 but after receiving his call-up papers in May 1904 he continued to serve in the regular army. He fought in Eritrea from April 1908 and had a distinguished career during the First World War in the Brigata Lazio and in other units. He remained in the army after the war, the youngest colonel. In March 1922 he arrived in Tripoli where he was to fight in the reconquest of Tripolitania and of Cyrenaica between 1928 and 1930. By June 1928 he had been appointed commander of forces in Tripolitania. It was his reconquest of this territory that was to ensure his promotion to Vice-Governor of Cyrenaica in February 1930 under Pietro Badoglio. During the ruthless suppression of the Senussi from February 1930 to 1931, many thousands were killed under Graziani's reign of terror; women and children were massacred, men thrown out of aeroplanes,

some 1,200 executed each year of the campaign, and over 20,000 nomads herded into concentration camps were to die. 'My conscience is tranquil and undaunted to see Cyrenaica saved by pure fascism from that invading force of Levantism which sought to escape from the civilizing Latin influence,' he later wrote. By January 1932 the country had been 'pacified' and Graziani eventually returned to Italy in early 1934.

Appointed Governor of Somalia on 7 March 1935, he was made commander-in-chief of the Italian forces on the southern front during the Ethiopian War where he crushed the forces of Ras Desta and won the Battle of Ogaden, for which he was rewarded with the rank of marshal. He succeeded Badoglio as Viceroy of Ethiopia on 22 May 1936. On direct orders from Rome (Mussolini sent a stream of telegrams with messages like 'All civilians and clerics in any way suspect are to be shot without delay') for a 'radical housecleaning', Graziani set about bringing the whole country under fascist rule through the most brutal methods: the elimination of elementary school teachers and intellectuals, summary executions of prisoners, the murder of many priests and monks and the burning of villages. The repression increased after an attempt on his life in February 1937, probably by ex-members of the Italian police with a grievance. Graziani may not have said, as reported: 'The Duce shall have Ethiopia with or without the Ethiopians just as he pleases', but by the end of 1937 he had still failed to pacify the country and was recalled to be replaced by the more moderate Duke D'Aosta. For his endeavours he received the title of Marchese di Neghelli.

On 31 October 1939 while serving as commander of Army Group E in Albania, Graziani heard on the radio that he had been made chief-of-staff of the army and after Balbo's (*q.v.*) death he became commander of forces in North Africa. Graziani's archival Badoglio had manoeuvred to have Graziani removed to North Africa because of his lack of 'adequate training' for the post of army chief of staff; however, the picture that Graziani paints in his unreliable memoirs of his being the subject of persecution and unwarranted pressure, forced to fight the war of 'the flea against the elephant', is mostly fiction. With 167,000 troops, ill-equipped though they were, he had the numerical advantage over the 36,000 British troops in Egypt but through his failures in both military knowledge and skill and through a lack of imagination he proved slow to exploit British weaknesses. After the destruction of the Italian army in February 1941, Graziani claimed to have had a nervous breakdown and asked to be relieved of command; he

retired from the main scene for a time. Still under investigation for his abysmal performance in 1941, he was considered by Mussolini as Ambrosio's successor as chief of staff on the day after the shattering events of 24/5 July 1943. In September 1943 he accepted the post of Minister of National Defence of the Salò regime after pressure from the German ambassador Rahn. He adhered to the Italian Social Republic largely out of jealousy and hatred of Badoglio who had taken over the reins of government and had signed an armistice with the Allies. Graziani as Minister of Defence and chief-of-staff attempted to rebuild the Italian army as a non-political force based on the potential manpower of the Italian POWs interned in Germany but was entirely thwarted by the network of party-dominated militias and private armies which shaped the defence policy of the Republic.

Taken prisoner by the Americans in April 1945, Graziani was sentenced to nineteen years in prison for 'collaborationism' but served only until May 1950 successively in Algeria, Procida and Forte Boccea. On his release he formed the Unione Combattentistica of ex-servicemen of the RSI in April 1952 and on 15 October 1952 formed part of the second wave of leading ex-fascists to join the neo-fascist MSI; in March 1953 he was appointed honorary president but left in the summer of 1954 after disagreeing with MSI policy on Italian entry to the European defence community. Nevertheless at his funeral, after his death in Rome on 11 January 1955, thousands of neo-fascists chanted 'Duce! Duce!'.

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GREISER, Arthur Karl (1897–1946)

German National Socialist President of the Danzig Senate and later gauleiter of the Warthegau.

Born on 22 January 1897 in Schroda (Posen), the son of a civil servant, Greiser was a much-decorated flying officer during the First World War. In the post-war chaos he joined the *völkisch* Deutsche Soziale-Partei in 1923 and the paramilitary Stahlhelm in 1924 in Danzig. After an unsuccessful business career

he joined the NSDAP in 1929 and under the influence of Erich Koch (*q.v.*) was appointed business leader of the party and in October 1930 deputy Gau leader. From 1931 Nazi spokesman in the legislature, the *Volkestag*, he was appointed deputy president of the Senate in June 1933 and on 28 November 1934 president of the Senate in succession to Hermann Rauschning. He had already as Senator for the Interior been in full control of the police and was with Forster (*q.v.*) to carry out the same policy of *Gleichschaltung* (Coordination) which was taking place in the Reich. A rival of Forster's, he had some doubts about his Gau leader's anti-Semitic measures but eventually carried them through with alacrity.

After September 1939 Greiser became head of the civil administration in Posen and the area was incorporated into the Reich. On 2 November 1939 now *gauleiter* and *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of the Warthegau, newly-created out of Polish territory, Greiser combined both party and state leadership in his Gau. He became the Reichstag representative for the Warthegau in July 1940. As early as the autumn and winter of 1939 he had begun the ghettoization of the Jews in Lodz and the ghetto was sealed in April 1940 but he made it clear to Governor Hans Frank (*q.v.*) that this was only a temporary measure. In autumn 1941 he called for the liquidation of the Lodz ghetto and in November the murders began in Chelmno (Kulmhoff) by means of the Sonderkommando Lange sent from Berlin with their gassing vans; some 152,400 were to die. Much of the wealth from plundered Jewish and Polish property and valuables seemed to find its way into *SS-Obergruppenführer* Greiser's Warthegau account. Poles, too, were treated with cruelty and subject to mass deportations to be replaced by ethnic Germans. In November 1940 Greiser had said: 'When God introduced justice in the world, he also created hatred. And that is how we must have learnt to hate the Poles.'

Greiser was a leading initiator of the Nazi Reichsuniversität Posen and of the Reichsstiftung für Deutsche Ostforschung which were designed to give academic respectability and a sound research footing to Nazi plans for the racial and demographic exploitation of Eastern Europe. In March 1943 he thanked the SS in Chelmno 'in the name of the Führer' for the task they had carried out and on 7 March 1944 reported that almost all the Wartheland Jews had been exterminated in Chelmno. When the Russians were still over 100 kilometres away, Greiser fled towards the south and was eventually captured by the Americans in the Alps in 1945. Extradited to Poland he was convicted in June 1946 and hanged in front of his former headquarters in Posen (Poznan) on 21 July 1946.

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GRIMM, Hans (1875–1959)

German völkisch author.

Born on 22 March 1875 in Wiesbaden, the son of a conservative and monarchist university academic, Grimm studied in Lausanne, and in England learnt the essentials of business life. From 1896 to 1910 he was in South Africa first as an employee in Port Elizabeth then as an independent shopkeeper in East London, and finally as a farmer in German South-West Africa. On his return from Africa he studied political science in Munich from 1911 to 1915 and in the Colonial Institute in Hamburg. Following service as a gunner in the Rupprecht army group and then as an interpreter and reporter for the Colonial Department during the First World War, he had his book, *Der Ölsucher von Duala*, in which he had written about his African experiences, published in 1918. From 1918 until his death he lived in the Cloister House in Lippoldsberg which was to become a national cultural centre.

He was catapulted to fame by the success of his book *Volk ohne Raum* (People without Space) published in 1926, a book of some 1,300 pages which by 1964 had sold over 700,000 copies. An autobiographical, political novel it became a set book during the period of the Third Reich; it describes the life of a German, Cornelius Friebott, and his humiliations in Africa at the hands of British colonial authorities who preferred to protect the rights of non-white natives and Jews. Its thinly disguised political message was to provide an intellectual underpinning for the idea of *Lebensraum*, taken up by the Nazis; it also stressed the necessity of colonial empire for a latecomer nation like Germany. Britain, it was argued, intended to prevent Germany fulfilling its legitimate need to expand. Hand-in-hand with the basic theme went a number of other *völkisch* nationalist ideas which were to make a deep appeal to practitioners of the 'conservative revolution'. As a Social Darwinist, Grimm accepted the naked struggle for existence as the basis of human endeavour and from this it

followed as has been said that 'the conscientious had more rights than the unconscientious, the orderly more than the disorderly, the healthy more than the ill, the gifted more than the ungifted, creators more than imitators.' His ideas, influenced by those of Moeller van den Bruck (*q.v.*) and his June Club, of which Grimm was a member from 1919, made his natural allies the conservative nationalists like Hugenberg (*q.v.*) although he heralded, with themes of the threat to the Nordic races from the demographic time-bomb in Eastern Europe, many of the obsessions of the National Socialists.

Never a member of the NSDAP and in trouble with Goebbels for a time, Grimm, nevertheless, welcomed the Nazi accession to power. His post-war book *The Answer of a German* (1950), in which he defends the 'idealistic' aspects of the pre-1933 Nazis, summarizes his perception of Hitler as the leader of the first genuine democratic movement in Germany which gave expression to the hitherto suppressed true *völkisch* Germany. During the Third Reich he accepted the anti-Semitic policies (Jews were the enemy of all things German) and its racism, although as a conservative he was never fully reconciled to the plebeian aspects of Nazism. In 1935 he took a post as a member of the presidential council of the Reich Culture Chamber. He was also selected as a senator of the Literary Academy and in 1934 organized the first Lippoldsberg meeting of poets and authors of a *völkisch* disposition which attracted writers like Kolbenheyer (*q.v.*), von Salomon (*q.v.*), Carossa and Binding.

It was only after the war, which he saw as another dastardly attempt by the British to express their latent anti-teutonism, that in works like the *Answer of a German*, *Warum? Woher? aber Wohin?* (1954) and *Sachen en Hoffen* (1960) he discovered his 'retrospective devotion' (Tauber) to Hitler. Although he had, like many of the radical conservatives, been personally mistrustful of Hitler, he now concentrated on the 'more positive' aspects, justified the Third Reich's policies, even doubted the extent of the Holocaust. He wrote for the radical right *Nation Europa*, was on the slate of candidates for the Deutsche Reichspartei and in 1951 founded his own Klosterhaus Verlag in Lippoldsberg. He died there on 27 September 1959.

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GROHÉ, Josef (1902–88)

German National Socialist gauleiter.

Born in Gemünden (Hunsrück) on 6 November 1902, one of thirteen children, Grohé was the son of a Catholic shopkeeper. He was more or less self-educated and later claimed to have read with the avidity of an autodidact every available political publication. In May 1919 he moved to Cologne to work as a sales assistant in various Cologne retail and export firms including an iron dealer. In 1920 he joined the *Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund*, a militant *völkisch* group, before moving to the Ortsgruppe Köln of the NSDAP founded in March 1922. During the Ruhr occupation by the French he was a member of a terrorist resistance group and was forced to flee to the Rhineland in the spring of 1923 because of his activities which involved the blowing-up of railway lines and coal trains.

In the next few months he appears to have given assistance to the NSDAP in Munich and to have found employment on a large estate in Württemberg, the Hofgut Herzogenau. In October 1923 he returned to Cologne and founded with Heinz Haake the *Deutschvölkischer Wahlverein* which became in March 1924 the *Völkisch-Sozialer Block*, and in August he joined the *Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung*. He also became a spokesman for another similar organization, von Graefe's and Wulle's (*q.v.*) *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei*. After the refounding of the NSDAP Grohé became on 27 February 1925 a business leader (*Geschäftsführer*) of the Gau Rhineland South, after June under Robert Ley (*q.v.*). In the next few years he became a town councillor in Cologne (1929), leader of the Nazi faction on the council, deputy gauleiter of Rhineland South and in October 1931 gauleiter of Cologne-Aachen. He was involved with his protector Ley as editor of the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* on which Grohé demonstrated a talent for tasteless invective against the Koblenz police, local administrators, and Jews. As an exemplar of the more conservative elements in the party, Grohé was opposed to the National Bolshevik-style manifestations which became fashionable in the north for a time; he also resisted the tide of anti-Christian propaganda popular in some quarters. He came to be known for his outspokenness amounting at times to arrogance and for his less than scrupulous honesty; he was accused of funding a private mansion from the Cologne municipal coffers and was involved in the swindles of his boss Ley.

In 1933 he was appointed to the Prussian State Council and in 1942 made a Reich Defence Com-

missioner. Briefly in 1944 he became Reich Commissioner for occupied Belgium and northern France, but fled back to Cologne in 1945. Interned for a time in Liège, he was later freed by a Bielefeld denazification court after a sentence of 4½ years was considered already served. He worked in the film business in Cologne and was on the margins of the Naumann affair in 1953 when neo-Nazis tried to infiltrate the main parties. Grohé died on 3 January 1988 in Cologne.

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GÜNTHER, Hans Friedrich Karl (1891–1968)

Leading German ethnologist and National Socialist ideologist.

Born on 16 February 1891 in Freiburg, Günther, although a trained anthropologist who was appointed to the chair of racial research in Jena in 1930 (with the assistance of the National Socialist Minister of the Interior in Thuringia, Wilhelm Frick (*q.v.*)) and in 1935 to the Institute for Ethnology, Race, Biology, and Rural Sociology in Berlin, propagated a noxious concoction of popularized and unscientific racism which idealized the blond German racial type. Taking as his starting-point the equally unscientific theories of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*), a bowdlerized Nietzscheanism, the theories of Vacher de Lapouge (*q.v.*) and Ludwig Woltmann (1871–1907) leavened with crude eugenic theories and some physical anthropology, Günther created an unsavoury mélange which in works like *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* (1922) and *Rassenkunde des Jüdischen Volkes* (1930) found an eager readership throughout the period of the Third Reich.

His early literary work *The Knight, Death and the Devil*, a book concerned with *völkisch* heroism and the idea of racial purity, much impressed Darré (*q.v.*) who introduced Günther into Nazi circles. Darré like Günther was close to the Artamanen movement, a *Blut und Boden* school of thought whose members worked as agricultural workers on

the estates of eastern Germany; Günther actually belonged to the Bundschuh which advocated what was considered the correct racial basis for the Artamanen. He had earlier been connected with the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund in the early 1920s. Hitler himself drew from Günther's *Rassenkunde* in his *Mein Kampf*. Günther's Nordic world-view, his racial determinism and his anti-Semitism were expressed in journals like *Die Sonne* from 1923 and in Rudolf Gorsleben's (1883–1930) *Deutsche Freiheit*. Günther even argued at one point that north Germans had a higher percentage of Nordic blood than south Germans.

Günther became something of a hero during the Third Reich; Rosenberg (*q.v.*), the ideologist of National Socialism, thought highly of his work and in 1935 Günther won a science prize for his 'research' on the philosophical foundations of the Nazi race laws; in 1941 he won the Goethe medal. From 1940 to 1945 he was professor of racial science in Freiburg University and he was deputy editor of the *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde*. He saw women in a purely subordinate role as procreators tied to home and family. However, it is true to say that Günther was not at home with certain of the Nazis' actions and was offended by Hitler's obvious lack of interest in his nordicist ideas which were more than simply German. He thus drifted into a kind of silent internal opposition.

After the war he wrote under the pseudonyms Heinrich Ackermann and Ludwig Winter as if nothing had changed, except that in reissues of his works by J.F. Lehmann Verlag and Musterschmidt Verlag the word Jew was changed to 'oriental'. He claimed not to have been a supporter of the Nazis' political programme. He contributed to the journals of the extreme right like *Nation Europa* and to racist journals like *Mankind Quarterly* and *Neue Anthropologie*. The man who was due to attend an anti-Semitic congress in 1944 which never actually took place and who had written: 'the influence of the Jewish spirit . . . brings with it the very greatest danger for the life of the European peoples and of the North American people alike', had really learnt nothing and forgotten nothing when he died in Freiburg on 25 September 1968.

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GUÉRIN, Jules-Napoléon (1860–1910)

French anti-Semitic agitator.

Born in Madrid on 14 September 1860 after the death of his father, in the late 1870s Guérin began a disastrous business career with the Société des Huiles Minérales de Colombes having already failed in the theatre. A series of bankruptcies, charges of creative accounting, mysterious fires and business collapses followed. In 1888 he was convicted of theft and industrial espionage and was forced to leave the firm he had founded in Hamburg. The following year the Galician Oil Co. was bankrupted after the accounts went up in flames and in 1892 a new business venture ended in disaster.

Barred by his commercial recklessness from respectable politics, Guérin, with a degree of self-interest and cynicism, turned to street politics. He had moved in left Boulangist circles and was close to the anarchists of Le Révolutionnaire and to the Blanquistes but now he became an associate of the anti-Semites Drumont (*q.v.*) and Morès (*q.v.*) and in the XIXth arrondissement of Paris continued the campaign abandoned by Morès. Known as 'le Bras' for his strength, Guérin turned to a kind of 'Poujadist' or shopkeeper socialism advocating tax reduction, social welfare and opposition to department stores. Though he was opposed to collectivism some of his programme was 'left-wing', with calls for railway nationalization and democratic control of the Banque de France. At the core of his political agitation, however, was an anti-Semitism expressed in the most crude and violent terms; his rhetoric included the pillage, massacre and burning of Jews and their property. 'The farther we are from the Jews, the closer we are to the people.'

Guérin, whose most violent supporters were shopkeepers and the butchers and slaughtermen of la Villette, planned to incorporate a company to buy up Jewish firms ruined as a result of the January 1898 pogrom in Algiers. Bernanos called him 'the entrepreneur of disturbances'. In 1897 he resuscitated the Ligue Antisémétique Française with some 8,000 members with the intention of opposing 'cosmopolitan elements'. The zealots of the society ended their letters 'bien antisémétique à vous'. Guérin was a dandy at heart with a flair for publicity who had toured the provinces in a motor-car. He played a major part in the anti-Semitic riots of January/February 1898 in Paris, Nancy, Marseilles and Bordeaux which were stirred by the Dreyfus affair and by the economic slump. Guérin was quite happy to accept help from the left and particularly from Henri Rochefort the ex-communard, editor of

L'Intransigeant, and from the Jeunesses Blanquistes. In May 1898 he acted as Drumont's electoral agent in Algiers but soon after the elections Drumont's jealousy of Guérin's popularity led to mutual recriminations between the two. Guérin's journal, *L'Antijuif*, launched on 28 August 1898, published lists of prominent Jews by profession and came to rival Drumont's own *Le Libre Parole*. In the following year the League became the Grand Occident de France.

In the summer of 1898 Guérin had met the pretender to the throne, the Duc d'Orléans, in Marienbad and again in January 1899 in Brussels. Financed by the pretender, Guérin, who knew of Déroulède's (q.v.) coup attempt of February 1899, had a cab load of arms ready to use should Déroulède be successful and then refuse to allow Guérin to take over power. As a result of his activities, he was sought by the police who besieged him in his luxurious headquarters in the rue de Chabrol in August/September 1899. After a siege of 40 days on 'Fort Chabrol', Guérin was arrested and sentenced on 4 January 1900 to ten years for conspiracy against the Republic; this was commuted in July 1901 to a period of exile. He finally returned from Brussels in 1907 after an amnesty. From 1902 to 1903 Guérin edited *La Tribune Française*. He died in Paris on 12 February 1910.

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GUIRAUD, Paul (1913–)

Leading member of the Francistes, the movement led by Marcel Bucard (q.v.)

Born on 5 September 1913 in Yport (Seine-Inférieure), Guiraud was the son of the editor of the Catholic journal *La Croix* and nephew of the Archbishop of Rouen. He acquired a degree in philosophy and then taught in the Collège Episcopal in Strasbourg where he demonstrated strong mystical convictions and a certain germanophilia. He did not attempt to disguise his disgust with Léon Blum and his government. On 13 February 1935 he joined Bucard's Francistes and became one of the movement's leading intellectuals and ideologists. He was a foil for the less intellectual Bucard. 'What Mussolini

has achieved, we also want to achieve,' he wrote. His violent polemical articles in *Franciste d'Alsace* finally led him into trouble when he received a suspended three-month sentence for an attack on the 'credibility of the state'.

As Bucard's chief lieutenant after 1936, Guiraud, who was ambitious and arrogant in character but in appearance rather insignificant and unhealthy, paid lip-service to a belief in social justice and an opposition to monopoly but spoke openly of his belief in private property and made it quite clear that the purpose of his social ideas was to protect the masses from socialists and communists and to ease the arrival of class harmony.

Passed over for mobilization through ill health in 1939, Guiraud persuaded Bucard to revive the Franciste movement after the German occupation. In 1939 he became the editor of *L'Unitaire Française*. He became general commissioner for political activity in the renewed party in which he represented the more extreme pro-German elements. He saw it as his role to rekindle the myth of Bucard as the dynamic leader despite the latter's failing health; he called upon Frenchmen to become the 'willing slaves of Marcel Bucard'. While Bucard was incapacitated by physical disability from November 1942 to the autumn of 1943, Guiraud took over as Franciste leader, an ambition he had striven to achieve for some time. With his conviction that only the Francistes could save the Empire, his aim was both to unite the various collaborationist organizations and to persuade the Vichy government to join the military Axis.

Fleeing to Baden-Baden after the Liberation, Guiraud opposed the ambitious Doriot's (q.v.) manoeuvrings to unite and lead the stragglers of the collaboration. It appears that there were plans afoot to murder Guiraud. After the end of the war he was captured but released through the potent influence of his family on the Catholic hierarchy, served a token sentence and then went into retirement. He was believed to be still alive in the late 1980s.

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GUMMERUS, Herman Gregorius (1877–1948)

Swedish-speaking Finnish historian, diplomat and co-founder of the People's Patriotic Movement (IKL).

Born in St Petersburg on 24 December 1877, Gummerus attended university between 1895 and 1899. His special interests were Roman economy and society. In 1907 his thesis *Der Römische Gutsbetrieb als Wirtschaftlicher Organismus* was published. From 1901 to 1910 he worked as a school teacher and from 1911 to 1920 was a lecturer in Latin philology at the University of Helsinki. As early as 1904 he was imprisoned in St Petersburg for his activities on behalf of Finnish independence. From 1905 to 1908 he edited the journal *Framtid*. When the russification measures were at their height in Finland between 1908 and 1917, Gummerus proved himself to be a spirited and vehement opponent. In 1915 he secretly found his way to Germany where he organized in Berlin a Finnish propaganda agency, the Wetterhof Bureau, which became in 1916 the Finnish Bureau. He argued for the mutual cultural and religious interests of Swedish-speaking Finland and Germany. From 1916 to 1918 he was a member of the Finnish delegation in Stockholm.

After Finnish independence was achieved, Gummerus, a man of profoundly conservative instincts, became an embassy counsellor in Stockholm, chargé d'affaires in Kiev, and finally from 1920 to 1925 Ambassador to Rome, where he saw fascism in action at first hand and acquired a fervent admiration for the methods of Mussolini and his system. He taught from 1926 to 1933 in Helsinki University once more and was appointed history professor in 1933, a post he held until 1947.

In the absence of the leading lights of the fascistic Lapua Movement who were in prison or banned from political activity, Gummerus with another Swedish-speaking conservative Räikkönen (*q.v.*)

took on the function of devising a programme for the new Isänmallinen Kansanliike (People's Patriotic Movement) which sought to perpetuate the spirit of Lapua. Gummerus believed that the Lapua Movement had been entirely necessary in order to combat communism but considered the abductions of opponents indulged in by certain members to be 'errors'. Gummerus himself is reported to have suggested the name of the movement. He was appointed chairman of an informal committee set up to organize the new movement.

It was his deeply conservative instincts that caused his withdrawal from the IKL in 1934. By then it had become clear that the IKL was intent on fighting elections under its own banner instead of as the militant wing of the conservative National Coalition Party; it was also apparent that there was a formidable current of 'socialism' within the party which did not appeal to Gummerus. When the IKL adopted the same position on the language issue as the Academic Karelia Society, marginalizing the Swedish-speakers, Gummerus felt it was time to leave. He died on 18 July 1948 in Helsinki.

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H

HABICHT, Theodor (1898–1944)

German National Socialist who was effective leader of the Austrian NSDAP immediately before and during the abortive putsch of July 1934.

Habicht was born on 4 April 1898 in Wiesbaden. He was most un Nordic in appearance, being small and owlish in his spectacles but was, nevertheless, dynamic, full of impulsive energy and a stirring orator. From 1908 to 1910 he attended the Reform-Realgymnasium in Wiesbaden and from 1910 to 1914 the Realschule in Berlin. He was an apprentice in Berlin until he volunteered for the army in 1915. He served in the field artillery Regiments Nos 74 and 300 and fought on the Western Front and in Italy on the Isonzo. After his demobilization in January 1919 he was associated for a brief time with the communists, but from March 1919 was involved as an army volunteer in border skirmishes with the Poles and in the suppression of the Spartacist revolt in Berlin. From 1921 to 1926 he worked in Berlin and Wiesbaden in various white-collar jobs including as a caretaker.

He joined the NSDAP in April 1926 in Wiesbaden. In July 1927 he established the weekly *Nassauer Beobachter* and later the journal *Rheinwacht*. He worked his way through the party hierarchy, first as *Ortsgruppe* leader and then as *Kreis* leader until his appointment as *Landesgeschäftsführer* in 1931. He served as a member for Nassau of the provincial parliament of Hesse-Nassau and was also a town councillor and leader of the party on the council in Wiesbaden. In September he became a member of the Reichstag for Hesse-Nassau, a seat he held on to at least in theory until 1938. He was favoured by Hitler when he was taken up to oversee the reorganization of the Austrian party in July 1931 as *Landesinspekteur*. He was to become the *de facto* leader of the Austrian party although Proksch (q.v.) had been appointed *Landesleiter* on 13 July 1931. When the party was proscribed in Austria, Habicht was deported to Germany on 13 June 1933 and set up the leadership in Munich where he organized a terror campaign against the Dollfuss regime, ending in the abortive coup of July 1934 and the murder of Chan-

cellor Dollfuss. Immediately before the banning of the party, Habicht had been engaged in compromise talks with Dollfuss which came to nothing partly because Starhemberg (q.v.) considered Habicht 'a former window-dresser and ex-communist agitator'. Hitler, who had left the details of the *putsch* to Habicht, was able to saddle Habicht with responsibility for the failure and refused to allow him to return to Austria.

Habicht retired to a small town in the Harz Mountains where he came under close party surveillance but in 1937 he was allowed to take the post of mayor of Wittenberg in Saxony, a post he relinquished in 1939 after a partial rehabilitation to take up the post of Undersecretary in the Foreign Department of the NSDAP. In April 1940 he was sent as a special envoy to Oslo to investigate the situation and recommended that the short-lived Quisling regime resign in favour of an administrative council. He incurred the wrath of the Führer when the King and the prime minister Nygaardsvold rejected the council. Habicht was sent to join the army and was killed early in 1944 fighting on the Eastern Front.

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HAGELIN, Albert Viljam (1882–1946)

Norwegian Nasjonal Samling member who acted as a contact between Quisling (q.v.) and the Germans.

Hagelin was born on 24 April 1882 in Bergen, the offspring of a Swedish-Jewish mother and a poor silversmith. He studied at the Technical High School in Dresden having been sent to Germany in his youth to train as a singer. According to Knudsen, Quisling's secretary who hated Hagelin, his voice was not of the right quality and he ended his career in a cabaret where the performers were required to dance with female guests who had no partners. Whatever the truth it is certain that he took up the

study of architecture, in 1917 was director of a food-buying agency in Sweden for the German government, after 1919 made a fortune in a wholesale export/import coffee business during the rampant inflation in Germany, and in Dresden built up a coterie of acquaintances many of whom were members and officials of the NSDAP.

Hagelin met Quisling in 1936 and probably at that time became a member of Nasjonal Samling (he was already a member of the NSDAP). His efforts from 1938 to build up contacts between Quisling and the Germans were eventually to lead to conversations between Hitler and Quisling. He made contact particularly with Hans-Wilhelm Scheidt (b. 1907) who was the director of the northern department of Rosenberg's (*q.v.*) Aussenpolitisches Amt after attempts to work through the Foreign Ministry and the Propaganda Ministry had failed; later efforts to enlist Göring's (*q.v.*) assistance proved equally futile. However, moving between Oslo and Berlin, and working in collusion with Aall, Hagelin was instrumental in persuading Quisling towards a more pro-German line and at the same time worked for Nazi interests in Norway; he was also able with other Norwegian contact men to solicit 200,000 Reichsmarks to subsidize the Nasjonal Samling some of which went towards the revival of the NS journal *Fritt Folk* in January 1940. As a result of his efforts the Germans were more inclined to take Quisling seriously.

Earlier in 1939 he did all he could to set up a meeting between Quisling and Admiral Erich Raeder which he hoped would bring about his aim of a German invasion to set up a 'national government'. He became Quisling's closest adviser and on 9 April 1940 had a decisive influence on Quisling's decision to carry out his 'coup'. On 11 April he flew to Berlin to induce Hitler to accept a Quisling government but his influence on the Führer proved not to be so decisive. On the abortive cabinet list of April 1940 Hagelin appeared as Minister of Commerce and Supply (many believed he was more German than Norwegian and would not understand the Norwegian background) and in September in the commissarial regime he was given the portfolio of the interior. In this post he took steps to set up a new corporative order which were predicated on a prior assimilation of trade unions, professional bodies, and the civil service. Through his Associations Ordinance and other measures he achieved only a limited success.

From about the autumn of 1942 Hagelin began to grow disillusioned with Quisling partly because he lost the influence he had earlier enjoyed (Quisling

had at one time proposed that Hagelin should become prime minister with himself as the head of state instead of the King). Many of his colleagues discovered that he was a very difficult man with whom to establish any rapport; he became a thorn in the flesh particularly of the German Reich Commissioner Terboven (*q.v.*). As he became more concerned to establish Norwegian independence from the Germans and his role as Interior Commissioner became enmeshed in a bureaucratic tangle, Hagelin, partly through opportunism as it was quite clear to him by 1944 that the Germans had lost the war, began to look for a way out. He refused Quisling's request to organize the evacuation of Finnmark as the Russians threatened, on the grounds of ill health. His resignation as Interior Minister came on 8 November 1944. His comparatively early departure did not save him from a treason trial. Found guilty, he was executed on 25 May 1946.

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HAIGHTON, Coenrad Alfred Augustus (1896–1943)

Dutch millionaire, founder of the first fascist movement in the Netherlands.

Haighton's father made a fortune from business and in particular from one that insured lottery losses. Haighton himself was born in Rotterdam on 26 October 1896. He was able to concentrate on his interest in authoritarian politics because of his early inheritance of his father's business LOTISICO. An eccentric and something of a poetaster with a passion for travel, he was able to indulge himself in the financial support of the extreme right. With Sinclair de Rochemont (*q.v.*) he established in 1922 the Verbond van Actualisten, the first fascist movement in the Netherlands with its journal, *De Vaderlander*, heavily subsidized by Haighton. In 1923 and 1924 he met and interviewed both Hitler and Mussolini.

When the VVA split in 1927, he moved his money into a new journal *De Bezem* (the Broom) which, after shedding Sinclair de Rochemont, was metamorphosed into the Fascistenbond organization; Haighton found himself expelled from his own

organization by Jan Baars (*q.v.*) who went on to create the Algemeene Nederlandsche Fascistenbond. Haighton kept what was left of *De Bezem* but having discovered a violent and intense anti-Semitism led his loyal remnants into Adalbert Smit's Nationaal-Socialistische Nederlandsche Arbeiderspartij. Haighton became leader of the movement but was later replaced by A.F. Schouten after displaying further evidence of his inherent paranoia, combativeness and temperament by quarrelling with Smit. From 1928 to 1933 Haighton was also editor of the authoritarian nationalist *Nederland*.

After a period abroad he returned to the Netherlands and joined Meijer's (*q.v.*) Zwart Front. When the ZF was absorbed into the National Front in 1940 Haighton declined to take part and instead became a member of Kruijt's NSNAP, but after a conversation with Meijer he was briefly tempted to hold dual membership until October when he left the NF for good in order to concentrate on his real interest in racial theory and in the Jewish 'problem'. In 1940 his attack on Meijer appeared in printed form in Arnold Meijer's *Maskerade*. He was editor of the racist, pro-German *De Nieuwe Gids*. Haighton died suddenly on 13 April 1943 in Beekbergen near Appeldoorn. Despite his considerable education (he studied in Los Angeles and wrote a thesis on Schopenhauer) he suffered all his life from an inferiority complex perhaps contributed to by the fact that he (like Goebbels) was physically handicapped.

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HAMSUN, Knut (pseud.) (Knut Pedersen) (1859–1952)

Great Norwegian novelist called by Henry Miller 'the Dickens of my generation' and by Isaac Bashevis Singer 'the father of the modern school of literature in his every aspect', who came to collaborate with the Germans and wrote a notorious obituary of Hitler.

Hamsun was born on 4 August 1859 in Lom (Gudbrandsdal), the son of a smallholder and tailor. After an elementary education at a travelling school, he spent some time as an itinerant and peddler in northern Norway, an experience that was to be crucial for his later novels. From 1877 to 1879 he

worked as a primary teacher and read voraciously Ibsen, Bjørnson (1832–1910) and Hans Anderson, among others. It is indicative of his anti-social self-involved and solitary nature, that from his childhood he had a fascination with graveyards. His experiences in America from February 1882 when he worked as a farm hand, a tram conductor and in other odd jobs had a deep effect on the young Hamsun. He spoke little English and returned to Norway in 1884 lonely, unhappy and disillusioned. Returning to Chicago in 1886 he worked on a farm in North Dakota. In 1888 he wore a black ribbon as a protest against the execution of the Chicago anarchists but paradoxically he learnt both to hate the 'mob' who had clamoured for the anarchists' deaths and to despise the 'despotic' freedom of democracy. Democracy was a system which had destroyed excellence and led to the money-dominant and culturally stagnant environment of America. Prompted by his reading of Nietzsche, he was opposed to the idea of automatic scientific progress, to urban civilization and to industrialization, and took over the values of 'aristocratic radicalism' as the Dane George Brandes has called his reactionary views.

Hamsun's first great literary success, the impressionistic *Hunger* (1890), the outcome of periods of near starvation in Chicago, Cristiana and Copenhagen, satisfied for the moment his intense longing for fame. In the 1890s followed a period of romantic works like *Pan* (1894) and *Victoria* (1898), the social novels of the First World War, and the vagabond trilogy of 1927–33, the *August* trilogy. Hamsun moved to Nørholm near Grinstad in 1918 where he spent most of the remainder of his life. His *Growth of the Soil* (1917) represents a kind of Norwegian version of the 'blood and soil' ideology which was at the basis of certain strands of National Socialism. Hamsun had brilliant insights into the eccentric psychology of strong, lonely characters, usually wanderers or ruggedly independent farmers; his ideology was one of rootedness under threat from emigration, and of rural enmity towards modernity and urban life. One of the most consistent themes in Hamsun's intellectual and political development was a pronounced anti-British prejudice; he admitted to being 'deeply and intensely anti-British' in 1943, his sympathy for Germany grew as he assigned it the role of a dynamic new nation in conflict with the old geriatric British colonial empire. Although Hamsun claimed not to understand politics, his involvement increased in the 1930s. His praise for traditional agrarian values had become a kind of racial mysticism which approved the racist writings of Jon Alfred and of Mikal Sylten's *National Tidsskrift*; his choice of

reading exacerbated his already latent anti-Semitism.

Hamsun's popularity in Germany was immense and in the spring of 1934 he accepted the Goethe medal (having already won the Nobel Prize in 1920). His blindness to what was happening in Germany is apparent from a letter he wrote to a Jewish correspondent: 'my understanding of the position is not that Germany is trying to drive the Jews out of the country but is how the situation is being presented by Jewish politicians in England and France and by the Jewish press'. In 1935 he protested against the projected Nobel Prize award to the communist and pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, then in a concentration camp. There were also attempts by the Nordic Society to associate themselves with him, which he did not reject. Within Norway he was sympathetic to the reactionary conservative Fatherland League, was a close friend of the Norwegian Nazi Herman Harris Aall, and developed a 'very great admiration and respect for Mussolini'. Although he seems never to have been a member of Nasjonal Samling he claimed to be 'Quisling's man'. 'His firm character and resolute strength of will are a blessing to us at this time,' he averred in October 1936. In the elections of the same year he promised Quisling, 'if I had ten votes, he would receive them'.

The most controversial period of Hamsun's life occurred during the German occupation of Norway in 1940. He claimed that the Germans were only preserving Norwegian neutrality against his old enemy the British and castigated the King and the socialist government for fleeing but it was with his notorious article of 4 May 1940 in *Nationen*, entitled 'Norwegians!' that his collaborationist stand emerged most clearly. There is some evidence that he intervened on behalf of imprisoned Norwegians, that in private he did not like Hitler whom he had met in Austria in 1940 under far from amicable circumstances, and that he opposed the German Reich Commissioner Terboven (*q.v.*) but there can be no doubt that he was a 'spiritual collaborator' and approved Quisling's corporatist economic policy.

Hamsun saved his most provocative stroke until the end of the war with his obituary of Hitler on 7 May 1945 in *Aftenposten*. 'He was a warrior', Hamsun wrote, 'a warrior for mankind, and a prophet of the gospel of justice for all nations . . . We, his closest supporters, now bow our heads at his death.' He tried to commit suicide after the war, was placed under arrest and in December 1947 was fined 425,000 kroner for supporting the enemy (later reduced on appeal in June 1948). He wrote about his experiences in prison in *Pa Gjengradde Stier* (On Overgrown Paths) (1949). His popularity declined

dramatically after the war and he died on his estate in Nørholm on 19 February 1952 aged 92. He was the only European author of the top class to give his support to the Nazis. While Nilson argues that Hamsun was no Nazi but only interested in Germany taking over Britain's pre-eminent place in the world, Ferguson has suggested that Hamsun was far from senile when he issued his Hitlerian obituary and not as two psychiatrists affirmed 'a person with permanently impaired mental faculties'. According to this argument Hamsun was a sincere Nazi and his most prominent characteristic 'the dreadful obstinacy of his mind, its frightening and finally catastrophic innocence'. However, few would argue that his books are any the less great.

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HARRER, Karl (1890–1926)

One of the founders with Anton Drexler (q.v.) of the forerunner of the NSDAP, the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

Born on 8 October 1890, Harter worked as a sports columnist on the Conservative newspaper the *Münchener-Augsburger Abendzeitung*. He was a member of the Thule Society and a collaborator of the Society's founder Sebottendorf (*q.v.*). Within the Thule Society he tried to found the Arbeiter-Ring to spread extreme right-wing ideas to the masses. In October 1918 he founded a Politischer Arbeitszirkel, a very exclusive society restricted to seven people with Harter as 'National' Chairman. Harter was also a member of Drexler's Independent Workers' Committee. With the foundation of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei on 5 January 1919, he was appointed chairman and was also a leading speaker. This nationalist and anti-communist organization existed to diffuse racist and *völkisch* ideas among the working classes.

Harter conceived the DAP as a discussion group of limited membership rather than a political party, 'an association of select persons' as it was described. Until Hitler's arrival it amounted to little more than a beer-drinking society and inevitably Harter's over-cautious and amateurish approach soon lost out to Hitler's dynamic and self-willed vision. Harter resigned in January 1920 calling the unwelcome newcomer a megalomaniac. He died on 5 September 1926 in Munich.

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HAUSHOFER, Karl Ernst (1869–1946)

German university professor, founder of geopolitics.

Born on 27 August 1869 in Munich into a middle-class Bavarian family, Haushofer in October 1887 joined the First Artillery Regiment Prince-Regent Luitpold as a one-year volunteer. A highly intelligent young man, he attended the War Academy for advanced training from 1895 to 1899 and in 1903 taught military history at the Academy. In 1908 he went on a visit to Japan as a military observer and travelling in Korea, north China and Manchuria, he acquired an extensive knowledge of the Far East; he became the leading expert on this area in Germany.

In the First World War he fought in Lorraine and also in Picardy, Poland, the Somme and the Carpathians, and in 1917 became commander of the 30th Reserve Division. After the war he was promoted to major-general and in February 1921 was appointed professor at the Geographical Institute in Munich. Devoting his time to lecturing and teaching and writing copiously, Haushofer developed the ideas of the American Admiral Mahan and of the Swede Kjellen (*q.v.*) whose books he had first encountered during the war in Lorraine; the outcome was the science of geopolitics which in the defeated and demoralized Germany of the early 1920s found an enthusiastic audience. Based on the interplay between geographic and political factors, Haushofer evolved a theory that Germany's natural frontiers lay between Rhine, Vistula and Danube and insisted that the German people must be educated to occupy their natural living space as a counter to the expansionist ambitions of Russia and the western colonial powers.

In April 1919 Haushofer had met Rudolf Hess (*q.v.*) but it is unlikely that he was connected with the Thule Society as has been suggested. It was through Hess that his geopolitical ideas filtered through to Adolf Hitler. In June 1919 Haushofer served in the Einwohnerwehr volunteers who struggled to overthrow the Marxist regime in Munich. His earliest party political experience was as the

chairman of the Munich district group of the Deutsche Volkspartei in April 1921 and in 1923 he was connected with the right-wing paramilitary group the Bund Oberland and joined the Bavarian state executive committee of the League for Germanism Abroad (VDA), later becoming national chairman in December 1938. In the autumn of 1923, as a result of his friendship with Hess, Haushofer supported the Nazi's abortive *putsch* in Munich although he was not actually a member of the NSDAP.

At this time he founded with K. Vowinkel the journal *Geopolitik* (1924–44) and often gave lectures on the concept of *Lebensraum* which was to be taken up by the Nazis in such a crude form. Although he did not take an active part in the Stahlhelm veterans' movement, he did contribute to its press. When the NSDAP took power Haushofer had many reservations but believed in the principle of 'let us educate our masters'. He became vice-president of the German Academy in October 1933 and president in 1934, a member of the Akademie für Deutsches Recht, and head of the Volksdeutsche Council which oversaw the cultural and political activities of Germans abroad. However, in 1937 Himmler (*q.v.*) had set up the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (VOMI) under Werner Lorenz (1891–1974) which effectively took over the powers of the VDA. Haushofer had been an important force for fostering and sustaining German–Japanese relations and had written a standard work on the geopolitics of Japan, but he grew increasingly alienated from the Nazi regime partly because his wife was of Jewish origin. He became convinced of the need for peace with Britain and, in fact, his son Albrecht (1903–45) was a friend of the Duke of Hamilton with whom Hess was seeking to make contact when he embarked on his ill-fated flight to Scotland in 1941. After Hess's departure Haushofer lost the friend who had inspired him in his at least partial sympathy for the Nazis.

Haushofer was imprisoned in a concentration camp for a time after Albrecht was involved in the conspiracy of 20 July 1944. He and his wife committed suicide on 10 March 1946 in Hartschimmelhof near Pähl still shocked by the murder of Albrecht in April 1945.

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HEDILLA LARREY, Manuel (1902–70)

Second national leader of the Spanish Falange Española. Hedilla was born on 18 July 1902 in Ambrosero (Santander) but moved to Bilbao early in his life. His education was rudimentary. He attended the Escuela de Maquinistas Navales (the School of Naval Engineers) while working in the Euskalduna workshops where he had found employment. He later worked as a naval mechanic for Constructora Naval and then began a lorry business which failed. Hedilla joined the local Falange Española late in 1933 and was appointed the local chief in Renedo de Piélagos. He brought into the movement with him the independent trade union he had founded within the Sindicatos Agrícolas Montañeses, the firm where he worked. In 1934 he became provincial chief in Santander and in November 1935 a national councillor. Hedilla as a national inspector in spring 1936 working clandestinely played a major part in keeping the party united and also in the preparations for the military rebellion in Galicia. Southworth has gone as far as claiming that he was responsible more than any other Falangist leader for the success of the military rebellion by his work in coordinating the efforts of local Falangists with those of the conspirators within the armed forces. In the early days of the Civil War he was an inspiration to the Galician Falangists in their assault on León and Oviedo. On 4 September 1936, with the first line of leaders all dead or in prison, a seven-man provisional Junta de Mando was created under Hedilla. His main qualification for the post seems to have been his honesty, courage, common sense and reliability, and the fact that he was of working-class origin but perhaps the crucial factor was his suitability as an easily removable temporary substitute for José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*) if and when he returned. In contrast Hedilla was also a man of limited imagination and intelligence and was conspicuously lacking in national organizational experience at the highest level.

His brief leadership was to be a time of controversy and turbulence. Opposed by the 'legitimists' under Davila (*q.v.*) and Aznár (*q.v.*), Hedilla, after a

half-hearted attempt to bring about unity between the Falange and the Carlists and a period of good relations with General Franco (*q.v.*), was deposed and replaced by a triumvirate in April 1937. After the decree of unification was announced on 19 April by Franco, Hedilla refused the post of second in command of the FET Junta de Mando offered him and Franco, taking advantage of an incident when some of Hedilla's supporters had been involved in a fracas with the 'legitimists' during which one of Dávila's bodyguards was shot, had the rebellious Hedilla arrested on 25 April. Hedilla had realized on his visit to the Generalissimo that Franco had more far-reaching plans for the new movement than the *Hedillistas* had taken account of. At his trial on 5 June 1937 he was at first condemned to death on the charge of 'acts of mutiny against the Decree of Unification' but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and then to 20 years; Ridruejo (*q.v.*), who for a time was a Hedilla follower, heard Franco say that he regretted not having Hedilla shot. He actually served four years in Las Palmas on the Canaries and was then paroled to Palma de Mallorca.

Although some have claimed that Hedilla was a pro-Nazi and there were even rumours that he was a German agent, the evidence suggests that he was well aware of and disapproved of the pagan nature of the German creed which he contrasted with the 'religious spirituality' of Falangism. It seems that Hedilla only learnt of the details of the conspiracy against him from the historian of the Falange, Stanley Payne.

Finally released in 1946 and pardoned in 1947, Hedilla took an administrative post with a national air company and eschewed politics until 1965 although his name was used in the 1950s by a neo-Falangist group the Juntas de Acción Nacional Sindicalista. In 1965 he was associated with Narciso Perales in the Frente Sindicalista Revolucionario (as president in 1966) and in 1968 with the less revolutionary Frente Nacional de Alianza Libre of García Rebull and Piñar (*q.v.*). Hedilla died in Denia on 4 February 1970.

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HEIDEGGER, Martin (1889–1976)

One of the most important German philosophers of the century, who gave his support to National Socialism.

Born on 26 September 1889 in Messkirch (Baden), the son of a Catholic sexton and cooper, and brought up a devout Catholic, Heidegger attended the Gymnasium in Konstanz and then the Bertoldsgymnasium in Freiburg. He failed in his desire to become a Jesuit through ill health (an asthmatic heart condition): he was dismissed from the seminary after only two weeks and later became an agnostic. After a period of study in Freiburg University (1909–13), he was appointed a lecturer (*Privatdocent*) in 1915 and an *Ordinarius* in Marburg University from 1923. He succeeded the Jewish Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, in the chair of philosophy in Freiburg in 1928. In 1927 his major work, *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*), appeared: it dealt with the meaning of reality and the search for authentic values. *Being and Time* had a major influence in Germany and in France, where he has been considered one of the giants of existential thought.

In the 1980s a fierce controversy, 'l'affaire Heidegger', raged about the exact nature and extent of his involvement with German National Socialism. Two books in particular by the Chilean Victor Farias (for a detailed description of the many errors in the French edition, see Sheehan) and Hugo Ott disturbed the previous consensus view of intellectuals like Max Müller and Hannah Arendt that Heidegger's adherence and loyalty to Nazism had been an 'escapade' or a peccadillo which could comparatively easily be overlooked or forgotten in the face of his major contribution to twentieth-century philosophy: in this view his brief political foray into the world of *völkisch* politics could not affect the philosophy. Jean Baudrillard has argued that his political stance should now be forgotten; but not all his defenders are this objective – Jean Beaufret, for example, is notable for his sympathy, at least in the past, to some of the revisionist arguments of those who deny the existence of the Holocaust. It is now clear that not only was the already ultra-conservative and anti-communist Heidegger a National Socialist sympathizer from spring 1932 but a member of the party from May 1933 (No. 312,589), immediately following his appointment as Rector of Freiburg University: this post he positively conspired with pro-Nazis to achieve. Among the many actions for which he was responsible as 'Führer' of the University of Freiburg is the 3 November 1933 decree awarding economic assistance to students who belonged to

the SA or SS and denying it to 'Jewish or Marxist students'. It is also certain that he considered his philosophy to be 'the spiritual core' of the National Socialist revolution, that he gave enthusiastic endorsement to the campaign for *Gleichschaltung* (coordination into the totalitarian Nazi system) for the German universities and that he set about attacking Catholics and 'un-German' professors (compare the case of the future Nobel Prize-winner, Hermann Staudinger). In 1935 he spoke of 'the inner truth and greatness of this movement'; he later added words to this statement suggesting that he saw in Nazism only an antidote to industrial nihilism. The new 'consensus' has now tackled the rhetorical question of one professor who asked: 'was there . . . an essential dependence between Heidegger's philosophy and his National Socialist adhesion?' The revisionists have found that his political loyalty was not contingent or accidental but compatible with his philosophy, with his well-known hostility to progress and to the Enlightenment, with his admiration for Spengler's search for a Third Way between Russian communism and American materialistic capitalism, and with his concern to overcome 'the forgottenness of Being' (a 'Being' whose first origin the Greeks had intuited and whose revival was heralded by the German poet, Hölderlin) in 'a moribund semblance of a culture' given over to technological nihilism.

As Rector of Freiburg, Heidegger on the one hand discouraged the destruction of Jewish books and the propagation of anti-Semitic propaganda, but on the other he advised students to support Hitler, 'the Führer' who 'himself and only he is the present and future German reality and its law'. His resignation from the rectorship on 23 April 1934 was, according to Ott, a reaction to his unpopularity and his incompetence in putting through the promised reforms. Heidegger claimed that the suppression of the revolutionary national Socialism of Röhm (*q.v.*) and the SA in late June 1934, which he had favoured, came as a salutary shock to him: Farias, however, has discovered that he paid his party subscription until 1945, that he was allowed to attend foreign conferences in the 1930s (Heidegger denied this), and that, in short, there was no fundamental breach with Nazism in July 1934: Heidegger was merely disappointed with the *révolution manquée*. The fact cannot be overlooked, however, that in his lectures on Nietzsche between 1936 and 1942, he attacked the racism of the Nazis. Nevertheless, Ott accuses him of a 'monstrous hubris' in his philosophical self-aggrandisement. In 1936 he agreed with his student

Karl Löwith that his National Socialist convictions arose from his concept of 'historicity'.

In the spring of 1946, Heidegger suffered a nervous breakdown following the investigation by the University Senate, intent on denazifying the University, and after the French occupying authorities attempted to force him to share his home with the homeless. In March 1949 arising out of the University's report, Heidegger was declared by a State Commission for Political Purification to be a *Mitläufer* (Fellow traveller) and subjected to a *Lehrverbot* (ban on teaching). In 1951 he was allowed to resume his teaching in Freiburg University as emeritus professor. The most damning indictment of Heidegger is the thunderous silence with which he reacted to the appalling facts of the Holocaust and the National Socialist murder machine. There was no word of remorse, with the possible exception of an ambiguous reference to the Holocaust in a letter of 1948 and in two unpublished lectures of 1949. Heidegger retired from teaching in 1959. As late as 1974, despite his denial of any attempt to create a political philosophy, he wrote: 'our Europe is being ruined from below with democracy'. With Jaspers and Sartre, Heidegger came to be considered one of the giants of existentialism and he has been a profound influence on figures like Rudolf Bultmann, Jacques Derrida, Maurice Blanchôt, Lacan and Merleau-Ponty. In an interview with *Der Spiegel* on 23 September 1966, not released until after his death in June 1976 (interestingly, Farias was not allowed by the directors of *Spiegel* to see the original text of the interview compared with that actually published) he claimed that his adherence to the National Socialists was for their hostility to the uncontrolled supremacy of technology and he distinguishes the 'true National Socialism' from what later resulted after certain deviations. Heidegger died in Messkirch on 26 May 1976.

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HELANEN, Vilho Veikko Päiviö (1899–1952)

Finnish author, orator and leader of the Academic Karelia Society (AKS) and founding member of the IKL.

Born in Oulu on 24 November 1899, Helanen was a student between 1918 and 1922, obtained a master's degree in 1923 and a doctorate of philosophy in 1940. From 1922 to 1941 he served as secretary to the board of directors of the insurance company Salama. He was the editor of the student magazine *Ylioppiloslehdet* from 1924 to 1926, a period during which he was an active member of the Academic Karelia Society (Akateeminen Karjala-Seura); in 1927 he was appointed chairman of the Society, a post he held until 1928 and then again in 1934/35 and from 1936 to 1944. The AKS was founded in 1922 after the failure of the East Karelian adventure by students and ex-students to campaign on behalf of a *Suur-Suomi* (Greater Finland), a unity of all the Finnish peoples including East Karelia, Ingria and the Kola Peninsula, and to express opposition to communism. Helanen was a major influence in steering the society away from an early tolerance for democracy (with the exception of the communists) towards an authoritarian conception. After the abortive Mäntsälä rebellion of 5 February 1932, Helanen was one of the inspirers of the *Isänmaallinen Kansanliike* (People's Patriotic Movement) on 5 June; he was close to the radicals in the movement. Helanen was a strong influence on the most radical of the IKL leaders, Simojoki (*q.v.*), whose collection of speeches *Palavas Pensas* (The Burning Bush) Helanen wrote the introduction for; Helanen was specifically mentioned in this as a formative influence. Like the latter Helanen was involved in the attempted coup in Estonia by the Veterans' Movement in 1935 and faced legal proceedings in Finland.

Although Helanen saw the future of the IKL as a pressure group adding the stiffening and the radical rightist zeal to a broad conservative coalition and was prepared to support the orthodox conservative National Coalition Party candidates at elections, ideologically he was a strong supporter of Hitler and of the ruralist, anti-political extreme nationalist IKL ideology. In September 1940 he was among the founders of a more traditional nationalist group, *Nouseva Suomi* (Rising Finland), which was close to the Progressive Party and which produced a six-point programme in March 1941. Between 1941 and 1943 he was responsible for propaganda in the field of government loans to bolster the war effort and in 1943/4 a top civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior. After the war he was sentenced to a period

of imprisonment for treasonable activities. He then worked for Suomi Films. He later wrote a number of detective novels. His death came on 8 June 1952 in Helsinki.

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HENLEIN, Konrad (1898–1945)

Sudeten German leader.

Born the son of a bookkeeper on 6 May 1898 in Maffersdorf near Reichenberg, Henlein was the son of a German father and a Czech mother whose name was Dvořáček. He served in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial army on the Italian front from March 1917 and was captured on 18 November 1918. He was released from POW camp in 1919 and worked first as a bank clerk in Gablonz in 1925 and then became a full-time instructor for the Deutsche Turnverein, the *völkisch* gymnastic society, in Asch. By 1929 he was a member of the executive board of the Deutsche Turnverband, the umbrella organization for the various gymnastic groups in Czechoslovakia. By 1931 he was *Verbandssturmwart* and had control of the Turnverband.

He first came to national prominence in July 1933 after organizing the gymnastic festival in Saaz and was approached by the two Sudeten German nationalist parties, the DNSAP and the DNP, as a potential new leader. When the DNP and the DNSAP were dissolved by the Czech authorities, Henlein on 1 October 1933 announced the formation of a new movement above parties, the Sudeten-deutsche Heimatsfront, whose ideology was based not on that of the National Socialist DNSAP but on that of the elitist and secret Kameradschaftsbund founded in 1928 by followers of the Austrian social thinker Othmar Spann (*q.v.*). In September 1933 Henlein had met with leaders of the KB, the DNP and the DNSAP and the three groupings had decided that there was a need for new leaders not

associated with the outlawed parties of a National Socialist orientation. Although the new movement began as more than a simple continuation of these movements (it strove for a *Volksgemeinschaft* above class conflict and did not espouse the extreme racial obsessions of the Nazis although Jews were excluded), it became increasingly a German Fifth Column within Czechoslovakia. By May 1935 it had won 44 seats. In this year it became, on Czech insistence, the Sudetendeutsche Partei and began to have secret contacts with the Reich National Socialists, was subsidized from the Reich and began to be infiltrated by Nazi elements.

Henlein was not a man of brilliant abilities though not unintelligent, nor was he an outstanding leader; he was modest and amiable and immediately before the Munich settlement won a certain sympathy from the British public, though he was reported to have made considerable 'attempts to camouflage his professions of National Socialism'. On 28 March 1938 in a secret agreement with Hitler to undermine the Czech state, Henlein offered Hitler the principle: 'we must always demand so much that we can never be satisfied'. However, by late in 1937 the traditionalists within the Sudeten Movement had lost power and influence to the SS and Henlein was to be elbowed out of the limelight by more radical Nazis like Karl H. Frank (*q.v.*). In September 1938 he fled across the border into Germany not to return until the occupation. When the Sudetenland was annexed, he was given considerable honours, made a member of the Reichstag, promoted in June 1943 to the rank of *SS-Obergruppenführer* and in May 1939 appointed *gauleiter* and head of the civil government in Sudetenland, posts which he retained until the end of the war, but in reality he had little power. Henlein cut his wrists in a POW camp in Pilsen shortly after the end of the war on 10 May 1945.

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HENNE, Rolf (1901–66)

Leader of the Swiss Nationale Front between 1934 and 1938.

Born on 7 October 1901 in Schaffhausen, Henne was the son of a local doctor who was related to the psychiatrist Carl G. Jung. Educated in Zurich and Heidelberg Universities he was also for a time a student in England and Scotland; he worked as a lawyer until 1934 after obtaining his Dr Juris. After joining the Neue Front in which he served as *Gauführer* for Schaffhausen, he remained in the new organization now renamed the Nationale Front which incorporated the Neue Front in May 1933, retained his post as provincial leader and became official speaker for Schaffhausen. A genuine believer in a Swiss *Volksgemeinschaft*, his ideological stance moved steadily towards a kind of Swiss National Socialism.

On 4 February 1934 he became the *Landesführer* (Leader) of the Nationale Front, a post he was to hold until he was dismissed on 23 January 1938 after severe and internecine quarrels had broken out over the National Socialist orientation of the party. The 1935 court case over the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* had revealed the extent of German financial backing for the movement and some of the more radically pro-German elements including Henne, Oehler (*q.v.*) and Schaffner (*q.v.*) left in March 1938 to form the Bund Treuer Eidgenossen Nationalsozialistischer Weltanschauung (The League of Faithful Swiss of a National Socialist World Outlook).

In 1940 Henne was one of the co-founders of the pro-Nazi National Bewegung der Schweiz. After the war he became the owner of the Argus der Presse press-cutting agency. Among his more important writings were *Eidgenössischer Sozialismus* (Zurich, 1935), *Kampfzruf* (Zurich, 1935) and *Die Rolle der Schweiz in Kommenden Europa* (Zurich, 1936). Henne died on 25 July 1966 in Kunsnacht-am-Zürichsee.

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HENRIOT, Philippe (1889–1944)

French radio propagandist and Vichyite collaborator.

Born in Reims (Marne) on 7 January 1889, the son of an infantry officer, Henriot received a strongly

Catholic classical education at the Institut Catholique in Paris and at the Sorbonne. He taught in Sainte-Foy-la-Grande in the Gironde from 1909 to 1925, protected from the carnage on the Western Front by a chest disease. He later taught French at the Berlitz School in London.

His first foray into politics from 1925 was as a speaker for General Castelnau's militant Catholic Fédération National Catholique, an organization which worked for greater freedom for the Church. Having given up teaching he made his living as a wine-grower in Eynesse and was elected deputy for Bordeaux in 1932; he was re-elected in May 1936 as a member of the Fédération Républicaine group of which he became national vice-president. Henriot was also elected as general councillor for the Gironde and president of the Gironde group of the Union Populaire Républicaine. Before 1936 he was a sympathizer with a number of the extreme right-wing leagues, including Action Française, the Jeunesses Patriotes and the Croix de Feu, and after their dissolution in June 1936 supported Taittinger's (*q.v.*) Parti National Populaire. Many of the anti-masonic and anti-Semitic prejudices of these groups rubbed off on Henriot. As Delperrie has said, 'he dreamt of a Catholic, obedient France without communists and without workers'. As a journalist Henriot was the director of *Jeunesses 39*, the organ of national French youth.

In the National Assembly he made a reputation for himself with his oratorical thrusts against various governments most notably after the riots following the Stavisky affair. (This concerned Stavisky, a Jew who was protected in shady financial dealings by well-paid official friendships, thus giving the extreme right an opportunity for anti-democratic and anti-Semitic propaganda.) As an advocate of Franco-German rapprochement, he supported the Munich settlement in 1938 and opposed war in 1939, a conflict in which he was to lose a son. He favoured the bestowal of special powers on Pétain by the National Assembly and found his true milieu as a propagandist on behalf of the 'national revolution, first on *Gingoire* in Vichy (although he continued to live near Bordeaux), as a speaker for the Ministry of Information under Paul Creyssel, director of propaganda, and then on the radio. In his weekly bulletins on Radio Vichy he employed his extensive knowledge of mass psychology in his role as the leading spokesman for the collaboration. He denounced the Resistance, excoriated the Allies for their bombing raids, referred to the maquis as 'killers and starvers of children' and laid into the communists, attacks which took on the urgency of a holy crusade after the beginning of *Operation Barbarossa*.

In December 1943 under German pressure he joined the Vichy government as Secretary of State for Information and became a spokesman and member of the general secretariat of the Milice. Gertrude Stein, then in Culoz, said that 'he used the method not of a politician but of a Churchman'. With broad shoulders, a concave chest, and a complete lack of dress sense, he presented to those who did not listen to his words a ludicrous figure. There is some evidence that he began to lose faith in collaboration shortly before he was killed by the Resistance in Paris on 28 June 1944. He was buried in Notre-Dame.

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HERMANS, Cornelius Eduardus (known as Ward) (1897–)

Flemish author, journalist and prominent member of the Vlaams Nationaal Verbond.

Born on 6 February 1897 in Turnhout, Hermans was the son of a trader. After volunteering in the First World War, he worked as a journalist and propagandist for the nationalist Front Party. From 26 May 1929 to 1932 and again from 2 April 1939 to September 1944, he served as deputy for Mechelen. With his bow tie and intellectual spectacles he looked the part of an ideologue and, indeed, took a particularly uncompromising pro-Nazi line in many of the journals for which he wrote: *De Schelde*, later *Volk en Staat*, and *Strijd* in particular. For a time in 1933 and 1934 he was a member of Verdinaso but resigned after persistent quarrels with Van Severen (q.v.). From 1935 to 1940 he was an arrondissement leader for the VNV.

As one of the pro-Nazi radicals in the party, he was arrested on the eve of the German invasion in 1940. The VNV proved too moderate and he departed in October 1940 to concentrate on the organization of the *Algemeene SS Vlaanderen* and until May 1941 as editor of the journal *SS-Man*. From this time until the end of the war he was employed by the Volkspolitiches Amt in Berlin as a journalist, reporter and broadcaster on Bremen Radio. Arrested in

Germany in November 1946, and already sentenced to death *in absentia* on 26 May of the same year by the second chamber of the War Council in Mechelen, his sentence was later commuted to a term of imprisonment and he was finally freed in 1955. He continued to write and it seems his views were modified only slightly. In the 1970s he served the Vlaams Militanten Orde in various capacities. In the mid-1980s he was still living in Ramsel.

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HÉROLD-PAQUIS, Jean (originally Jean-Hérolde Paquis) (1912–45)

French journalist and radio propagandist for the extreme right, collaborator from 1940 and National Socialist supporter.

Paquis was born on 4 February 1912 in Arches (Vosges), the son of a Moselle wine dealer. He lost his parents at an early age. After a religious education he found employment on various journals in Épinal, Nancy and Paris. Following a period with *L'Express de l'Est* in Épinal, a radical socialist paper, he joined the Catholic nationalist *l'Éclair de l'Est* in Nancy. In Paris he wrote as Léon Bailby on *L'Intransigeant* and then on *Le Jour*, *Pour Vous* and *L'Aube*. He soon gravitated towards L'Action Catholique and encountering Pierre Gaxotte on *Le Jour* was persuaded to join Action Française; he was also close to the Jeunesses Patriotes. He spent three months in Fresnes prison for defaming the mayor of Belfort. Known as 'goueffon', Hérolde-Paquis, slight, puny, ill-tempered, ungainly, aquiline in profile, soon became the radio critic of the Catholic journal *Choirs*.

He broke with journalism in 1936 to work for an insurance company but then became a speaker on Radio Saragossa from April 1938 to March 1939. He had earlier, as an extreme nationalist and a violent anti-communist, fought for the Spanish nationalist cause in June 1937 with the French volunteers in the Civil War. He had a romantic love of dangerous adventure and of risk taking; on Radio Saragossa, a post to which he was appointed after being invalidated out of the war with pleurisy, he matched his taste for action

HÉROLD-PAQUIS

with a grim vocabulary full of images of blood and death. On his return to France he joined the army in December 1939 and was demobilized as a corporal. A Nazi sympathizer he was charged with the task of organizing the publicity for Marshal Pétain's official visits around Vichy France. He joined the Group Collaboration and spoke at meetings of the Anti-Bolshevik Legion, of the PPF, and of Jeune Europe. In December 1941 he left Vichy and returned to Paris where he joined Radio-Paris as an editor in January 1942 and became head of its military desk and military critic of *Radio Journal*. Between June 1942 and August 1944 he built up a large audience for his rhetorical and vituperative 'radiophonic combat' which towards the end of the occupation tended to part company with reality. He was particularly harsh on the black market. 'L'Angleterre, comme Carthage, sera détruite' (England, like Carthage, will be destroyed) and 'Friends in uniform, they are only in field grey'; with such phrases he provoked Gaullist radio in London to respond with: 'Radio-Paris ment, Radio-Paris est Allemand' (Radio-Paris lies, Radio-Paris is German).

A member of Doriot's (q.v.) PPF from 1942 to his death, he wrote articles for many of the collaborationist journals: *Cri du Peuple*, *Le Pays Réel*, and *La Gerbe*, and was close to the Milice, to support which Hérold-Paquis, with Rebatet (q.v.) and Lucien Combelle, formed a political commissariat. Following a failed assassination attempt in 1944, he fled in August to Germany as part of the Sigmaringen emigration. He set up Radio-Patrie in Bad-Mergentheim on which he was to declare that in contrast to General Leclerc's 'atrocities' in Alsace, 'the Germans, these barbarians, these assassins, in four years have only burnt this village [Oradour-sur-Glane]'. At the end of the war he escaped to Switzerland but was repatriated on 16 July 1945. Condemned to death by the Court of Justice, Hérold-Paquis was executed in Fort du Châtillon on 11 October 1945.

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HESS, Walter Richard Rudolf (1894–1987)

Deputy leader of the NSDAP.

Hess was born on 26 April 1894 in Alexandria (Egypt), the son of a Bavarian Lutheran importer/

exporter, and was sent to school in 1908 in Bad Godesberg by his strict and dictatorial father. After further study in a commercial boarding school in Neuchâtel in Switzerland, Hess returned to Egypt but was then dispatched to Hamburg to serve his apprenticeship in the family business. On the outbreak of war Hess joined the Bavarian Field Artillery Regiment and later served in the infantry as a lieutenant at Verdun, where he was wounded, and on the Romanian Front. He ended the war in the air force, although after his initial training he was active only for about ten days.

In February 1919 he arrived in Munich where he became a member of the extreme right Thule Society, escaping arrest by the Marxist government by fortuitously finding himself in Regensburg at the appropriate time in May. In the summer of the same year he assisted the Epp (q.v.) Free Corps in its struggle against the Spartacists in the Ruhr. In May 1920 he attended a meeting of the NSDAP addressed by Adolf Hitler and from that moment was captivated; his conversion was of an almost hysterical and mystical intensity. He immediately joined the NSDAP as member No. 16. On his arrival in Munich Hess had enrolled as a student of political science, history and economics in the University of Munich. It was here that he studied the science of geopolitics and in particular the works of Ratzel and Kjellen (q.v.) under Professor Karl Haushofer (q.v.) who was to become his life-long friend and mentor. Hess helped to create the Munich student SA battalion which he led in the abortive beer hall *putsch* in November 1923. Arrested and imprisoned after he gave himself up in April 1924 for his part in the uprising, Hess acted as Hitler's personal secretary in Landsberg prison. Hess did not merely take down Hitler's dictation of what was to become *Mein Kampf* as legend would have it, but played a much more active role in clarifying Hitler's ideas on *Grossraumpolitik* and *Lebensraum* inspired by Haushofer's teachings.

He served only 7½ months in gaol and on his release the humourless, pedantic Hess initiated and cultivated the Führer cult which led him in 1933 to declare: 'the people are yearning for a real leader, free from all party fraud, for a pure leader with inner truthfulness.' It was Hess who devised the greeting 'Heil Hitler!'. Though Hess held no official rank until 1932 he was in 1928 generally accepted as second only to Hitler in the decision-making process with important powers in the selection and the appointment of gauleiters as the head of Hitler's private chancellery. In December 1932 after the fall of Gregor Strasser (q.v.), Hess moved over to become head of the Political Central Commission, on 21

April 1933 was appointed deputy party leader of the NSDAP with 'power to make decisions in the name of the Führer in all matters concerning party leadership', was a member of Hitler's cabinet council, and as head of the party chancellery in December 1933 attained ministerial rank as Minister without Portfolio.

As a blind and subservient tool of Hitler, Hess looked after the Führer's personal financial affairs. 'The Führer can rely on him blindly, 'wrote Goebbels (*q.v.*) in his diary. Perhaps the greatest pleasure he derived from his position was the privilege of announcing Hitler with a few stilted, adulatory phrases at mass meetings. Newsreels reveal graphically the rigid, fanatical, cranky nature of Hess, the hypochondriac advocate of homeopathy, astrology, animal magnetism and other aspects of the occult. In 1933 he acquired two other posts which defined his position in the Nazi hierarchy until 1939, the first was head of the Verbindungsstab (Liaison staff agency) to which he was appointed even before his elevation to deputy Führer; however, the functions of this organization were soon eclipsed by the growth in administrative complexity and the acquisition of new jurisdiction by the Office of the Deputy Führer (Stellvertreter des Führers). The second (from October) was the leadership of the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP (Auslandsorganisation) and later of the Volksbund für Deutschtum im Ausland; in this second capacity he played an important role in both the Anschluss with Austria and in the absorption of Czechoslovakia.

By 1939 Hess had accumulated numerous posts to which was added on 30 August 1939 membership of the Ministerial Council for Reich Defence but he had never demonstrated any exceptional talents and in spite of the confirmation of his status as designated successor to Hitler and Göring, seen by some as a symbol of the high regard in which he was held, he was fobbed off with functions that required little outstanding ability, tasks such as entertaining guests or addressing meetings.

Hess's career ended with what in retrospect can be seen as a major blunder. On 10 May 1941, no longer a firm supporter of the war, Hess flew secretly to Britain in a Messerschmitt fitted with long-range fuel tanks and parachuted into Scotland in an attempt to negotiate peace terms with the Duke of Hamilton whom he had met at the Olympic Games in 1936 in Berlin. The predominant influence on Hess's extraordinary decision, a desperate last gamble to restore his waning prestige with the Führer, was Dr Albrecht Haushofer (1903–45), son of Hess's old teacher, who had many British contacts. There has

been some speculation but little evidence that Hess may have had Hitler's tacit permission in this madcap enterprise. The fact remains, however, that Hitler was genuinely furious and called him insane. Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, to whom he unfolded his plans, referred to Hess as a 'simple, stupid soul with a strong streak of fanaticism and some eccentricity'. His plan for the division of the world between Germany and a British Empire whose integrity would be guaranteed fell on deaf ears. Hess was treated for the remainder of the war as a prisoner; the simple-minded Hess had totally misjudged the British.

Brought to trial at Nuremberg Hess suffered from hysterical amnesia but was nevertheless found clinically sane and imprisoned for life in Spandau in 1947 for what turned out to be literally life due to Soviet vetoes on attempts to free him; the motive may have been deep-seated suspicions that his mission to Britain had large anti-Soviet implications. Hess lived on alone after the release of Speer (*q.v.*) and Von Schirach (*q.v.*) in October 1966. Hugh Thomas who attended Hess as a doctor has claimed that the Spandau Hess was, in fact, a double. Hess to the end, supported by his son Wolf, considered himself a victim. He committed suicide by hanging in Spandau on 17 August 1987 aged 93 (accompanied by the expected allegations of murder from certain quarters) and attempts to bury him in the family grave at Wunsiedel were frustrated by the attentions of neo-Nazis. It was later announced that he had been buried at an unknown location.

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HEYDRICH, Reinhard Tristan Eugen (1904–42)

Head of the SS Security Service, deputy to Reichsführer-SS Himmler (q.v.) and Reich Protector in Bohemia-Moravia.

Heydrich was born on 7 March 1904 in Halle an der

Saale, the son of Bruno Heydrich, musician, composer, tenor, owner and director of the Halle Conservatoire. Heydrich junior was subjected to a strict Catholic upbringing and in 1922 became a naval cadet. In 1920 he had joined General Ludwig von Maercker's Free Corps formed to protect the Weimar Republic against a communist uprising as an auxiliary runner and in 1921 was the co-founder of a local *Deutschvölkische Jugendschar* which was under Maercker's command but although at this early age he had developed decidedly *völkisch* ideas he may have invented membership of the *Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund* to deflect claims of his part-Jewishness (derived from his paternal grandmother's second husband), in fact the man called Süss was not Jewish. This identification of the tall, blond, large-nosed, falsetto-voiced, Nordic-looking amateur violinist developed in him a desire to 'out-Aryanize' his colleagues.

On 10 September 1926, Heydrich, who served under Canaris (*q.v.*) was promoted to lieutenant in the Reichsmarine and coming into contact with the Nazis in late 1930 joined the party on 1 June 1931 as No. 544,916. He was cashiered from the Navy in 1931 with a dishonourable discharge for jilting his girl-friend in favour of his later wife, Linda von Osten. He was taken up by Himmler as an intelligence officer in the SS in Hamburg in August 1931 and immediately set up *Ic Service* based on a card-index of opponents and enemies which became the *Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS* (SD). In July 1932 Heydrich was promoted to *SS-Standartenführer* and director of the SD. Entrusted with the 'investigation of hostile elements', Heydrich consciously modelled his style on that of British intelligence and with great bureaucratic efficiency built up a useful intelligence network although in the early days the operation was inevitably more amateurish than the ruthless and highly efficient machine it was later to become. Heydrich had judiciously resigned on 27 January 1933 from the SD, a move that enabled him as Himmler's right-hand man and close confidant to follow in his mentor's wake to Munich as director of political department VI in police headquarters (*Geheime Staatspolizei*) in March 1933. (He later remarked to his wife on the subject of relations with Himmler: 'I simply think to myself – how does he look in his underpants? Then everything's all right.') Himmler became head of police within a year in all states except Prussia with the assistance of Göring's rival, Interior Minister Frick (*q.v.*). Although by April 1934 Heydrich had his hands, as Himmler's deputy, on the Prussian police, the Gestapo, he was to be disappointed that his dream of the SS as the exclusive

police force of the Third Reich with virtually unlimited power was taking so long to materialize. He proved his usefulness to the regime when he tricked the SA into a premature revolt in Bavaria which created an excuse for the Röhm (*q.v.*) purge in June 1934.

However, on 9 June 1934 Hitler formally transferred all Nazi intelligence services to the SD and in May 1936 Heydrich was created head of the German state security police, including the SD and SIPO (which combined the Gestapo and the criminal police KRIPO). Heydrich, who had pioneered the use of Dachau concentration camp for hostile elements, now utilized KZs for 'social parasites' and was better able to detect, identify and eliminate his many 'enemies': communists, political Catholics, Jews, homosexuals, freemasons, reactionaries and Black Fronters. In September 1939 SIPO and the SD were amalgamated to form the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) with Heydrich at its head.

Heydrich was a complex personality who suffered from a deep inferiority complex; glacial and ruthless he was incapable of intimate relationships although had a huge sexual appetite. Cynical, free of scruples and an enemy of humanitarianism and moral concern, he was, as Deschner has indicated, not the St Just of caricature and no racial fanatic, a man that Speer (*q.v.*) found 'reasonable'. An accomplished athlete, fencer and rider, a workaholic who was constantly searching for new field of endeavour and responsibility, a rational professional who saw every task as a technical planning exercise, a stickler for minute organizational detail, Heydrich was regarded by his subordinates with a mixture of fear and admiration and by his superiors, Himmler and Bormann, with apprehension over his mastery of the terror machine.

Above all Heydrich has been called with justice 'the prime mover behind the extermination of the Jews'. On 24 January 1939 Göring ordered Heydrich to bring 'the Jewish question . . . to as favourable a solution as present circumstances permit' and at first, appointed by Göring (*q.v.*) as leader of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Berlin, he believed in forced emigration as the solution, and for a time in 1940 the bizarre plan to settle European Jews in Madagascar, but after the outbreak of war and the discovery that territorial solutions like ghettoization had become impracticable, the terrible logic of the situation to one of Heydrich's mind became inevitable. Following the success of *Operation Barbarossa* in July 1941 Heydrich conceived the idea of *Einsatzgruppen*, special groups A–D attached to the various army groups whose task was to eliminate Eastern Jewry as a 'reservoir of Bolshevism' in

response to an order received from Göring 'on the Führer's instructions' to implement the 'aimed at Final Solution of the Jewish Question'.

On 20 January 1942 Heydrich presided over the Wannsee Conference convened for the express purpose of coordinating the 'Final Solution of the European Jewish Question'. The mass extermination of Polish Jewry, the so-called *Aktion Reinhard*, was a direct legacy of Heydrich's preparatory organization. On 27 September 1941 Heydrich had arrived in Prague as Deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia to take the place of the moderate Von Neurath (1873–1956). Hitler had, on the recommendation of Bormann, demanded a more ruthless and determined Protector; Heydrich in his turn was relieved to be allowed a change from being 'the dustbin of the Reich'. In the first few weeks he destroyed organized resistance, executed black marketeers, put former Minister-President Eliáš on trial and began the process of germanizing the Czechs.

Heydrich died in hospital on 4 June 1942 from wounds received from a grenade after an assassination attempt as he drove in his car through the Prague suburb of Holešovice. Responsible for the killing were two NCOs of the former Czech army, Jan Kubiš and Josef Gabčík, trained in Britain and dropped by parachute. Hitler conferred on Heydrich the highest class of the German Order which Todt (*q.v.*) was the only other person to receive. Hitler's revenge was terrible; he ordered the destruction of the mining village of Lidice, the shooting of the 199 males and the deportation of the women to Ravensbrück.

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HILDEBRAND, Friedrich (1898–1948)

German National Socialist gauleiter.

Born on 19 September 1898 in Kiekindemark (Mecklenburg), the son of an agricultural labourer, Hildebrand was a man of very limited education. He was employed as an agricultural labourer and then on the railways. Mobilized in 1916 he was wounded

three times on the Western Front in 1917. After leaving the army in which he attained the rank of sergeant, he joined the Freikorps Brandis which operated both in the Baltic and in Silesia from 1919. A year earlier he had been involved in the counter-revolutionary activity in Mecklenburg and found himself in prison for overzealousness. In 1920 he was installed in the security police in Halle. Caught up in the suppression of the left-wing counter-reaction against the Kapp *putsch*, he was acquitted of having used harsh methods in Osterfeld, Weissenfels and Halle. Nevertheless, he was dismissed from the police.

In 1921 he became chairman of the employee group of the trade union Landarbeiterbund in Westprignitz (Brandenburg). Having been briefly a member of the conservative Deutschnationale Volkspartei after the war, he stood as a parliamentary candidate for von Graefe's Deutschvölkische Freipartei in 1924; he was elected to the Mecklenburg *Landrat*. Although for a time a Hitler supporter in 1923, Hildebrand did not join the NSDAP until 1925 when he became unpaid gauleiter of Mecklenburg-Lübeck (he was supported by his patrons the Counts Schulenburg), a reflection, perhaps, of the pool of talent available at the time. An ignorant lumpenproletarian and a strong opponent of Marxism, he nevertheless had radical instincts and set himself against the reactionaries of the Gau Mecklenburg. He favoured Otto Strasser (*q.v.*), a preference which was to lead to his suspension as gauleiter, the actual pretext being some tactless remarks he had made about close relations between the NSDAP and the big industrialists. Hildebrand was temporarily replaced by Dr Albrechts but after his reinstatement in 1930 his talent for propaganda helped the Nazis take control of the Mecklenburg *Landrat* in 1932.

On 12 May 1933 he was appointed *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Mecklenburg-Lübeck. His revolutionary tendency (he often requested working-class speakers in his area) led to further investigation by Frick (*q.v.*) and Hess (*q.v.*) in 1934 but he was retained, and in 1942 was promoted to *SS-Obergruppenführer*. The gaucherie of his speeches on Nordic culture often reduced the more educated members of his audience to helpless laughter. Hildebrand was condemned to death by an American military court in 1947 and he was hanged in Landsberg prison on 5 November 1948, perhaps a victim of his class origins.

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HILTL, Hermann (1872–1930)

Founder and leader of the Austrian Frontkämpfer.

Hiltl was born in 1872, the third of four sons of a military engineering director. He was educated in Eisenstadt military school from 1881 and from 1898 in the Vienna-Neustadt Military Academy. He entered the army in Arad as an officer in the Infantry Regiment No. 33. From 1907 he was a tutor in the Infantry Cadet School in Vienna. When the Archduke was murdered in 1914 in Sarajevo, Hiltl was serving in a nearby camp. During the First World War he fought in Serbia, Italy, again in Serbia, and in March 1916 in the South Tyrol. Captured by the Italians, he spent some time in a POW camp.

After the war he founded the Frontkämpfervereinigung, a paramilitary veterans' organization. It began with the 'Battalion Hiltl' which expanded to include similar groups. Hiltl then organized an anti-socialist movement, the Bund für Ordnung und Wirtschaftsschutz, which soon spread to all districts of Vienna and gave rise to a new organization of reserve officers known as the Frontkämpfervereinigung Deutsch-Österreichs. The earliest published manifesto of Hiltl's group called for the 'Aryan' unification of the entire German *Volk* which was being undermined by the seditious and demoralizing activities of Jews.

Like the Stahlhelm in Germany, the Front Fighters' Association saw itself as outside party politics, a movement of reconstruction, of rehabilitation of demobilized soldiers, and of the promotion of unity among the nationalist elements of the population. It was not only in policy but in structure a decidedly authoritarian movement. By 12 September 1927 when Hiltl became sole leader, it had developed a complete corporatist ideology based on the Italian fascist experience with occupational representation and hierarchical organization. Despite this, Hiltl in a lecture in Vienna on 8 March 1926 denied that the ex-servicemen were fascist. Some future Nazis like Frauenfeld (*q.v.*) received their first experience of right-wing paramilitary politics under the wing of Hiltl.

Though he was prepared to work with the Heimwehr, he had severe reservations about the Austrian fascists, a view that was clearly reciprocated by the Heimwehr leader when he described the Front Fighters as *Bockmist* (goat manure). Hiltl's strident demands for Anschluss with Germany did little to endear him to the more Austrian-inclined Heimwehr. Hiltl was a typically military figure with a large moustache and a rather unbending and unimaginative personality. In 1929 he participated as a guest of

honour in the NSDAP party conference but any tendencies towards that organization that he may have harboured were made irrelevant by his death on 15 August 1930. Most of his members were absorbed by the Heimwehr or by the Nazis.

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HIMMLER, Heinrich (1900–45)

Reichsführer-SS in National Socialist Germany, second in power only to Hitler.

Born in Munich on 7 October 1900, the son of a former tutor to the princes of Bavaria and later Gymnasium head-teacher, Himmler was brought up in a strict, authoritarian, Catholic family. He sought all his life for an equally powerful substitute for his early Catholic beliefs after he had abandoned them. His diaries reveal an easy-going, infantile adolescent obsessed by dreams of military glory and the romance of soldiery, particularly during the First World War when he was also exposed to *völkisch* ideas. Towards the end of 1917 he joined the 11th Bavarian Infantry Regiment as a volunteer but was discharged in 1918; by the end of the war he was an officer candidate without ever actually being commissioned and he saw no front-line service. In 1920 he joined the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr home guard.

He received a diploma in agriculture from the Technical High School in Munich on 5 August 1922. In the autumn he joined the veterans' organization the Reichsflagge and on 17 October 1923 Röhm's (*q.v.*) Reichskriegsflagge as an ensign bearer. It was this organization that occupied the War Ministry during the abortive Munich *putsch* in November, although Himmler was not involved in the thick of the action. At this time he had already begun to believe in a racially pure elite and (from 1924) was under the influence of the Artamanen Bund, a utopian group with the ideal of setting up racially pure peasant settlements in the East, but he was in no way the monster of later mythology; in fact, in many ways he was *ein Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (a man without qualities), colourless and comparatively normal. His anti-Semitism was scarcely virulent and he demonstrated few symptoms of excessive sociopathy although there lurked under the

apparent normality a believer in astrology, mesmerism, oat-straw baths and herbology, the kind of eccentricity which later made him order a herb-garden for Dachau concentration camp. Speer was later to refer to him as 'half schoolmaster, half crank'.

In the period of the illegality of the NSDAP Himmler was secretary to Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) from June 1924 and a member of the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung. He rejoined the NSDAP on 2 August 1925 as member No. 14,303 and became deputy gauleiter of Lower Bavaria/Palatinate and then in 1926 for Upper Bavaria/Swabia. From 1926 to 1930 he was a deputy Reich propaganda leader at party headquarters at first under Strasser and from 1928 directly under Hitler. From 1927 he briefly managed a chicken farm at Waldtrudering near Munich. His trademark was loyalty and he was to be known as 'Treuer Heinrich'. He had been a member of the SS since spring 1926 when in the Lower Bavaria Gau he had organized small protection squads for the Führer. By September 1927 he was deputy leader and in January 1929 *Reichsführer-SS* at the head of a 280-man elite subordinated to the SA. The SS was to be his instrument for the implementation of his racial ideas reinforced by the influence of Darré (*q.v.*) and the Artamanen Bund. By 1933 the SS had 50,000 members. In 1930 Himmler had been elected to the Reichstag for Weser-Ems.

Following the Nazi accession to power Himmler was appointed in March 1933 police president in Munich of the second largest force in Germany and in April became commander of the Bavarian political police; by January 1934 he was, in addition, police chief throughout Prussia. Göring found himself edged out of the leadership of the Gestapo by Himmler so that by April 1934 Himmler was head of the Prussian police and of the Gestapo. It was murder units of the SS that eliminated Hitler's old friend and colleague Röhm in the Night of the Long Knives in June/July 1934. On 25 July the SS became independent of the SA. Now was Himmler's opportunity to begin the process, with his deputy Heydrich (*q.v.*), of creating the huge SS empire, which, armed with fanatical 'idealism', a quasi-religious mystique and the paraphernalia of Teutonism, extended into every area of German life – cultural, political, economic, military, scientific and ideological – until it became a state within a state. Archaeological investigations were carried out to prove the existence of the original Aryan race, the *Lebensborn* programme of 1935 promoted the propagation of racially valuable offspring and ideological indoctrination of the elite SS was instituted.

On 17 June 1936 Himmler was established as chief of German police 'in the Reich Ministry of the Interior' as well as *Reichsführer-SS*, giving him centralized control over both state and party police. He was later to acquire the leadership of the Office for Race and Settlement, of the Waffen-SS, and of the network of concentration camps. A decree of 27 September 1939 amalgamated SIPO and the SD as the RSHA with Himmler at its head and in October he was also made Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism, and in 1943 Reich Minister of the Interior. The SS had become, as Buchheim has described it, 'the real and essential instrument of the Führer's authority', a highly powerful organization which became, as Field Marshal Keitel (1882–1946) recognized after *Operation Barbarossa*, 'a key factor in the conduct of the war in the East'.

Himmler's initial reluctance to become involved in the Final Solution of the Jewish Question was soon abandoned in recognition of his 'heavy duty' to the Führer. 'It was the most dreadful assignment and the most awful commission that an organization could ever receive.' After Fleming's book there can be little doubt that Hitler ordered the Holocaust as 'his wish' and that the initiative was not Himmler's, as Irving has argued. However, although the image of Himmler the crank has replaced the earlier demonological picture, there can be no doubt of his ruthlessness. If he almost fainted at a model execution in March 1941, he also said of the murders: 'This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and shall never be written'. He honestly believed, as he stated, 'that we have suffered no damage from it [the Holocaust] in our inner soul, our character'. 'Whether the other people live in comfort or perish of hunger interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves of our culture.' His doctor, Felix Kersten (1898–1960), reports that he was sentimental about animals and had said, 'every animal has the right to live'; yet he was capable of grotesque perversions of elementary humanity. He lived in a world drained of reality.

Towards the end of the war, having in July 1944 been made commander-in-chief of the Reserve Army, Himmler began to vacillate, had illusions of a negotiated settlement which would leave the SS more or less intact and ordered the end of the systematic murder of Jews. He negotiated through Schellenberg (*q.v.*) with Count Bernadotte of Sweden but when Hitler heard of this he stripped Himmler of all his offices. In the final days of the war after the collapse of his SS state in Schleswig-Holstein, he left Flensburg on 21 May 1945 under

the name Heinrich Hitzinger but was captured by the British and committed suicide by taking potassium cyanide on 23 May at Lüneburg.

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HITLER, Adolf (1889–1945)

German National Socialist dictator, from mid-1934 *Führer and Reich Chancellor*, and *Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces*.

Hitler was born on 20 April 1889 in the inn, the Gasthof zum Pommer, in Braunau am Inn (Austria) on the Austrian Bavarian border, the fourth child of Alois Hitler, a customs official, and a peasant woman. He spoke the Lower Bavarian dialect of German and was culturally closer to Bavaria than to Vienna. The name Hitler had been adopted by Alois in 1876 as a transliteration of Hüttler. The rumour that he may have had Jewish blood has now been disproved. Hitler was brought up in a situation of 'social ambiguity' in a family whose head was a remote and severe disciplinarian, nevertheless, the young Hitler had a respect for him. He was devastated by the death of his mother from cancer in December 1907. He attended the Realschule in Linz from 1900 and after showing early promise became lazy, obstinate and temperamental, in short a 'disturbed adolescent'. In Vienna where he lived from February 1908 to 1913 he was lonely and insecure and consoled himself with the production of water-colour paintings which he often sold to Jewish dealers. He did not live in the abject poverty he later

claimed as he had a monthly income from his patrimony and his earnings, although he did experience the low life of the city. His desire to attend the Academy of Fine Arts was continually frustrated, a cause of great disappointment. There is conflicting evidence on whether he was vehemently anti-Semitic before 1918 and doubt over whether he came into contact with Lanz von Liebenfels (*q.v.*) and his *Ostara* journal but little doubt that he identified Austrian socialism with Jewishness. He was certainly anti-trade union, an enemy of the Habsburg Empire, a Pan-German nationalist and anti-parliamentary. There is little reason to doubt the influence on him of Karl Lueger (*q.v.*) and Schönerer (*q.v.*). In May 1913 he moved to Munich and on 16 August 1914 joined the 16th Bavarian Infantry Regiment. His war letters reveal his distaste for cosmopolitanism and 'inner internationalism'. In August 1918 he won the Iron Cross First Class (recommended by his Jewish regimental adjutant). Twice wounded during the war and blinded by gas in October 1918, he was diagnosed by doctors as a 'psychopathic hysteric'. Binion links this gassing with the death of his mother in 1907 and the decision to murder the Jews in 1941 in a chain of psychological causation.

Repelled by the November Revolution in Munich, Hitler took a job as instruction officer with the *Reichswehr* political department. In June 1919 he met Gottfried Feder (*q.v.*) and was influenced by his economic theories. Asked to investigate the German Workers' Party (in February 1920 changed to the NSDAP) he joined 'this absurd little organization' on 19 October 1919 as No. 555 (numbers started at 501). He became first chairman on 14 July 1921 and was offered 'dictatorial powers' following his proof of indispensability as a propagandist and speaker. He built up the NSDAP as a catch-all rather than a class movement with the aim of winning the masses to the nationalist cause, exploiting popular feeling against the Versailles Treaty, deriding the 'November criminals', exaggerating the 'Bolshevik threat' and castigating the Jews as 'the ferment of decomposition'.

At this stage Hitler thought of himself as a *Trommler zur Deutschtum* (Drummer to Germanism) not as the future dictator. During the abortive *putsch* in the name of a 'National Revolution' of November 1923 in Munich the authorities stood firm against 2,000 men under Hitler's command. He later assessed the defeat as 'the greatest good fortune'. Tried in February 1924 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, he was released in December from Landsberg prison. With the reformation of the party in February 1925 and a renewed confidence in his role, he still

believed his task was 'loosening the soil around the post'; the idea of himself as Führer, the man of destiny, grew slowly up to 1929; the instrument was to be a combination of the ballot box, pseudo-legality and terror. Carr compares his tactics to 'an old crocodile, lying motionless in the mud . . . until . . . the prospect of prey galvanizes him into . . . decisive action'. The first volume of his testament, *Mein Kampf*, written in Landsberg Prison, appeared in July 1925. At the Bamberg Conference (February 1926) a potential leadership crisis was averted when the more radical Strasser (*q.v.*) programme was withdrawn. With a highly centralized bureaucracy and militarized through the creation of a new SA, in 1927 the party could still win only 2–3 per cent of the vote but was able to appear as much larger and more dynamic through its symbolic and ritualistic presentation of itself. With the gradual removal of bans on his appearance, Hitler, with great stamina and dynamism, was able to spread his essential message, appealing to utopian longings and emotions.

From 1929 the exacerbation of the economic situation with the onset of the great depression and its concomitant unemployment became a crucial factor in the creation of a mass party. In the September 1930 election the NSDAP received 18.3 per cent of the vote and from 1931 became the largest party in Germany, assisted by financial contributions from industrialists. A series of unstable right-wing governments without Reichstag majorities made Hitler's accession to power easier. When the conservative-nationalists failed to control Hitler within the Harzburg front of autumn 1931, the situation looked ominous, and both Papen (*q.v.*) from June–November 1932 and Schleicher, with his 'new state' experiment, from December 1932–January 1933, in a climate of increasing authoritarianism and dependence on the mass NSDAP, failed equally in this aim. Hitler survived the dangerous last-minute crisis when Strasser was offered the vice-chancellorship by Schleicher and was duly appointed chancellor by President Hindenburg on 30 January 1933, because his party had most support in the Reichstag, following a deal with Papen worked out in the house of the banker Schröder. On 27 February the Reichstag fire gave Hitler the excuse to bring in emergency 'enabling laws' which destroyed the vestiges of democracy and set him on the road towards dictatorial government: the latest research suggests the Nazis were responsible for the fire. The last democratic election (distorted through orchestrated violence, propaganda and intimidation though it was) took place on 5 March 1933 when the Nazis won 288 seats and 43.9 per cent of the vote. His consolidation of power was

comparatively easy; he was able to dispense with the Reichstag and begin the process of elimination of rivals, enemies like the communists, and other obstacles to his total power like the free trade unions; the experiment in plebiscitary dictatorship could begin.

The SA leader Röhm (*q.v.*) was murdered on 1 July 1934 and, on the day before Hindenburg's death in August 1934, Hitler assumed the title of 'Führer and Reich Chancellor', combining the functions of president and chancellor (in 1944 he was to declare himself simply Führer). He also became Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces (in February 1938 he succeeded Blomberg as Reich War Minister). The Führer was now free to build up his repressive apparatus, his police state based on SS and Gestapo, the network of concentration camps and to pursue his vendetta against the Jews through measures such as the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. Hitler was able to achieve something of an 'economic miracle,' not as is often argued through the rearmament programme (beginning in March 1935 but not really getting fully underway until 1936), but rather through the creation of a new business climate, the building of an infrastructure, particularly with regard to the transport system, and a vast programme of public expenditure. His later economic policy became determined to a large extent by racial, ideological and military criteria.

In his foreign policy the argument has been over whether the basis of it was a consistent plan or mere opportunism and expediency. It is likely that he had no clear blue-print although there can be no doubt about his expansionist temperament and his desire to germanize the East. He enjoyed a staggering success in his foreign policy from the reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland through the Anschluss with Austria in 1938 and the absorption or neutralization of Czechoslovakia to the invasion of Poland in September 1939. It is likely that he launched the war in 1939 because to wait another year or two would have meant the 'others' reaching a point of superior strength. It is also clear that in matters of foreign policy Hitler took the major decisions unlike the position in domestic matters.

From 1939 Hitler was almost totally preoccupied with his conduct of the war. Successful at first with his *Blitzkrieg* tactics, Hitler took the crucial decision to invade the Soviet Union with *Operation Barbarossa* in June 1941, which, exacerbated by the entry of the United States at the end of 1941, was to lead to eventual catastrophe. Hitler will always be, above all, associated with the Holocaust for which he almost certainly gave the green light. Irving is quite wrong

when he argues that Himmler and Heydrich instituted it without the Führer's knowledge; Broszat, Fleming, Browning and others have refuted this argument. It does seem, however, as if anti-Jewish policy evolved through various improvisations from the failure of forcible emigration through territorial solutions involving ghettoization, accompanied by systematic murders by the Einsatzgruppen in the areas newly conquered by the Wehrmacht, to the Final Solution itself, the extermination of the whole Jewish population of Europe. The barbarization of war led to the most radical of solutions to the 'Jewish problem'. Hitler later claimed that this was his legacy to the world. He died on 30 April 1945 by shooting himself and his new wife, Eva Braun, after dictating his political testament as a sort of suicide note, in which he continued to preach war against 'the universal poisoner of all peoples, International Jewry'. He appointed Dönitz (*q.v.*) as his successor. The facts, eventually established against Soviet lies and evasions, are that his body was burned according to his detailed instructions and, as far as is known, his remains have never been found.

There has been a certain unanimity among historians in describing Hitler as an evil political genius (Fest refers to his 'negative greatness'): his charisma is beyond doubt – von Schirach (*q.v.*) spoke for many when he talked of 'this unlimited, almost religious veneration' that contributed to the 'Hitler myth'. The debate has been more fierce between the 'intentionalists' who see the centrality of Hitler's programme and *Weltanschauung* in the history of the Third Reich and the 'functionalists' who have tried to move the debate along from Hitler's conscious intentions to socio-economic and political structures: in Broszat's view Hitler's stated aims were often merely ideological metaphors'. While Rich argues: 'in his ultimate control of power and authority, Hitler was indeed the Führer.' In contrast, Carr has called his conduct of government 'quasi-anarchical'; Mommsen has referred to 'a man of improvisation' and to polycratic rule. Was Hitler a 'weak dictator' in a Reich which was 'a jungle of satrapies' (Trevor-Roper) or the 'master' of the Third Reich and Nazism an *Alleinherrschaft* (sole rule)? It seems that Hitler often stood aside during quarrels within agencies of government until the victor was certain, a principle of 'administrative Darwinism'. The most recent controversies involve the distortions of Nolte and his followers who see Nazism as a defensive reaction against a communist threat in a 'European Civil War' which had begun with the Russian Revolution in 1917.

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HJORT, Johan Bernhard (1895–1969)

Oslo lawyer and executive secretary of Nasjonal Samling and second-in-command to Quisling (q.v.).

Born on 25 February 1895 in Oslo, the son of a professor, Hjort received his legal qualifications in 1920–1 and practised first as a *saksfører* (barrister) and then from 1929 as an advocate. Between 1922 and 1925 he was the secretary of the Norges Byforbund, a society for cooperation and the dissemination of information on local civic affairs. Hjort was at first a conservative and served in 1926 as secretary to the Finance Minister, F.L. Konow. His reputation as a brilliant lawyer continued even after the Second World War.

He was one of the founders of the Nasjonal Samling (National Union) in May 1933 and became its executive secretary and after 1934 served on its Council. He already knew Quisling, the two men both having been connected with the Nordiske Folkereising i Norge (Nordic People's Awakening in Norway) founded in late 1930 and it was Hjort in particular who managed to persuade Quisling to leave the Agrarians to found his own party. As far as

Hjort was concerned NS was a right-wing middle-class party which had to form a coalition with other similar *borgerlige* parties and groups, the Agrarians, the Independent People's Party, the Norges Bondelag (Norwegian Farmers' Association) and the Fæderland League, until it was strong enough to develop on its own. He opposed the disastrous electoral appearance in 1933. As secretary he was Quisling's second-in-command and his pragmatic and concrete approach contrasted starkly with Quisling's more idealistic and vague approach. Hjort became provincial leader for Akershus and as chief of the paramilitary Hird in March 1935 reorganized it into a formidable corps with new uniforms and improved weapons. He became very unpopular with the Oslo party officials for his attempts to reduce bureaucracy and to devolve power to the provincial chiefs at the expense of the central administration and of Quisling in particular.

Young, dynamic and disciplined (a characteristic that led him, together with the fact that his mother was German, to be called the 'Prussian'), brilliant and strong-willed, it was almost inevitable that he would clash with Quisling and, on 8 February 1937, disappointed at the débâcle in the 1936 elections and disillusioned by Quisling's vagueness and his failure to consult colleagues, he resigned from the NS, having already left his post as head of the Hird and his chairmanship of the board of NS Presse A/S the publisher of *Fritt Folk*. The NS was to be deprived not only of his superb organizational qualities but also of his expertise on agricultural policy. Many Hird members, disturbed by the increasing tendency towards 'pure dictatorship', left with him.

Hjort joined Viktor Mogens' Fedrelandslaget (Fatherland League) which he later represented in the Storting. Though he was basically pro-German and remained so during the first half of the war there is some evidence that in 1938/9 he opposed Nazi excesses but after the German invasion he served in a number of capacities as president of the Commission for Norwegian prisoners of war in April 1940 and in June as head of the Reconstruction Department on the State Council. As a member of the Fatherland League, Hjort with his leader Mogens vied for the favour of the Germans with the rival NS and sought to outmanoeuvre Quisling until the NS became the sole legal party on 25 September 1940; Hjort and Mogens were both omitted from the State Council. Lookock argues that after this he harboured a secret contempt for German National Socialist ideology.

After the ending of hostilities he returned to his work as a barrister working as defence counsel in the Supreme Court. From 1961 he was chairman of the

Riksmålsforbundet (Language League). He was also a prolific author of books on law and politics. Hjort died on 23 February 1969 in Oslo.

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HOESS, Rudolf Franz Ferdinand (1900–47)

Commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp.

Hoess was born on 25 November 1900 in Baden-Baden into a strict Catholic family. His dominating father, who tried to instil into his son an exemplary obedience amounting to oppressiveness, was a shopkeeper. Hoess served in the war on the Turkish front as a much-decorated NCO but as a loner he found it impossible to settle back into civilian life. From 1920 he was a member of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Rossbach, a Free Corps which fought on the Baltic, in the Ruhr and in Upper Silesia. At the same time he earned a living as a farm labourer on the Gut Neuohof near Parchim. Hoess, who left the Catholic Church in 1922, continued after the ban on the Rossbach group to lead a group of ex-Rossbachers in Mecklenburg known as the Verein für Landwirtschaftliche Berufsausbildung. In 1923 he was sentenced to ten years in prison for a Feme murder he had taken part in when in March 1923 he helped to beat a certain Walther Kadow to death with a branch, an episode in which Bormann (*q.v.*) was also involved. Hoess found the order and discipline of prison to his taste. Amnestied on 14 July 1927, he discovered an interest in the next five years in land service organizations in Brandenburg and Pomerania. He joined the agricultural colonization society the Artamanen Bund where he learnt the *völkisch* values of blood and soil, Nordic racialism and studied runes. Himmler (*q.v.*) who was also an Artamanen member asked him to join the SS although his NSDAP membership which he had taken out in 1922 had by now lapsed.

Hoess joined the SS in 1934. His first task was as a concentration camp guard supervisor in Dachau under the severe commandant Theodor Eicke (1892–1943). In 1938 he was transferred to Sachsenhausen as camp adjutant where his duties were largely

bureaucratic. In May 1940 he was given the assignment for which he was to find notoriety and which became his 'whole preoccupation and endeavour', the task of building up and overseeing the running of Auschwitz, a post he held until December 1943. Cold, introverted and self-pitying, the perfect bureaucrat drew quiet satisfaction from the efficient and, following the discovery of Zyklon-B gas, the 'hygienic' extermination of some one million which made Auschwitz the largest killing machine in history. Demonstrating a complete rigidity of mind and a 'neurotic degree of conformity', he shifted responsibility for his terrible actions to self-pity for the need to carry out his orders to the letter. As has been written in the introduction to his autobiography: 'victims emerge only remotely as a burdensome and fundamentally annoying source of personal disquiet.' 'The man from the crowd' could not bear to watch the torture or the execution murders he had ordered. 'Even while I was carrying out the task of extermination I led a normal family life and so on'; with his wife and five children he lived inside the camp.

Recalled from Auschwitz in November 1943, he worked for Richard Glücks (1889–1945) on the *Amtsgruppe D* (concentration camps) in the WVHA (SS Economic and Administrative Main Office) and was then head of the political department of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps; he returned to Auschwitz in May 1944 to organize the murder of 400,000 Hungarian Jews. Still awaiting orders from the *Reichsführer-SS* in Schleswig-Holstein at the end of the war, he was captured and handed over in March 1946 to the Poles and sentenced to death by the Polish Supreme People's Court on 2 April 1947 and hanged in Auschwitz on 15 April 1947.

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HOORNAERT, Paul (1888–1944)

Belgian nationalist leader of the extreme right Légion Nationale who died fighting for the Resistance.

Hoornaert was born into a bourgeois Catholic family

in Liège on 5 November 1888 and educated at the University of Liège. He received his Doctor of Law on 12 October 1910 and set up a practice as a lawyer. This was interrupted by service in the war in which he had a highly decorated and distinguished career as lieutenant-patrouiller.

In 1922 he created the ex-servicemen's organization La Légion Nationale Belge. Hoornaert became leader only in 1927. Based mainly in Liège the Légion opposed all centrifugal tendencies whether French or Flemish and opposed parliamentary democracy, liberalism and all forms of Marxism. The blue-shirted Légion of some 4,000 militants was in the main germanophobe and resolutely refused to deal with Degrelle (*q.v.*) and his Rexists. Despite certain fascist elements in their ranks the legionnaires were closer to old-fashioned Belgian patriots. However, Hoornaert himself was an admirer of Mussolini, took part in the meeting of the Fascist International in Montreux organized by CAUR, supported Italian action in Abyssinia, and sent volunteers to fight for the nationalist cause in Spain. In 1940 there was even an unsuccessful attempt to form a unified party with Van Severen's (*q.v.*) Verdinaso based on loyalty to King Leopold.

Hoornaert refused to collaborate with the German occupiers and in June 1941 the Légion became part of the mobile reserve of the Resistance secret army. Hoornaert was arrested on 24 April 1942 and accused of organizing military exercises and stockpiling arms. He was sent to the Sonnenburg camp in Germany where he died on 2 February 1944. He was awarded the French Croix de Guerre.

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HUGENBERG, Alfred (1865–1951)

German DNVP leader and press baron who badly underestimated Hitler on his rise to power.

Born on 19 June 1865 in Hanover, Hugenberg was the only son of a National Liberal financial counsellor in the civil service. In 1886 he attended the University of Göttingen to study law and completed a thesis in 1891 from the University of Strasbourg. An early supporter of German imperial expansion and government support for farmers, he was a

member of the Prussian Settlement Commission in Posen in 1894–9. Considering government action against the Poles to be inadequate he left the civil service in order to promote the idea of agricultural cooperative associations for Germans in the East.

He returned to the civil service in October 1903 as a privy councillor in the Prussian Finance Ministry, still intent on curbing Polish influence in Germany's Eastern provinces. In 1890, still a student, he had been a cofounder of the *Alldeutsche Verband* (Pan-German League) and he was to remain on the executive committee until 1905. He left the civil service once more and joined the board of directors of the *Berg- und Metalbank in Frankfurt-am-Main*; in the spring of 1909 he became chairman of the board of *Krupp in Essen*. Hugenberg's rise in the business world was meteoric; he became president of the chambers of trade in Essen, Oberhausen, and in Mülheim, chairman of the *Bergbaulicher Verein* (a coal-mining owners' organization), chairman of the mining organization *Zechenverband* and of the steel association, the *Stahlverband*. In a short time he could be spoken of in the same breath as Hugo Stinnes (1870–1924) and Emil Kirdorf (*q.v.*). In 1916 Hugenberg was chairman of the board of the publishers' organization the *Deutscher Verlagsverein* and began to realize the immense importance of the media. When his chairmanship of *Krupps* ended in January 1919 he determined to build a newspaper empire buying up *Der Tag*, the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* and other publishing concerns. By 1923 nine-tenths of the German press was in the hands of industrialists like Stinnes and Hugenberg. He was to be accused of subverting the whole Weimar system with his extreme conservative propaganda machine. He also controlled the largest German film company, *Ufa*.

In close touch before the First World War with both the Conservative and the National Liberal parties, he was from 1919 a leading member of the conservative *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* and from October 1928 until June 1933 its chairman. A member of the Reichstag from 1920, Hugenberg diverged from the strategy of his predecessor Count Kuno von Westarp, preferring to lead the DNVP in an abruptly authoritarian direction, calling for high agricultural prices, encouragement of working-class savings, changes in industrial relations to benefit employers, and an end to reparations payments. From 1929 he determined to build a national front of rightist forces including the DNVP, the paramilitary organizations including the *Stahlhelm*, the National Socialists and some big Ruhr industrialists, at first to oppose the reparations arrangements

laid out in the Young Plan and then in 1931 under the Harzburg Front as a national opposition from the right.

Hitler seemed like the right front man to make conservatism a popular cause among the masses who could then be discarded. Hugenberg placed his proprietary resources at Hitler's disposal making him not only a well-known figure among the German public but also a respectable one. In so doing he shifted the political centre of gravity far to the right and helped to squeeze the centre. It should be said, however, that Hugenberg was far from being the creature of big industry as he has sometimes been portrayed. In fact, he alienated many sections of business by his refusal to support Chancellor Brüning and his ruthless pursuit of power through the creation of a rightist bloc. In Hitler's first cabinet of 30 January 1933 which contained only three Nazi ministers, Hugenberg was made Minister of Economics and Food, the Prussian equivalent, and Commissioner for Eastern Assistance but his hopes of sharing power with Hitler in order to preserve his own power-base and to tame the Nazis were to be rudely shattered. His rigidity, his inflexibility, his reserve and his aloofness did little to enhance his political attractiveness. 'Hugenberg is not a person but a wall,' it was said. Within the cabinet Hugenberg took up a more intransigent position even than Hitler and was more inclined to introduce an Enabling Act and other repressive measures.

He was soon to realize that Hitler was 'the worst demagogue in history' and on 27 June 1933 he was compelled to resign, his DNVP was dissolved, and he retained his seat in the Reichstag until 1945 only at the gift of the Nazis. He shed most of his business empire, being forced to sell the *Telegraphen-Union* and the *Allgemeine Anzeigen Gmbh* advertising and press agency in the winter of 1933, following by *Ufa* in 1937 and the *Scherl-Verlag* interests in 1944. However, he was able to preserve the bulk of his finances for the benefit of his family. The Nazis treated him with the respect due to an elder statesman and on the 25th anniversary of the foundation of *Ufa*, Goebbels presented him with the Order of the Eagle.

Hugenberg was arrested on 27 September 1946 and interned for a time by the British in *Staumühle*. He was eventually classified by a denazification court as only a 'fellow traveller' and though he was obliged to live in an old people's home in *Bad Meinberg* until a house was built for him near his confiscated estate he never really suffered any adverse consequences for his undoubted guilt in aiding and abetting the Nazis in their assumption of power. He

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continued to deny his responsibility for Hitler's coming to power until his death on 12 March 1951 in Kükenbruck near Rinteln.

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I

IBARGUREN, Carlos (1877–1956)

Argentinian nationalist politician, philosopher, historian and lawyer.

Descended from the Rosas family which produced the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas and son of a well-known Salta citizen, Iburguren was born in that city on 18 April 1877 into an ambience that engendered in him a provincial nostalgia and an admiration for aristocratic qualities which he retained all his life. Educated in law at the National University in Buenos Aires, he received his doctorate in 1898. From 1906 to 1911 he served as secretary to the National Supreme Court, having already made a career in government for himself by serving as assistant secretary of agriculture between 1901 and 1906. He reached the acme of his political career when he was appointed Minister of Justice and Public Education in 1913 (which he held until 1914). Parallel with these vocational interests he became in time one of the most significant practitioners in Argentine historiography. He took up the post of professor of history in Buenos Aires from 1901 to 1925. In 1922 he delivered a famous series of lectures extolling the role of his ancestor Rosas as a traditionalist. These formed the basis of his biography *Juan Manuel de Rosas: su vida, su drama, su tiempo* (1930). He was later to become the head of the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas Juan Manuel de Rosas. In his support for a truly organic national community, he found himself in opposition to the current liberal climate and to what he considered the prevailing materialist atmosphere. As a government minister he unsuccessfully championed a programme of embryo welfare legislation which he believed would avoid the dangers of class conflict.

In 1916 one of the founders of the conservative Progressive Democratic Party for which he stood in the presidential elections of 1922 and which he left in 1924, he soon began to believe that a turning point had been reached after the Great War reflecting the breakdown of the old values; he advocated a 'new order' in which society would recover its soul by rejecting the money-corrupted individualist liberal system. This essentially spiritual prescription

(Iburguren was still objective and moderate enough to deny Jewish responsibility for the class violence of the *Semana Tragica* in 1919) was to become by the late 1920s and the early 1930s coarsened into backing for the regime of his cousin General Uriburu (1930–2) under which he was selected as *Interventor Nacional* (a kind of provisional governor) of Cordoba province and as head of the Executive Economic Board, a post allowing him to intervene to a limited extent in labour relations and price control. By this juncture his beliefs had evolved in a more explicitly statist, authoritarian and corporatist direction. He came to identify the Jews with communism and to praise the German National Socialists for their anti-Semitism.

In domestic politics he endorsed a number of extreme right-wing groups including the Legión Cívica Argentina and the Acción Nacionalista Argentina (1932–6). He was vice-presidential candidate in 1943. In 1945 he was rewarded by the military regime with the presidency of the Comisión Nacional de Cultura. Iburguren died in Buenos Aires on 23 April 1956.

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IMRÉDY, Béla (1891–1946)

Hungarian Minister of Finance, prime minister and founder of the extreme right Party of Hungarian Life.

Imrédy was born in Budapest on 29 December 1891. He was a Catholic of Swabian stock whose family was originally called Heinrich. Imrédy was a talented financier with at first a pro-western and liberal outlook. He was appointed president of the Hungarian National Bank and then Minister of Finance in Gömbös' (q.v.) government of 1932. After the death of the latter he was to become the leader of the so-called Szeged fascists. If he was earlier a liberal in financial matters, he was always an extreme conservative in matters of social policy, opposing even minimal measures of land reform.

Imrédy was noted for his overweening ambition which he exercised without scruple and which was rendered more dangerous by his powerful intelligence. Mussolini called him a '*falso energetico*'. In the 1930s his aim was to become the Dr Salazar (q.v.) of Hungary. Macartney has likened him to Savonarola. In March 1938 he took his first step on this path when he was appointed Minister of Economic Co-ordination in Daranyi's cabinet and then in May of the same year he attained the premiership partly because of his good British connections. As prime minister he introduced measures of progressive taxation and against all his instincts some minor measures of agrarian reform. He also took severe action against the rival fascist ambitions of Szalasi (q.v.) and his Arrow Cross Party. By the autumn of 1938 (it is said under the influence of his wife) he had swung completely to the extreme right. He began to attack the democratic system and to compare it unfavourably with the regime of Mussolini. It was Imrédy who laid the foundations of serious cooperation with the Third Reich. In January 1939 he, with Jaross (q.v.) and Hóman, founded the Magyar Élet Mozgalom (Movement of Hungarian Life). He was responsible for the first serious anti-Semitic legislation in the 1930s. Ironically he resigned on 13 February 1939 after rumours that he was one-eighth Jewish himself.

In 1940 during the Transylvanian crisis he served in the army and on 18 October he founded the Magyar Megújulás Pártja (Party of Hungarian Renewal) which did not conceal its fascist and Nazi sympathies. Imrédy summed up its ethos and aim as the 'freeing of Hungary from Jews and the Jewish spirit'. He collaborated with the German invasion of March 1944 and took on the role of Minister of Economic Co-ordination in the Sztójay government in May 1944 but resigned on 8 August and went into retirement but this did not save him from his nemesis. He was tried after the liberation from 14 to 23 November 1945, found guilty of cooperating with the Third Reich and other charges, and executed on 28 February 1946 in Budapest.

It is said that while in prison awaiting trial he devised a plan for stabilizing the post-war Hungarian currency, a plan which was successfully employed by the communist leader, Rakosí. It was this streak of unreality not impracticality in his make-up which led him to create a uniform for the party of Hungarian Renewal which was too lavish and expensive for all but the leaders to wear.

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INTERLANDI, Telesio (1894–1965)

Italian fascist journalist and anti-Semite who had a formative influence on Giorgio Almirante (q.v.).

Interlandi was born in Chiaramonte Gulfi (Ragusa) on 20 October 1894. After taking a degree in law he worked in 1914 for the *Giornale dell'Isola* in Palermo and in 1919 became editor of *Travaso delle Idee*. He moved in 1921 to take up the editorship of *La Nazione* of Florence and in 1923 of *Impero*. On 24 December 1924 he joined the staff of *Il Tevere*, a paper which was to make his reputation as a supreme polemicist, fractious, controversial and something of a rebel. At first giving favourable coverage to futurism and other modern movements, under Interlandi's editorship the paper became the first in Italy to publish full-blooded racial anti-Semitism and one especially patronized by the Duce who used it as an instrument for publicizing matters with which he did not want to be personally associated. Interlandi believed that race was one of the major determinants of the national revolution and as early as 1926 he had echoed Hitler's fierce anti-Semitism.

Interlandi held a number of important professional posts including director of the Fascist Federation of the Italian Press and head of the Fascist Journalists' Association. He also published from 1933 the periodical *Il Quadrivio* and from 1938 *La Difesa della Razza* (The Defence of Race) which rivalled and reflected National Socialist attitudes to race. A faithful follower of Mussolini's orders, he was one of the

prime movers with Farinacci (*q.v.*) of the Duce-approved anti-Semitic campaign which began as early as 1933/4. Interlandi's editorial of 30 March 1937 in *Il Tevere* marked the beginning of a later and more serious outbreak. So virulent did the campaign become that Mussolini had to ask Interlandi to moderate his abuse of the Jews whom he had called 'dissident mongrels'. However, Interlandi was no mere lout; he was to translate works by Chekhov and Aleksandr Blok into Italian.

Arrested after the Badoglio takeover in July 1943, he was freed by the Germans and taken to the Reich from where he returned to rally to the Salò Republic. As a journalist in the Italian Social Republic he contributed to *Vita Italiana* and other journals. For a time he was in charge of propaganda for the Ministry of Popular Culture in the occupied territories. After the war the High Commissariat decided in June 1945 to confiscate his property along with other *gerarchi* (the *gerarchi* were the 'hierarchs' or the movement's old guard, the top leaders). On 10 October 1945 he surfaced near Brescia where he had been in hiding masquerading as a certain Tommaso Incardona. He kept a low profile in the post-war period and died on 15 January 1965.

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IRAZUSTA, Julio Alberto Gustavo (1899-1982) and IRAZUSTA, Rodolfo (1897-1967)

Argentinian republican nationalists.

Born near Rincón del Cura at Guleguaychu on 23 July 1899 into a radical family, Julio was educated in La Plata and studied law in the University of Buenos Aires from where he graduated in 1922. He began his political career as a supporter of the Unión Cívica Radical. His early literary ambitions found an outlet in the journal *Revista Nacional* which he edited from 1918 to 1920 and to which young intellectuals of a similar outlook like Palacio (*q.v.*) contributed. His earliest intellectual influences were the Spaniard Maeztu (*q.v.*) and Benedetto Croce. He travelled extensively from 1923 until 1927 in Europe, visiting Spain, France, where he became acquainted with

Maurras (*q.v.*) and came under his spell, England, where he studied Latin and philosophy in Balliol College, Oxford, and Italy, where he saw fascism at work and was impressed. By the time he returned to Argentina he had moved clearly towards the extreme right. In 1928 he wrote for the Catholic journal *Criterio* with among others Ernesto Palacio and Jorge Luis Borges.

A year earlier the Journal *Nueva Republica* was launched of which Rodolfo Irazusta (born 5 June 1897) became editor. This journal advocated a return to traditional, classical values of government and a strongly anti-Irigoyenist (the famous Radical politician) position. It appealed to order, authority and hierarchy. In May 1930 Julio left for Europe and was in Spain when General Uriburu's coup took place. In 1929 he had been one of the founders with Carulla (*q.v.*) and Palacio of the Liga Republicana favouring a government of conservative restoration. Julio, however, became disenchanted by the actual practice of *uriburismo*. In July 1931 the *Acción Republicana* appeared which marked a further stage in the Irazusta's development towards a variety of native fascism, now shifting the emphasis from opposition to democracy in the direction of a condemnation of foreign intervention in the economy and of the dangerous liberalism on which it was based. Taking up a strong position against British 'plutocratic' interference and equally against the conservative oligarchy who served its interests, they advocated increased etatism and government intervention including appropriate nationalization, modernization and the militarization of public education. Although they repudiated suggestions that they were merely imitating European fascist models, their theories were, indeed, based on a similar channelling of the popular will and a mobilization of the masses under elite leadership.

After 1935 Julio became one of the leading practitioners of the cult of *rosismo* and a serious scholar in the study of the dictator he considered the last great Argentinian politician; Irazusta claimed that his regime was one of mixed government not despotism. From 1941 to 1950 he edited a four-volume collection of political documents of the Rosas period. With Ramon Doll and Palacio, the Irazusta brothers founded the journal *Nuevo Orden* in 1940 and in 1942 the Irazustas were involved in the founding of *La Voz del Plata*. Both again drew attention to classical civic virtues and to the primacy of politics and the state. Julio served as deputy from 1939 to 1943 for the Partido de Unión Republicana. Under Péron the brothers were active in the Partido Libertador which after giving Peronism a qualified welcome soon

came to reject it as a catastrophe because of its social rather than national orientation. His view of Peronism is contained in *Perón y la Crisis Argentina* (1956). Having supported the Axis powers during the war, they could not forgive Perón the apostasy they discerned in his pro-British foreign policy.

In 1952 Julio's *Ensayos Políticos* was published reflecting on events of the 1920s and 1930s and in 1975 his *Memorias*. In the late 1940s and early 1950s he contributed to the journals of the anti-Semitic priest Meinvielle (*q.v.*), *Presencia* and *Dialogo*. In November 1955 Julio and Rodolfo founded the Unión Republicana (1955/7) but Julio increasingly turned to the production of historical and literary

works. Rodolfo died on 3 July 1967. Julio survived until 5 May 1982 and died in Gualaguaychu.

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J

JAROSS, Andor (1896–1946)

Hungarian leader of the Hungarian Party of Slovakia who as Minister of the Interior was one of the main architects of the deportation of Hungarian Jews to the death camps.

Born on 23 May 1896 in Komáromcsehi (Slovakia) Jaross became the secretary of the Egységes Magyar Párt (United Hungarian Party) in the Felvidék area of Slovakia which was to be acquired by Hungary in November 1938. He was totally cynical, corrupt, unprincipled, coarse, brutal and aggressive and had happily accepted Jewish money in the fight against the Czechoslovak state. After November 1938 he joined the Imrédy (*q.v.*) government and was appointed Minister of Regained Territories. In January 1939 he followed Imrédy into the Magyar Élet Mozgalom (Movement of Hungarian Life) and in October 1940 was one of the 18 deputies who formed the Magyar Megújulás Pártja (Party of Hungarian Renewal) which Jaross served as a member of the executive committee. The dissidents from the government party (in February 1939 the MEM had become the Magyar Élet Pártja, a name by which the government party became known) felt that the policies of the government were not sufficiently robustly right-wing.

Jaross was appointed Minister of the Interior under the Sztojáy administration in March 1944 and in this post was responsible as much as anybody else for the destruction of the Hungarian Jews. With his henchmen Baky (*q.v.*) and Endre (*q.v.*), he arranged first for ghettoization and then for deportation of the Jews and skilfully circumvented Regent Horthy's plans to prevent the deportations. Jaross was relieved of his post by Horthy on 7 August 1944 but not before he had enriched himself from the spoils of confiscated Jewish property. He returned to government under Szalasi after the coup of October 1944. Following the liberation he was put on trial and was shot by firing squad on 11 April 1946 in Budapest.

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Politics of Genocide, New York, 1981; M. Lackó, *Arrow Cross Men, National Socialists, 1935–1944*, Budapest, 1969.

JEANTET, Claude (1902–82)

French journalist on Je Suis Partout.

Born in Pomponne (Seine-et-Marne) on 12 July 1902, the son of Felix Jeantet, poet and nationalist, Claude Jeantet was educated at the Sorbonne where he was a pupil of the philosopher Léon Brunschvicg (1869–1944). In 1919 he joined the Action Française student movement of which he became general-secretary and in 1923 editor of the newspaper *Action Française*. He left the AF in 1930 but remained a friend of Maurras (*q.v.*). On taking up employment with the publisher Fayard, he moved into the prestigious orbit of the historian Pierre Gaxotte and assisted him in his struggle for 'the reawakening of the French public spirit'. He contributed to *Candida* and then to *Je Suis Partout* where he was responsible for numerous articles specializing in German affairs and highlighting the necessity for Franco-German understanding. Democracy, he believed, was a form of bourgeois decadence.

His political evolution led him to join the neo-socialists and in 1934 to seek, with men like the ex-communist Marion (*q.v.*), a realignment of the dynamic elements of French political life whether of 'left' or 'right' in the so-called Complot de l'Acacia (named after their meeting-place in the rue d'Acacia). Jeantet appears to have had close relations with the head of the French counter-intelligence service which perhaps protected him in his involvement with the clandestine direct action, fascist, terrorist organization the Cagoule whose aim was to set up a dictatorship through acts of sabotage and murder. It was through Jeantet that Brasillach (*q.v.*) was able to keep in touch with developments within the Cagoule. In 1934 Jeantet appeared in Colonel de la Rocque's (*q.v.*) Croix de Feu.

In September 1936 he wrote a descriptive and surprisingly detached account of his attendance at the

Nuremberg rally of that year and in the same year joined the dissident communist Jacques Doriot's (q.v.) PPF as a member of the central committee and the political bureau. He worked on the PPF organ *L'Emancipation Nationale* as the diplomatic editor, having been, from 1932, the journalist accredited to the Quai d'Orsay. In 1940 Jeantet was described as the 'first French National Socialist'. During the occupation and the Vichy regime he became head of the Foreign Press Service in the Vichy Ministry of Foreign Affairs although he retained his association with *Je Suis Partout* and added to it the chief editorship of the unofficial Vichy government organ *Le Petit Parisien* which operated in the occupied zone. Jeantet, who still served the PPF as one of the nine directing members, converted it into a surrogate PPF organ. In June 1943 he visited the Eastern Front with Brasillach.

In 1944 he fled to Germany where he formed part of the exile community in and around Constance and where he was able to keep *Le Petit Parisien* in publication; the paper punctiliously continued to report on Paris sport. After Doriot's death Jeantet was a contender with Sabiani (q.v.) and Sicard (q.v.) for the leadership of the PPF but by this time the post was merely academic. Condemned to forced labour for life after the war, Jeantet was released and continued to cultivate his affiliations on the extreme right. From 1956 to 1965 he wrote for the royalist *Aspects de la France* and from 1951 for *La France Réelle*. As a Poujadist (q.v.) supporter he was a contributor to *Fraternité Française*. He also occasionally wrote for *Revue des Deux Mondes* and *Écrits de Paris*. Jeantet died in Thomery (Seine-et-Marne) on 16 May 1982.

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JORDAN, Rudolf (1902–)

German National Socialist gauleiter.

Jordan was born on 21 June 1902 in Grossenlütder (Hesse), the son of a small Catholic tradesman and farmer. He worked in a factory after elementary school but then began a course of study in a teachers' training college in Fulda. He was forced to interrupt his studies through financial difficulties. As a short-term volunteer he served in the army and then joined the Bund Oberland which fought against the

leftist revolutionaries in 1919 and 1920. In his memoirs he claims to have been influenced by the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (q.v.), whom he read when only 12.

Jordan spoke for the NSDAP in both Reichstag elections of 1924 and in May 1925 was member No. 4,871 of the party in the Gau Hesse-Nassau-Nord. He was the editor of the *völkisch* monthly *Notung* from 1925. While working for the party he sustained himself by working as a civil servant in the finance department in Fulda from 1926–7 and in 1928 as a teacher in a junior technical college. In 1929 he was elected to the provincial Landtag in Hesse-Nassau. In December 1929 he was struck off the list of prospective school teachers in Kassel because of his Nazi activities. A month earlier he had launched the *Fuldaer Beobachter*.

Already an *Ortsgruppenleiter*, a town councillor in Fulda, head of the Catholic Junglehrerbund and a deputy in the provincial Landtag, he was appointed on 19 January 1931 to the salaried position of *gauleiter* (they were paid from 1929–30, Jordan about 300 marks a month) of Halle-Merseburg. In April 1932 he became a member of the Prussian Landtag, of the Reichstag in 1933, and under Göring's (q.v.) influence of the Prussian State Council in summer 1933. In his memoirs he claims that the choice as he saw it was 'between Hitler or Lenin'. Jordan was the man who suggested investigating Heydrich's (q.v.) possible Jewish past. In April 1937 he became *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Brunswick and Anhalt and in 1938 *gauleiter* of Magdeburg-Anhalt having been promoted in 1937 to *SA-Obergruppenführer*.

Towards the end of the war he dismissed his men in Halle-Merseburg and despite being equipped by Bormann with a Jewish name, Richard Gabriel, was captured by the Russians. He emerged from a Russian prison in 1955 and wrote his memoirs *Erlebt und Erlitten* published by Drüffel Verlag in 1971. He was believed to be still alive in 1988.

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JOYCE, William Brooke (1906–46)

British fascist who as Lord Haw-Haw became a familiar and hated figure with his 'Gairmany calling! Gairmany calling!' broadcasts from Berlin.

Joyce was born on 24 April 1906 in New York, the

son of an American citizen of Irish extraction and an English mother; he moved to Ireland with his family in 1909. Educated in Catholic schools although his mother was a Protestant, Joyce had inherited his family sympathies for the pro-British loyalists and he became fiercely antipathetic to the cause of Irish nationalism and bitter at the collapse of British power in Ireland. Joyce, who was something of a fantasist, later claimed that he had served the Black and Tans 'in an information capacity'.

In 1921 he moved to England where he attended Birkbeck College from 1923 to 1927 emerging with a First Class Honours degree in English. At Birkbeck he was president of the Conservative Association and in December 1923 joined the British Fascisti, an insignificant ultra-conservative pressure group. In October 1924 he received the facial scar from a razor slash, which was to give him the appearance of a street brawler, while stewarding a Conservative meeting in Lambeth Baths. From this time he earned his living as a tutor in a correspondence school. Joyce briefly joined the Conservatives but in early 1933 fell under the hypnotic spell of Sir Oswald Mosley (*q.v.*), whom he was to call 'the greatest Englishman I have ever known', and immediately adhered to the new British Union of Fascists. Renouncing his teaching job and his ambition for a PhD from King's College, he worked as area administrative officer in West London and in 1934 was promoted to national director of propaganda. He was to become the most powerful figure in the BUF after Mosley and its deputy leader.

His intense and effective oratory, fuelled by a sense of personal embitterment after his family's forced departure from Ireland and by his rejection by the civil service, dealt with a world of mythology and often apocalypse of his own creation. His final speech before he went to the gallows spoke of his defiance of the 'power of darkness [the Jews]'. Selwyn has well summarized the quality of his rhetoric when he refers to his promise of 'a systematic cruelty or slaughter as precise, impersonal and ineluctable as a quadratic equation'. Joyce's fascist colleague John Beckett described him as 'one of the dozen finest orators in the country'. As propaganda director his preference for agitating outside factory gates and work-places in order to convert the masses by the sheer intellectual power of his ideological arguments was eventually overruled by Mosley in collusion with Neil Francis-Hawkins in favour of the more populist appeal of uniforms, formal marches and processions. Overwhelmingly it was his patriotism and his belief in the British Empire and in the existence of an international Jewish conspiracy which were the sources of Joyce's tireless campaigning.

By 1936 Joyce had substituted Hitler for Mussolini as a model and now referred to himself as a National Socialist. His growing disillusion with Mosley was exacerbated by his loss of a local election in Shoreditch with only 14 per cent of the vote in March 1937, and his dismissal shortly after as director of propaganda when the staff was cut for financial reasons. With John Beckett and Angus MacNab he founded the new National Socialist League which, with a hard core of about twenty active members funded by the eccentric Alex Scrimgeour, made no impact at all, any more than did his Carlyle Club founded in 1939. In *National Socialism Now* (1937) he still believed in an English version of National Socialism but he had said at this time, ominously: 'if war breaks out I will fight for Hitler since such a war would be against Jewry'. Until his departure for Germany in August 1939, Joyce continued to operate in the shadowy world where the extreme right came together with certain eccentric pacifist elements in the columns of *New Pioneer* and in the British Council against European Commitments; he spoke for the Nordic League and for the Right Club.

In Germany Joyce began to work as editor and speaker for Reichsrundfunk in Berlin-Charlottenburg as an employee of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda. It was his predecessor Norman Baillie-Stewart, an ex-Guards officer, who had been christened Lord Haw-Haw by Jonas Barrington in the *Daily Express* but the name was to become attached to the author of the sneering rhetoric which amused and annoyed British listeners during the war. His book *Twilight over England* appeared in 1942 (in German in 1940). Towards the end of the war Joyce transferred to Hamburg from where he escaped to Flensburg where he was recognized by two British officers and found to be carrying a false passport in the name of Wilhelm Hansen in addition to his real one. After his controversial trial in 1945 Joyce was hanged on 3 January 1946 in Wandsworth prison. He died unrepentant: 'I am proud to die for my ideals and I am sorry for the sons of Britain who have died without knowing why.' He defended the German extermination and concentration camps to the very end. It is now generally agreed that, laying aside the question of his moral guilt, he was wrongly convicted of treason as he was indubitably an American citizen.

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JUNG, Rudolf (1882–1945)

Leading member of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei in Austro-Hungary and of the Deutsche National-Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei in the Sudetenland.

Born in Plass (Bohemia) on 16 April 1882, Jung spent his youth in Iglau, a German enclave in Moravia, and was educated at the Technical High School in Vienna. He received his diploma in engineering in 1906 and worked as a railway locomotive engineer. In 1909 he met Walter Riehl (*q.v.*) and joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, an anti-Czech German nationalist workers' party for which he became a full-time official, having been dismissed from his railway job for his political activity. In 1913 Riehl and Jung were the two leading drafters of the new Iglau programme of the party. He was elected as a representative to the Landtag (provincial parliament) in Moravia for Iglau in 1913, a seat he held until 1918.

When in 1918 the DAP reconstituted itself as a Sudeten party within the boundaries of the new Czechoslovak Republic under the name Deutsche National-Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei, Jung was its leading organizer and most important ideological influence. He saw himself as the Karl Marx of National Socialism who would produce the *Das Kapital* of the new movement. In fact, he wrote in 1919 *Der Nationale Sozialismus* which, before the appearance of *Mein Kampf*, had a limited success as the bible of National Socialism. It was an eclectic amalgam of diverse ideological influences running from Henry George, Silvio Gesell and Dühring, to the Katheder-Socialists, and Henry Ford with a dash of Spengler and the advocates of the 'conservative revolution'. Jung defined the newcomer as the 'class-party of creative work' and he was certainly concerned to point up the difference between 'productive national capitalism' and 'disintegrating finance capitalism' which was foreign and therefore alien and suspect. The whole structure was predicated on an idealized portrayal of pre-industrial society and an exaggerated distinction between modern destructive forces as various as credit and interest, liberal democracy and Marxism on the one hand, and a self-governing Sudeten German *Volksgemeinschaft* based on the party

slogan *Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigenmütz* (Common good goes before self-interest) on the other.

As the parliamentary leader of the party (he was in the Czech parliament from 1920 to 1933) following Knirsch in 1926, he insisted on the use of constitutional means in his struggle to gain recognition for the separate position of Germans in the Czech state and was constantly at pains to avoid provoking the Czech authorities to a possible dissolution of the party. He ceased to be leader when the party was dissolved in late September 1933 and most of the members moved to the Henlein (*q.v.*) party. After being detained for seven months on 4 October 1933, he escaped to the Reich where in November 1935 he was made a member of the NSDAP; he served in the Reichstag from 1936 representing Westphalia-South. In 1938 he was granted honorary membership of the SS, eventually with the rank of SS-Gruppenführer, he had made his peace with Hitler as early as 1931 after years of rivalry and envy.

From 1937 to 1940 Jung was a professor at the Hochschule für Politik and in 1940 president of the Provincial Work Office for Middle Germany in Erfurt. In 1943 he served as leader of Reich Inspection in the *Arbeiterverwaltung* in the Protectorate. In the following year he worked in occupied Prague as an agent of Arbeitseinsatz, the organization for government intervention in the labour market. Jung died in Pankratz prison in Prague on 11 December 1945.

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JÜNGER, Ernst (1895–)

Important German novelist of the conservative revolutionary tendency.

Born on 29 March 1895 in Heidelberg, Jünger was the son of a pharmacist, later the owner of a pharmaceutical factory. At the age of 17 he headed for Marseilles to join the French Foreign Legion and

spent a few weeks in Sidi-el-Abbes only to be reclaimed by his father in a few weeks. In 1914 he joined the 73rd Hanoverian Fusiliers. Bored by ordinary bourgeois life, Jünger, who had belonged to the Wandervogel, was to become, after the First World War, the embodiment of a dissatisfied and restless generation tempered by war. In 1915 he took command of a Storm Battalion and by the end of the war had been wounded fourteen times and won the highest military decoration in the armed forces, the Pour le Mérite. He had kept a campaign diary which was to be published in 1920 as *In Stahlgewittern* (translated into English as the *Storm of Steel*, 1929). Jünger praised pure action as the enemy of thinking in the face of the extreme radicality of death. 'This war', he wrote, 'is the forge in which the world will be beaten into new shapes and new associations.' The book established Jünger as the foremost representative of the front generation and, like Malraux and T.E. Lawrence, as a national hero. His major works of the 1920s all present war as the central experience: 'War, the father of all things, is also our father.' As Klemens von Klemperer has said, his early work 'stands at the point where existentialism and nihilism meet.'

In 1923 he left the Reichswehr and devoted himself to marine biology, zoology and botany in the University of Leipzig. Although his writing aimed at complete objectivity, 'without compassion', and although he indulged in a national oppositional rhetoric which appears close to that of the National Socialists, contempt for the vulgar masses, hatred of the democratic process and a destructive nihilism, Jünger had a respect for truth and for scientific methodology not shared by many Nazis. In 1927 he rejected the offer of a seat in the Reichstag from the Nazis. Jünger the aesthete was always in contradiction to Jünger the would-be barbarian as expressed in works like *Der Krieg als Innere Erlebnis* (1922) (*War as an Inner Experience*).

His political development reflected his inability to settle down in a world of everyday values; he insisted on 'the values of warriors and not of shopkeepers'. He wrote for the Stahlhelm press and was editor of its journal *Die Standarte*; in 1926 he also took over the journal *Arminius* with the intention of uniting all shades of nationalist opinion. By 1927 he had lost faith in the ex-servicemen's movement in politics in a realization that the revolutionary changes he wanted could come only through small elite nationalist cells, 'the unseen nucleus'. Jünger was sympathetic to the National Socialists without ever having joined the NSDAP but he was too much of a radical individual to approve or to be approved totally. In the

late 1920s he was as likely to be seen with the communist Ernst Toller as he was to be seen with Josef Goebbels (*q.v.*); he had moved closer to that strange hybrid between communism and fascism, National Bolshevism, and to Ernst Niekisch (*q.v.*) (he wrote for Niekisch's journal *Widerstand*). As a 'Prussian anarchist' he was briefly associated with the revolutionary peasant Landvolk movement in Schleswig. As Niekisch said of him at large demonstrations: 'he enjoyed watching as the general excitement assumed turbulent forms'.

The culmination of his development during the Weimar period had been reached by 1932 with his *Der Arbeiter*. In this work he envisaged a society, after the collapse of the liberal system, organized for war 'right down to the very seamstress at her sewing machine'. *Der Arbeiter* posited the totally mobilized state of the future run by warrior-workers on technocratic and authoritarian lines. His mythologizing of the worker-figure represented the total rejection of all bourgeois values.

Although some of Jünger's friends aligned themselves heart and soul, with the Third Reich (Werner Best (*q.v.*), for example), he himself refused to join the Prussian Academy and dissociated himself from Völkischer Beobachter. One of his favourite images was the still point at the centre of a tornado, an appropriate metaphor for his demeanour during the Hitler period when he saw himself as a detached observer, not only of the insect life to the study of which he returned after his entomological training of the early 1920s, but also of 'people eating each other up like bugs' at Arnolt Bronnen's parties when the guests fell out with each other. He lived first in the Harz Mountains, then near Lake Constance and later in Kirchhorst near Hamburg. In 1939 he wrote *Auf den Marmor klippen* (1939). (On the Marble Cliffs), an allegorical attack on the regime; it took several months for the authorities to realize its subversive purpose.

When the Second World War came Jünger served as an infantry officer in the 9th army on the Western Front. In Paris on General Stülpnagel's staff, he was embarrassed by the sight of Jewish women wearing the yellow star. In 1942 he spent a brief time on the Eastern Front; his progressively anti-Hitler sentiment is recorded in his *Kaukasische Aufzeichnungen*, a part of his Second World War journals *Strahlungen* (1949). It was at this time that he was disgusted to learn about 'the tunnels of poison gas into which trainloads of Jews were driven'. Jünger refused to take part in the 20 July 1944 conspiracy against Hitler. He was demobilized in October 1944. In his *Der Friede* (1946)

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(The Peace) he finally turned his back on the whole Nazi system. However, in the British occupation zone his books were banned. He refused to submit himself to a denazification court and became recognized after the war as one of Germany's greatest living writers.

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K

KAHANE, Meir (Martin David) (1932–)

Orthodox American Jewish rabbi, founder of the Jewish Defence League, who emigrated to Israel to found the ultra-Zionist Kach party.

Meir Kahane who in his early days went under the alias of Michael King, was born in Brooklyn, New York, on 1 August 1932. From 1946 to 1952 he was a member of the Zionist youth movement, Betar, and from 1953 to 1954 in B'nai Akivah, the youth movement of the Orthodox Zionist federation of labour. As a boy of 15, already a fanatical Zionist, he attacked the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, who was in New York to address the United Nations. He took an MA degree in international law from New York University after being ordained at the Orthodox Mir Yeshiva academy and serving as a rabbi for Howard Beach in Queens, New York. For a time he worked on *The Brooklyn Daily* and for the *Jewish Press*.

In June 1968 he founded the Jewish Defense League whose original inspiration was the protection of elderly and poor Jews from physical attacks but the organization became violent. (In 1971 he was briefly imprisoned for the illegal possession of arms.) It was anti-Palestinian, pro-Zionist, and it agitated on behalf of Soviet Jewry, often with terroristic methods, under the slogan 'never again!', referring to the traditional unpreparedness of Jews and their willingness to be too trusting towards non-Jews. In 1971 Kahane emigrated to Israel where in 1977 he founded Kach (a name based on the old Irgun slogan meaning 'only thus'). He has advocated the expulsion of Arabs from all territories occupied by Israel, the mass settlement by Jews of the West Bank, the denial of the right of Israeli citizenship to non-Jews, the outlawing of the Communist Party and has opposed the intermarriage of Jews and non-Jews; in short he proposes a kind of apartheid for Israel. Underlying his various campaigns is a unifying belief in obedience to the *halakha* (Orthodox Jewish practice) and a conviction that violence is justified in the name of Jewish survival. He has used Messianic language to propagate his view that Israel was promised to the Jewish people by divine command.

In the elections of 1973 and 1977 Kahane's party failed to cross the necessary 1 per cent threshold of votes but in 1984 Kach received 25,907 votes and a seat in the Knesset for the rabbi himself. Following the election he claimed that he would set up an 'emigration office' to encourage Arabs to leave. The Israeli authorities have used the instrument of law to frustrate Kahane's efforts and in August 1986 racial incitement was made a criminal offence. Under this law Kahane was indicted on 17 December 1989 after his behaviour in Jerusalem following a Palestinian attack on an Israeli bus.

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KALTENBRUNNER, Ernst (1903–46)

Austrian National Socialist who succeeded Heydrich (q.v.) in charge of the Reich Main Security Office.

Kaltenbrunner was born on 4 October 1903 in Ried (Inn Valley), the son of a lawyer who moved to Raab in 1906. He graduated from law school in the Technical University in Graz in July 1926. In the Realgymnasium in Linz and in the University in Graz he was brought up in a Pan-Germanic, *völkisch* milieu, reinforcing what he had already experienced in the home environment. At the university he was a member of one of the duelling fraternities, the *Burschenschaften*, and carried a large duelling scar on his face. He began his legal career working for a Dr Villa in Salzburg, and then found employment with the district court in Linz but, unable to settle, returned home in 1928.

His latent hostility to normal professional routine and his hatred of the Austrian Republic led him in late

1928 into the Deutschvölkischer Turnerverein, the nationalist gymnastic union and into the Upper Austrian Heimatschutz, an organization that was by the summer of 1929 shaking off its more conservative past and heading in a more radically *völkisch* direction. Kaltenbrunner joined the Austrian NSDAP on 18 October 1930 and the SS in August 1931 as member No. 13,039. He became an active speaker for the party in Upper Austria while simultaneously working for his father's law firm which he joined in 1932; before the firm was broken up by the depression, Kaltenbrunner acted as an SS legal adviser. His right to practise law was revoked in 1933 as the result of his political campaigning and he was imprisoned from January to April 1934. Fortunately for his career prospects, he was not involved in the *putsch* on 25 July 1934 and in late summer 1934 he acted as the moderate National Socialist and head of National Action, Anton Reinthaller's (*q.v.*), secretary.

As a member of the clandestine SS, Kaltenbrunner was arrested in 1935 for disseminating National Socialist propaganda and sentenced to six months in prison. He was appointed chief of the SS in Upper and Lower Austria in autumn 1935 and although he was *de facto* the leading authority in the SS, reporting directly to Himmler (*q.v.*) and Heydrich (*q.v.*), he was not officially recognized as head of the SS Austria until January 1937. However, as Black has suggested, this appointment was not by default as has sometimes been suggested but a result of the careful intelligence network he had built up. Within the Austrian NSDAP he belonged to a faction somewhere between the Leopold (*q.v.*) radicals he abhorred and the Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) moderates. He was a close associate of Friedrich Rainer (*q.v.*).

Kaltenbrunner had been a passionate believer in the idea of Anschluss from his youth and when it became an accomplished fact in 1938 he was appointed state secretary for security in the Seyss-Inquart cabinet in March. In September followed his elevation as higher SS and police leader of the SS-Oberschnitts Donau until April 1939 when this region was divided into two. Kaltenbrunner was excluded from direct control of the security police by Heydrich who distrusted him. On 1 January 1943 he reached the pinnacle of his career when he was elevated as Heydrich's successor to the leadership of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA); with this expression of confidence in his unquestioning obedience, Kaltenbrunner was now directly responsible for the security police and as Himmler's chief deputy had control over the Criminal Police, the Gestapo and the SD. He took a special interest in the concentration camp at Mauthausen, the establishment of

which had been his own initiative. In February the counter-intelligence department of the Abwehr was added to his empire.

Kaltenbrunner was always a fanatical Nazi whom Kersten Himmler's doctor, described as 'coarse, hard-bitten, probably only capable of thinking when he's drunk'. He smoked up to 100 cigarettes a day and had bad teeth. Schellenberg (*q.v.*) described his eyes as those of a viper. His role in the Final Solution was a vital one, notwithstanding his claim at Nuremberg that he was merely a cog in a machine run by Müller (*q.v.*) and Himmler. Kaltenbrunner was overall supervisor of the apparatus that carried out the liquidation of the Jews. He received regular bulletins from the East on the performance of the Einsatzgruppen (special groups that carried out murders) and many times intervened to speed up the deportations; in the case of the Hungarian deportations he proved diligent in removing obstacles in the way of Eichmann's (*q.v.*) special groups. He was also involved in the murder of allied prisoners-of-war and civilians.

Kaltenbrunner served on the commission that investigated the conspiracy against Hitler which culminated on 20 July 1944 with the bomb attempt on his life. To the last, he issued orders with murderous consequences. On 15 December 1944 he was made a general of the Waffen-SS to supplement his earlier promotion to SS-Obergruppenführer and his generalship of police on 24 June 1943. Kaltenbrunner was detained by the Americans on 11 May 1945 at Alt Aussee (Austria). On a number of occasions at his trial in Nuremberg he wept uncontrollably, but failed to convince the judges, who unanimously sentenced him to death, of his innocence. He was hanged on 16 October 1946 in Nuremberg. Evelyn Waugh said of the defendants at Nuremberg that 'only Kaltenbrunner looked an obvious criminal'. As Peter Black has written, 'by subordinating himself to the Nazi ideology and disappearing into the Germanic "racial elite", he denied his own humanity to the point where murder no longer presented a moral issue if sanctioned by the Nazi creed.' Kaltenbrunner persisted in his pretence that he knew nothing about the genocide: 'the people who did are all dead – Hitler, Himmler, Bormann, Heydrich, and Eichmann'.

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KANZLER, Rudolf (1873–1956)

German paramilitary leader.

Born on the 26 February 1873 in Wasserburg, the son of a lawyer, Kanzler attended the Technical High School in Munich. By profession he was a surveyor who was to serve on the executive committee on the surveying authority of Lichtenfels. He was a representative in the Landtag (provincial parliament) for the Catholic Centre Party from 1905 to 1918. After 1918 he worked in the surveying department in Rosenheim. It was in the town of Rosenheim that he organized a *Bürgerwehr* or citizens' army to combat the soviet republic set up in Munich in April 1919. It grew to be the largest of the Bavarian Free Corps, known as the Freikorps Chiemgau. Kanzler became famous as the 'White General' for his counter-revolutionary action against the Marxist regime, which he called 'the pigsty republic'. He developed the Freikorps Chiemgau with the assistance of a 50,000 mark grant from the Hoffman government into the core of the so-called *Einwohnerwehr* of south-eastern Bavaria. Of a monarchist persuasion he was opposed to the entire republican order.

Kanzler became associated with Escherich (*q.v.*), the leader of the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr* movement in Bavaria and acted as his deputy. In June 1920 he was able to build up a working anti-socialist alliance between the Christian Socialists, the Agrarians and the Pan-Germans, who all agreed to support the paramilitary effort. The Escherich organization known as Orgesch spawned an off-shoot under Kanzler's direction called Orka or Organisation Kanzler which played a major part in the early development of the Austrian *Heimwehr* and formed with Dr Steidle (*q.v.*) a 'Bloc of Order' in the Tyrol.

By 1921 the movement had collapsed in Austria without achieving its objective of uniting the various *Heimatschutz* groups. In mid-August Kanzler resigned as Orka leader in favour of Dr Otto Pittinger. He continued to be the representative for the Rheinpfalz in the Landtag and later joined Carl von Spurer's Bayerische Heimat- und Königsbund, a conservative monarchist group, which was proscribed when Hitler came to power in 1933. He may have been connected with the monarchist resistance in Munich after 1933. Certainly, he was under accusation in Chiemgau in 1936 and later imprisoned for treason for attempting to revive his monarchist organization and for cooperating with Otto Strasser's (*q.v.*) Black Front. Kanzler died on 26 February 1956 in Munich and was buried in Wasserburg.

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KAPP, Wolfgang (1858–1922)

German Conservative politician who staged the abortive coup of 1920 against the Weimar Republic.

Born on 24 July 1858 in New York, the son of a Liberal *Reichstag* deputy, Friedrich Kapp, who had emigrated to the United States but returned in 1870 to Germany, Wolfgang studied first in Berlin and then in the Universities of Tübingen, Göttingen and Berlin. From the latter he received his doctorate of law. From 1900 he worked in the Prussian Ministry of Finance. Kapp was *Landrat* (chairman of the rural district council) of Guben and from 1891 to 1900 managed an estate in East Prussia; he then became a landed proprietor in Pilsen. Thick-necked, bullet-headed and wearing a pince-nez, Kapp in many ways corresponded to the image of the archetypal upper-class Prussian; in fact, he was an exemplar of the 'feudalized' bourgeoisie who identified themselves with the Junker class. A member of the Conservative Party, he was, from 1906 to 1920, director of the East Prussian *Landschaft* (an honorary position based on the *Landschaften*, cooperative land credit institutes).

As a founder of the Society for Internal Colonization, he was particularly concerned after 1908 with plans for rural settlement in East Prussia. In his desire to strengthen the larger estates he used as his chosen instrument the Bund der Landwirte (Agrarian League). Kapp's larger aim was to create a right-wing mass movement which would rival the SPD on the left. To this end he was aware of the need to conciliate small peasants, the lower middle classes, and workers through measures of social reform. 'The trick', he once said, 'is to use sales techniques to win the masses'. In the interests of the military dictatorship, supported by large industrial and agricultural interests, which he came to see as the antidote to the 'democratic swamp', he declared that 'lies, slander and immorality' were acceptable weapons.

During the war he opposed the foreign and domestic policies of Bethmann Hollweg in the name of the 'national opposition'. In the May Memorandum of 1916, Kapp referred to the need for 'reform of the party system' in a more authoritarian direction. In September 1917 with Class (*q.v.*) and von Tirpitz, Kapp launched the Fatherland Party which was reputed to have one million members within a few months. Many of the policies of the party echoed Kapp's earlier concerns: internal colonization, radical ultra-nationalism and an opening to the lower middle classes. The movement even had its own 'yellow' trade union organization.

Elected to the Reichstag in 1918, Kapp remained a stubborn monarchist and a firm enemy of the nascent Republic. His name is most frequently associated with the failed four-day coup which Kapp and General von Lüttwitz (1859–1942) undertook in March 1920 after the attempt to demobilize the Ehrhardt (*q.v.*) and Baltikum Brigades. Defeated by a general strike call by the trade unions and a lack of cooperation from the civil service, Kapp fled to Sweden. He had ambitions for the Chancellorship in spite of his state of ill-health and the paucity of his experience. Kapp died in Leipzig on 12 June 1922 awaiting trial for his part in the attempted coup.

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KAUFMANN, Karl (1900–69)

German National Socialist gauleiter.

Kaufmann was born on 10 October 1900 in Krefeld; his father was a textile factory owner. He was educated to the 7th grade in a Gymnasium and was then trained in agriculture. He served as a volunteer in the First World War, in 1917 joining the reserve air force and towards the end fought with the Brunswick Infantry Regiment No. 92. When the guns had been silenced he signed on for the Brigade

Ehrhardt (*q.v.*) with whom he took part in the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* of March 1920. He fought on the Polish border with the Storm Battalion of Manfred von Killinger (1886–1944), Ehrhardt's right-hand man and leader of the Organization Consul; 'only the devil and the Prussian authorities know how often Karl Kaufmann was arrested', wrote von Schirach admiringly about his time with von Killinger. With the Organization Consul Kaufmann was involved in a number of the vigilante Feme murders. During the Ruhr occupation he saw service with a sabotage group, the Kameradschaft 'Schill', fighting the French between 1922 and 1923.

In 1920 he had been a member of the racist Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund, and in 1921 had transferred his allegiance to the infant NSDAP in Elberfeld. After a brief interlude as shipping agent and woodcutter in Marquartstein (Chiemgau), Kaufmann was caught up in the Hitler *putsch* in Munich in November 1923 as a member of the SA. Arrested in Wuppertal and gaoled, he was released after two years. On 27 September 1925 he became gauleiter of the Rhineland Gau which later became the Ruhrgebiet-Westfalen and then the Gau Ruhr.

A dynamic propagandist, Kaufmann took the 'social' aspects of the Feder (*q.v.*) programme quite seriously. He was influenced by Strasserite and National Bolshevik views on the dynamism of communism and the need for both a Russian alliance and for a propaganda effort among the working classes. Much to Goebbels' chagrin Kaufmann was appointed head of Gau Ruhr on 26 June 1926 and the triumvirate rule by which Kaufmann, Goebbels and von Pfeffer had shared the responsibility since April came to an end. Kaufmann's was a weak and vacillating leadership which failed to dominate the powerful personalities of Terboven (*q.v.*) and Erich Koch (*q.v.*). He was more successful as a journalist and in May 1927 edited the *Nazionalsozialistische Brief* and in 1928 (jointly with Terboven) *Die Neue Front*. In 1928 he was elected to the Prussian Landtag, was dismissed in May of the same year from Gau Ruhr and in August 1929 was designated gauleiter of Hamburg, a post he retained until the end of the Third Reich. Himmeler suspected Kaufmann of having homosexual tendencies (see his diaries) but there is no conclusive evidence. In 1930 Kaufmann was elected to the Reichstag. In 1932 he abandoned Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) and his 'leftist' views to become forthwith a loyal Hitler follower. The following year he was appointed *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Hamburg and from 1936 he served in the leadership of the provincial administration of Hansestadt Hamburg. He was promoted to SS-Obergruppenführer in 1942.

Considered for the post of Reich Commissioner for Belgium, it appears that this appointment was opposed by Bormann (*q.v.*) who had him on a list of unsatisfactory gauleiters. Kaufmann took part in the surrender negotiations in May 1945 having shown himself less of a bitter-ender than his Führer, Dönitz, in the last days of the war. Sentenced to one and a half years in prison, he was released in 1949. In July of that year he became chairman of the meeting which set up the SS-aid organization, the Bruderschaft. He was a member of the Herrenklub and also of the Naumann circle which tried to infiltrate the democratic parties with ex-Nazis, for which he was arrested on 15 January 1953. He was freed in March on health grounds. Kaufmann died on 4 December 1969 in Hamburg.

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KELLER, Carlos (1898– ?)

Leading Chilean intellectual, economist, historian, polemicist and nacista politician.

Keller was born into a family of German origin in Concepción on 3 January 1898 and educated at the Universities of Bonn, Berlin and Würzburg. He received his doctorate in 1921 and returned to Chile in the same year. His great intellectual influences were the Chilean historian Alberto Edwards and Oswald Spengler (*q.v.*), whom he befriended in Germany and with whom he corresponded frequently. In 1927 he wrote *Spengler y la Situación Política Cultural de la América Iberica* which argued for the necessity of a cultural and social hierarchy to preserve the values of Spanish America.

During the Ibañez regime Keller worked in the Department of Census and Statistics (1927–31) where he met Edwards; he became director general from 1931 to 1932. He also spent some time as professor at the University of Concepción and

at the University of Chile where he was director of the Institut de Filosofía y Ciencias Sociales. In 1932 he was appointed economic editor of *La Nación*.

His most famous book *La Eterna Crisis Chilena* had appeared in 1931; it synthesized the ideas of Edwards, Encina and Palacios, and contained a brilliant analysis of the Chilean dilemma which he summarized thus: 'We have imitated western forms but not transformed them into life.' Keller was something of a Renaissance man who believed in the unity of thought and action (like other fascists, notably Sir Oswald Mosley (*q.v.*)). In March 1932 he met Gonzalez von Marées (*q.v.*) and was one of the founders of the Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile which Keller always insisted was a movement of the left and not the right; it advocated a sort of spiritual socialism. He edited *Acción Chilena* for the *nacistas* from January 1934 to November 1937. Chilean *nacismo*, which was embraced especially by certain Chileans of German origin in the south, was quite different from the European kind. It above all called for the restoration of a strong executive power in the tradition of the dictator Diego Portales Polazuelos (1793–1837) and for the end of internal conflict and the political corruption that democracy seemed to engender. Only a strengthened middle-class elite could provide the necessary drive for development and break the shackles of foreign control of the economy. Keller talked about the return of the *conquistador* spirit to native Chilean capitalism.

Following the attempted *nacista* coup of 1938, Keller was arrested but released by decree of President Aguirre. He returned after September to his economic and historical studies. He had some time before become disillusioned with Gonzalez' leadership and wrote a veiled account in the novel *La Locura de Juan Bernales* (The Madness of Juan Bernales) (1949) of the psychic decline of his former leader. By all accounts a difficult person to deal with, it is believed that he was still alive in retirement in the early 1970s.

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KERNMAYER, Erich (known as Erich Kern) (1906–)

Austrian novelist, writer and journalist who after the Second World War became a prominent National Socialist and SS apologist.

Born on 27 February 1906 in Graz, Kernmayer, after a brief flirtation with the Socialist Youth, joined first the radical right Sturmvolk and then the illegal Nazis in Austria and was himself imprisoned in 1934 before the Anschluss. He worked from 1936 on the Vienna staff of Göring's (*q.v.*) newspaper *Essener National-Zeitung* and in 1939 was *Gaupresseamtleiter* (press chief) to Gauleiter Bürckel (*q.v.*) in the capital of the Ostmark and also by extension to Bürckel's other fiefdom in the Saar Palatinate. By 1940 he had been promoted to leader of the *Pressestelle* of Gauleiters. He served in the war as an *SS-Obersturmbannführer* in the *Waffen-SS*.

Interned after the war for two and a half years in Austria and prohibited from publishing for the rest of his life, he nevertheless published within a few months of his release *Der Grosse Rausch: Russland Feldzug, 1941–45* (1948). He moved to West Germany in 1949 and resumed his career as a novelist. He denounced the Allies for alleged crimes against the Sudeten Germans. As Federal Press Chief of the *Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit der Ehemaligen Soldaten der Waffen-SS* (Mutual Aid Society of Former Soldiers of the *Waffen-SS*) and as editor of the *HIAG* journal *Der Freiwillige*, he celebrated and exonerated the SS for their actions. He was a member of Herbert Böhme's *Deutsche Kulturwerk Europäischen Geistes* in Munich whose aim was summed up by the pre-war students' campaign which led to the notorious book-burnings of 1933, 'Against the Un-German Spirit'. Kernmayer was also prominent in von Thadden's (*q.v.*) inner circle of the *Deutsche Reichspartei*. As editor of the radical nationalist *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung*, the *Deutsche Wochenzeitung* and *Reichsruf* (later *Deutsche Nachrichten*) and a contributor to the neo-fascist *Nation Europa*, he took a consistently anti-Israeli position, denounced the Allies and lauded the SS and the Third Reich.

Kernmayer's works on military affairs and war history have been published by Verlag Welsermühle and other radical right publishing houses. As late as 1982 he was still co-editor of the *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*. A member of the National Democratic Party in 1970, he worked in the next few years to unite the extreme right after the electoral disappointment. In 1980 he was awarded the Freedom Prize of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* for his revisionist

works and in 1982 was awarded the Hütten prize of 155,000 DM by the *Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik*, of which von Thadden was a leading member. Kernmayer was still alive in August 1988.

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KIRDORF, Emil (1847–1938)

Prominent German Ruhr business magnate and National Socialist supporter.

Born in Mettmann on 8 April 1847, Emil Kirdorf, who became known as 'the Bismarck of Coal', founded in the 1870s the Gelsenkirscher Bergwerk AG and later moved into iron and steel. An instigator of the bituminous coal cartel, the Rheinisch-Westfälisches Kohlensyndikat in the 1890s, he became known as an enemy of trade unions and of welfare benefits. He epitomized the more reactionary industrial leaders of the Wilhelmine era. A staunch opponent of socialism and of revolutionary manifestations, he financed many of the extreme conservative organizations in the first two decades of the twentieth century, in particular, the Pan-Germans in 1915 and the Navy League which he served on the regional executive in Essen.

After the First World War, during which he had formulated a plan for territorial annexations in the event of a German victory, the violently nationalist Kirdorf joined the conservative DNVP but became disenchanted with the party's collaboration with the hated Weimar Republic. He lost considerably from the war on the restoration of Lorraine to France and his organization was forced to merge with the Hugo Stinnes (1870–1924) empire and in 1924 was subsumed into the United Steel works. In April 1927 Kirdorf heard Hitler speak and was much impressed. Through the efforts of Elsa Bruckmann, Hitler's patroness in Munich, Kirdorf was introduced to the Führer in July and joined the party. Although he was alienated by Hitler's refusal to take a firm line against Catholicism (Kirdorf had earlier turned against the Church in favour of a pagan Germanism because of the Church's social concerns) and by his naked anti-

Semitism but was prepared to overlook this as electoral rhetoric. He gave a single donation of 100,000 marks to the party but abandoned it in August 1928, dismayed by the 'socialistic' aspects of the party programme; he reverted to his earlier loyalty to the DNVP, a party that had annoyed him by its refusal to sanction his efforts to increase the working day for employees. Kirdorf's main contribution to the advance of Nazism was to act as a recruiting sergeant and as a solicitor of funds from Ruhr industrial interests.

Kirdorf did rejoin the NSDAP in 1934 and his earlier resignation was concealed from posterity. He died in Mühlheim an der Ruhr on 13 July 1938.

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KITA, Ikki (pseud.) (Kita Terujirō) (1883–1937)

Japanese nationalist and socialist who has been called, by Maruyama Masao, 'the ideological father of Japanese fascism'.

Kita was born in Sado (Niigata), the son of a sake brewer. He mixed early in socialist circles after studying in the University of Waseda (Tokyo) but supported the Russo-Japanese War. Kita was never an orthodox Marxist socialist but one more interested in its spiritual dimensions; he was later, in fact, converted to Nichiren (1222–82) Buddhism on his second stay in China. In his work of 1906 the *Theory of National Polity and Pure Socialism*, he identified the ideology of ancient community with the new doctrine of socialism. He was an étatist socialist who found the class struggle to be incompatible with Japanese conditions, attacked the corruption of current society and embraced the people rather than the proletariat.

Kita was involved in Sun Yat-Sen's revolution in China and was expelled in 1913 for his work for the Japanese intelligence service but returned in 1916. In 1921 he published a *Private History of the Chinese Revolution* based on his experiences. On his return

from China he founded with Okawa Shūmei, the *Yūzonsha* (Society for Preserving the National Essence); he was later to fall out with Okawa. In 1919 Kita wrote his famous work the *Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan*, a plan of 'national renovation' (*Nippon Kaizō*) which called for the removal of the 'corrupt privileged strata' between the Emperor and the people and for direct Emperor rule imposed by a violent *coup d'état*. Large landholdings would be confiscated, economic activity controlled by the state, production rationalized, universal male suffrage introduced and profit-sharing and welfare schemes encouraged. Kita was also a strong believer in the right of Japan to impose a 'feudal peace' in the name of a Greater Eastern Asia under Japanese tutelage: 'it is Japan's mission to liberate the whole world'.

It is this combination of nationalism and socialism which has led some to bracket him with European fascists and National Socialists. However, his biographer Wilson has argued that his ideology, with its hatred of foreign excrescences like liberalism and democracy, was as unique a synthesis as, for example, Peronism. He also claims that his so-called 'conversion' was, in fact, not a transformation but an example of continuous development. If some scholars have placed him on the left of the political spectrum, it should be pointed out that throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Kita and his associates were referred to, in police reports, as *uyoku* (rightists).

Kita was to be a potent influence on the military men who murdered the prime minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi, in May 1932 and especially on the Young Officers Movement who, intent on a Shōwa restoration, provoked the 26 February 1936 incident when 1,400 troops mutinied with the intention of seizing the city centre of Tokyo and killed a number of important officials. Even though Kita was not concerned with the preparations, he was tried, found guilty by a military court, after disagreements among his judges, of being the 'civilian ringleader', and executed by firing squad on 19 August 1937.

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KJELLEN, Rudolf (1864–1922)

Swedish professor of political science, founder of the science of geopolitics and ideological influence on the Swedish National Youth League and the German and Swedish National Socialist movements.

Kjellen was born on 13 June 1864 in Torsö (Skarab) and received his doctorate in 1890 and from 1890 to 1893 was lecturer in Uppsala University. In 1901 he was appointed professor of political science and statistics in Gothenburg University. During the First World War he was an activist on behalf of an alliance with Germany. In 1915 he wrote: 'Germany is now the rock against which the Russian wave will come to a halt.' Kjellen moved to Uppsala to become professor from 1916 until his death. Kjellen was the inventor of the science of geopolitics under the influence of, among others, the political geography of Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904).

Growing out of his admiration for Bismarck's *realpolitik* and a biological view of international relations, allied with a Social Darwinist conception of the necessity of war, and a Nietzschean morality transcending considerations of good and evil, Kjellen's geopolitical theory justified the expansion of the superpowers. He had a profound influence on the German inspirer of the theory of *Lebensraum*, Karl Haushofer (*q.v.*). One of the major implications of his theories, which followed with iron logic, was the assumption of the incapacity of democratic systems, the belief that liberalism was 'an ageing prima donna', the need for autarky in the economic field, and in the domestic context of Sweden, the necessity for a *Riksdag* elected on a corporate, occupational basis. The middle class he saw as the national productive class, a counterweight to anti-national socialism. He contrasted locally rooted, healthy capital with 'alien', foreign finance capital. His earlier ideas were contained in *Sveriges Politiska Gränser* (1899), *Inledning till Sverigesgeografi* (1900) and his most famous work *Stormakterna* (1905), which tried to assess the resources of the great powers.

In Swedish terms, he expected industry to provide a bastion against threats to Sweden's neutrality and a basis for a strong defence policy. Kjellen was the major intellectual influence not only on the Conservative leader Arvid Lidman but also on the Sveriges Nationella Ungdomsförbund (National Youth League) for which he was the spokesman in the *Riksdag*. Although he can be seen as a harbinger of fascism in Sweden, it must be remembered that he operated in a pre-fascist climate in which there was a consensus for certain political norms and standards.

He was no anti-Semite and his nationalism was without a biological, racial basis. Nor was he ever an enemy of the rule of law. His later thinking is contained in *Staten som Lifsförm* (1916), in which he used the term 'geopolitics', and *Grundriss zu einem System der Politik* (1920). Kjellen died on 14 November 1922 in Uppsala.

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KLAUSNER, Hubert (1892–1939)

Austrian National Socialist.

Born in Raibl im Kanaltal (South Tyrol) on 1 November 1892, the son of a revenue official, Klausner was wounded in the First World War and lost the use of his right arm. He was involved in the Carinthian resistance struggle in 1918–19. He joined the NSDAP in 1922. Klausner served as a member of the Austrian Federal army, was promoted to major in 1933 and retired as a lieutenant-colonel from the active list in June 1938. From 1931 he was elected as a member of the *Gemeinderat* (community council) in Klagenfurt. He was known to be a moderate National Socialist who eschewed violence where possible and advocated the semi-constitutional road to power. From 1933 he was the gauleiter of the illegal Nazi Party in Carinthia. Klausner was not particularly ambitious and was viewed with suspicion by some of his colleagues for his alcoholism. Very much a military mind, he had little patience with endless party discussion.

In 1935 he became the virtual deputy of the party under Leopold (*q.v.*), nominally the head of a college of gauleiters. He appointed two younger Carinthians, Rainer (*q.v.*) and Globocnik (*q.v.*), to execute the detailed administrative and political work of the party; they were to acquire large powers until dismissed by Leopold. Klausner himself was dismissed on 9 October 1936. After the Anschluss he was reappointed gauleiter of Carinthia on 27 May 1938 and became nominal *Landeshauptmann* (Governor). In February, shortly before the Anschluss, he had been appointed *Landesleiter* of the Austrian party but was never more than a figurehead. On 12 March

1938 he was appointed as Minister of Propaganda (*politische Willensbildung*) in the new National Socialist administration and on 24 May as Deputy Governor and Minister of the Interior. Although gauleiter of Carinthia, he remained in Vienna to assist Bürckel (*q.v.*) as deputy Reich Commissioner for the Unification of the Ostmark with the Reich. Klausner died suddenly on 12 February 1939 in Vienna.

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KOCH, Erich (1896–1986)

German National Socialist gauleiter of East Prussia and Reich Commissioner of the Ukraine during the German occupation.

Koch was born on 19 June 1896 in Elberfeld (now Wuppertal), the son of a master builder. After a three-year apprenticeship in trade he worked in a minor administrative capacity on the railways following the First World War in which he took part from 1915 to 1918. In Austria and the Ruhr he was a colleague of Leo Schlageter (1894–1923), executed by the French for terrorism and sabotage in the campaign against the French occupiers; Koch formed part of the honour guard that brought Schlageter's body for burial and found himself imprisoned for his part in the underground activities. He also took part in the Upper Silesian campaign against Polish nationalist forces as part of von Killinger's Free Corps.

A member of the Gau Ruhrgebiet of the NSDAP in 1922, he was forced to leave the railway service in 1926, the year he rejoined the resurrected NSDAP as member No. 32,672, for his political campaigning. In the following year a *Bezirksführer* (district leader) in Essen he was also appointed deputy gauleiter of East Prussia and in 1928 gauleiter. From 1925 to 1927 he was editor of the *Informationsdienst für Wirtschaft und Nationalsozialistische Politik* and later of the *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, a vehicle for the most scurrilous anti-Catholic propaganda, and of the *Preussische Zeitung* in Königsberg. Koch was not only the leader of the National Socialist faction in the Prussian provincial parliament but also from 1930 a

member of the Reichstag. By 1933 when he was appointed as a Prussian state councillor and *Oberpräsident* of East Prussia in September, he had still not fully renounced his earlier flirtation with the radical Strasserite heresy; he remained anti-capitalist, at least in theory, and agitated for unemployment relief.

As gauleiter and Provincial Governor, the impulsive, ambitious, dictatorial and brutal Koch feuded with Darré (*q.v.*) and his Department of Agricultural Policy over agricultural policy and often turned a blind eye to Munich party directives. His acquisitiveness and corruption became legendary. His headquarters in Königsberg was later to contain the plundered sixteenth-century Amber Room, a room lined with yellow fossilized coal; he had many 'special accounts' in banks and a villa, expropriated from the Polish Prince Czartorisky. A protégé of Bormann (*q.v.*), Koch formed a vast economic plan for East Prussian under Göring's (*q.v.*) Four-Year Plan. On the outbreak of war he was made a Reich Defence Commissioner.

The most notorious episode of his life occurred after his appointment as Reich Commissioner for the Ukraine in October 1941 with headquarters in Rovno, a fiefdom he administered as an extension of his own gau. Considering the Ukraine to be 'an object to be exploited' and the Ukrainians 'not a people at all but an indefinable mixture' (remarks that incurred the wrath of Rosenberg, who hated Koch), he turned the immense area into a vast slave state, closing down all the schools of the 'Slav sub-humans' whose fate it was to serve their biologically superior masters; many Ukrainians were sent to the Reich for forced labour and Koch was later to be held responsible for the deaths of numerous Poles, Jews and Ukrainians. 'The Ukraine has to provide what Germany needs,' he said. Koch was not only the most brutal and determined of all the Reich Commissioners in the East but 'unquestionably the strongest power in German Politik' as a German journalist reported (quoted in Dallin).

After the fall of East Prussia, Koch escaped on the ice-breaker *Ost Preussen* and evaded arrest for four years, using false papers in the name of Major Rolf Berger; he was discovered working as an agricultural labourer near Hamburg and arrested in May 1949. Handed over to the Poles, he was transferred to Mokstow prison in Warsaw on 14 January 1950. He was condemned to death in March 1959 having been found guilty of the deaths of 400,000 Poles and Jews but the sentence was commuted to life because of his 'ill-health'. Koch defied the diagnosis for 27 years,

KOCH

dying at the age of 90 in Barczewo (Wartenburg in the former East Prussia) on 12 November 1986.

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KOCH, Pietro (1918–1945)

Italian fascist leader of a special service, the Banda Koch, devoted to rooting out anti-fascist elements and assisting the German occupation authorities and later the Salò Republic.

Born in Benevento on 18 August 1918, the son of a former German naval officer, Koch was educated in the liceo Gioberti in Rome and then joined the Grenadiers (*Granatieri*) in which he was made lieutenant, before becoming unpopular with his superior officers because of his solitary behaviour. He was arrested for insulting a superior, and was dismissed from the army in 1939. He then worked as a car salesman and for a lawyer in Perugia. Called up again on the eve of war, Koch was sent to embark for Sardinia to join the 2nd Grenadier Regiment when the armistice was declared in September 1943 and Koch drifted to Florence where he became embroiled with the anti-partisan Banda Carità. Finally he found his vocation in life in the 'special service of the republican police' set up by police chief Tullio Tamburini (*q.v.*) which operated in German-occupied Rome. Tamburini had in December 1943 used Koch in the arrest of the army general, Mario Caracciolo.

The Banda Koch, officially established in January 1944, operated at first from the Pensione Oltremare and then from the Pensione Jaccarino in the via Romagna in Rome; it was charged with the task of hunting down anti-fascist partisans and assisting the occupation authorities in the deportations of Italians, Jew and Gentile alike. The Banda Koch pursued with great enthusiasm the interrogation, torture and murder of Jews and members of the Resistance under the protection of the notorious SD chief in Rome, Herbert Kappler (1907–78), which culminated in the massacre in the Ardeatine Caves on 24 March 1944. Almost beyond official control, Koch had his own prisons and torture chambers, stained with the blood of his victims, and raided homes, offices and synagogues with little restraint.

When Rome fell to the Allies in June 1944, Koch continued his activities in Florence and then in Milan in the Villa Triste in the via Paolo Uccello. In the end Mussolini was forced to act and had him arrested by the police chief Renzo Mantagna in the Hotel Plaza in Milan in October 1944. Falling into the hands of the Allies, he was found guilty by the High Court on all six counts with which he was charged and was condemned to death on 4 June 1945. He was executed the next day in Rome's Forte Bravelta at the age of 27.

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KOLBENHEYER, Erwin Guido (1878–1962)

German völkisch writer and supporter of National Socialism.

Kolbenheyer was born in Budapest on 30 December 1878, the son of an architect. He studied zoology and psychology in the University of Vienna. His position as a German-speaker in Hungary and later in the Sudetenland in a climate of resentment against the rising national consciousness of the Slavs and in an atmosphere of dissolution, had led him by 1919 to a *völkisch* and irrationalist philosophy. Many of the heroes of his books around this time including the *Paracelsus* trilogy (1917–26) reflect the struggle of the Germanic hero, 'the Gothic spirit', as a genius embodying strong German values against hostile forces. He posits the superiority of the unconscious over the conscious, the irrational over the rational. From his early psychological interests which emphasized the importance of intuition he developed a kind of biological mysticism whose political implications became more pronounced. His answer to the humiliation of Versailles in 1919 was a work like *Bauhütte* (1925), combining metaphysics and biologism in what became known as the *Bauhütten-Philosophie*. In this and other works of the 1920s he contrasted the mystical, civilized German soul evolving towards inevitable moral and political leadership with the un-Germanness of quantification and its consequences, the cash nexus and the profit motive.

As a supporter of the national revolution, he

joined the NSDAP in 1932 and welcomed Hitler's attempt to widen the frontiers of Germanism at the expense of the Slavs in the name of a united Europe under Hitler's leadership. Although as president of the Sudeten German Cultural Society he was able to protect some opposition writers from the wrath of Nazi monomania, he gave tacit support to the New Order, winning the Eagle Shield and in 1937 the Goethe Prize of the city of Frankfurt. His desire for national recognition enabled him to subordinate his often individual drive to the good of the *Volk* as represented by the Nazis.

After the war he was a member of the Bochum circle. He wrote for the neo-Nazi *Nation Europa* and was involved in various revived *völkisch* organizations like the Bund Nationaler Studenten. In 1951 an Association of the Friends of the Works of E.G. Kolbenheyer was launched in 1951 with a journal, *Der Bauhüttenbrief*. Kolbenheyer died on 12 April 1962 in Munich.

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KOSOLA, Vihtori Iisakki (1884–1936)

Leader of the Finnish Lapua Movement.

Kosola was born on 10 July 1884 in Ylihärmä and went to the agricultural training college in Orisberg for two years after elementary school. He took up farming and cattle-breeding, raising a large herd of domestic Finnish cattle, and became interested in the farmers' organization. He was chairman of the local young farmers in South Ostrobothnia (Etälä-Pohjanmaa) and a member of the provincial Agricultural Board.

He became involved in anti-Russian activities, protesting from 1905 against compulsory national service before the First World War and continued to fight for independence during the war, a cause which resulted in imprisonment in Shpalernaya prison, St Petersburg from February 1916 to 1917. As a member of the Jäger movement and responsible for rear supplies in South Ostrobothnia, Kosola had arranged the escape of young men to Germany.

When the Russian Revolution broke out Kosola was released from prison and became a leading figure in the War of Independence, first as a machine-gunner and then as commander of a machine-gun company. He also took part in the Estonian War of Independence and fought in Olonets (Aunus) and other areas of Soviet Karelia for a Greater Finland. Back in South Ostrobothnia he joined the strike-breaking organization Vientirauha (Export peace) as its local organizer.

In 1929 he was one of the prime movers behind the creation of the Lapua Movement which was ostensibly a militant farmers' organization opposed to trade unionism and demanding the suppression of all communist activity but was, in fact, not only financed by industrial interests but was used by the more respectable right as a powerful threat against the left. From local organizer and treasurer, a responsibility which gave rise to rumours of embezzlement of funds, Kosola took up the chairmanship of the formally registered movement in 1930.

As chairman he presided over the increasing threat of the Lapua Movement to the democratic state from the reign of terror of summer 1930 to the Mäntsälä revolt of February 1932 when Lapua forces took over the town, north of Helsinki, and demanded the resignation of the cabinet. Kosola had turned down a ministerial post offered by Svinhufvud because the latter had suppressed the Lapua journal *Aktivistit*. Kosola, however, was an unlikely leader of such a movement; an alcoholic and a believer in occult forces, faith-healing and sorcery, he was notorious for his absentmindedness, having once mislaid his speech during the great farmers' march on Helsinki in July 1930. He aped Mussolini in gesture, pose and dress.

After the proceedings taken against the leaders of Lapua as a result of the Mäntsälä events, Kosola was imprisoned, and in autumn 1932 staged a hunger strike; after considerable pressure he was released to assume the chairmanship of the new movement which had been launched in April to continue the impetus of Lapua after its proscription. Although he considered himself chosen by God to lead the new Isänmaallinen Kansanliike (People's Patriotic Movement), he was in reality only a figurehead, the actual leader being Vilho Annala (*q.v.*). After a brief reappearance on the political scene at the head of a column of 200 men outside the Social Democratic club in Lapua, he withdrew into retirement so successfully that two years after his death, on 14 December 1936, in Lapua the party paper *Ajan Suunta* did not even mark the anniversary.

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KRATZENBERG, Damian (1878–1946)

Professor and head of the pro-Nazi Volksdeutsch Bewegung in Luxemburg who became the major collaborator with the Germans during the war.

Born on 5 November 1878 in Clerf, the son of a German father who had taken Luxembourg nationality, Kratzenberg studied in Lille and Berlin, received a doctorate in philology and philosophy in 1902 and in 1906 was appointed professor of philology. Although brought up in a devout Catholic environment, he developed atheistic and anti-clerical views and their secular counterpart a liberal/leftish political inclination. In 1907 he joined the Volksbildungsverein, founded by left-wing anti-clericals as a direct response to the Katholische Volksschule; Kratzenberg was president of the union from 1932 to 1934. From 1912 until 1935 he was a member of the student movement, the General Association of Luxembourg Students.

As a leading member of the Liberal Party from 1927 to 1936, he regarded the *Machtergreifung* in Germany as a tragedy for that country but continued to be an enthusiast for German culture in all its manifestations, a devotion which necessitated at first a clear differentiation between the purely cultural field and Nazi politics. The distinction was in a short time to become blurred in Kratzenberg's mind and to disappear entirely as he came to believe increasingly in Hitler's 'mission'. On 26 April 1934 the *Luxemburger Gesellschaft für Deutsche Literatur und Kunst* had been established to propagate the German language and culture and to act as a counterweight to the *Alliance Française*. This organization became a vehicle for Nazi propaganda, though until the German invasion of May 1940 it made a relatively blunt impact. Kratzenberg took over the chairmanship of GEDELIT in October 1935.

In the aftermath of the German invasion the Volksdeutsche Bewegung was established on 13 July

1940; this was to be the only legally permitted political party in Luxemburg. Kratzenberg gained the title *Landesleiter* but in reality after 2 August when Gustav Simon (*q.v.*) became head of the civil authority, he played only a passive and secondary role. Although unwilling to take major decisions in the political field, he served Simon as an uncritical propagandist. To call him the Quisling of Luxemburg, as some have done, is to overestimate his power of independent action and manoeuvre. With the slogan '*Heim ins Reich*', the VdB advocated not only the cultural unity of the two countries but after September 1940 a full Anschluss.

In September 1944 Kratzenberg fled to Germany, first to Trier then to Koblenz and finally to Weissenburg on the German/Austrian border, where he was discovered on 4 September 1945. Tried in a Luxemburg court in July 1946 he was sentenced to death on 1 August and executed by firing squad on 11 October 1946.

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KRÜGER, Gerhard (1908–)

German National Socialist, after the war leading member of the Sozialistische Reichs-Partei.

Born on 6 December 1908 in Mottlau (Danzig), the son of a sea captain and a Norwegian mother, Krüger was a member of the Bund Oberland before, as a student in Leipzig from 1926, becoming a member of the SA and the NSDAP (1928). A Nazi student group leader in Leipzig and Greifswald, in 1933 he was a full-time party functionary as chairman of the Deutsche Studentenschaft. In 1933 he was arrested for unruly behaviour against the Reich Interior Minister. He completed his dissertation from Leipzig University in 1934 on the theme 'Students and Revolution'.

In 1936 he was appointed to a post under *Reichsleiter* Bouhler (*q.v.*) as ministerial leader of the Investigating Committee for the Protection of National Socialist Literature; his special responsibility was to ensure that economic works conformed with Nazi principles. He was the author of *Das Unzerstörbare Reich* (The Indestructable Reich) and a biography of

Adolf Hitler. In 1942 he worked for Martin Luther (1895–1945), the leader of the German section of the Foreign Office, and then as cultural attaché in the German Embassy in Paris under Otto Abetz (q.v.). Dismissed for a minor misdemeanour, he joined the army as an SA regiment commander in January 1942, but was then appointed lecturer in history in the University of Strasbourg and later a professor in Posen.

In 1944 he was appointed head of training in the South-Westphalian area. Interned after the war by the British in Staumühle, he was treated by a denazification court as a lesser offender. He later became a textile sales representative. Despite a ten-year ban on political activity, he nevertheless, in May 1949, founded with Herbert Böhme an anti-Christian and *völkisch* Volksbund für Geistesfreiheit and in the following month became a member of the Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Deutscher. He then joined the Deutsche Reichs-Partei and became one of its leading spokesmen with Fritz Dorls and Remer (q.v.). He left the DRP to form the more ideologically pure Sozialistische Reichs-Partei, on 21 October 1949 with Dorls, Remer and others in which the *Führerprinzip* was a more obvious determinant. Krüger was vice-chairman of the party council. In 1953 after the collapse and proscription of the SRP, he joined the Deutsche Aufbau Partei.

Krüger launched the *Nationaler Buchdienst* in 1956 in Bisperode near Hameln to distribute the works of various neo-Nazi and *völkisch* authors, including Peter Kleist (1900–71), Hans Grimm (q.v.), Kernmayer (q.v.), Degrelle (q.v.) and Bardèche (q.v.). By 1957 he added to it the book club known as *Das Reich im Buch*. Krüger had for some time been a contributor to the neo-Nazi *Nation Europa*. In 1961 he was a candidate in South Hanover for the Bundestag on behalf of the Deutsche Reichs-Partei which he had rejoined. In 1962 he became a member of the executive board of the Deutsche Freiheits Partei. He was interviewed in December 1981 by Giles and was believed to be still alive in the mid-1980s.

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KUBE, Wilhelm (1887–1943)

German National Socialist gauleiter and, after Operation Barbarossa, Reich Commissioner for Belorussia.

Born in Glogau on 13 November 1887, the son of a sergeant in the army and later a tax official, Kube was a student from 1908 to 1912 in Berlin University. In 1909 he co-founded the Deutschvölkische Studentenverband in the university and was connected with the radical right circle around Fritsch (q.v.) and Bartels (q.v.). As a student he was a regular reader of the organ of the anti-Semitic Deutscher Reformpartei, the *Staatsbürgerzeitung*. From 1911 to 1914 he was the editor of the *Deutschvölkische Hochschulblätter* (Berlin), the organ of the DV Studentenverband as well as the editor of various *völkisch* journals in Weimar and Breslau. In 1911 he joined the Deutschsoziale Partei. During the First World War he briefly performed his military service in the home guard, having been exempted front line duty because of a heart condition.

He resumed his political activities in 1919 as general secretary of the Silesian section of the conservative DNVP in Breslau and later of the Berlin section. In 1922 he was *Reichsführer* of the Bismarck Youth in Erlangen and in the same year elected city councillor in Berlin representing the DNVP. Kube abandoned the DNVP in September 1923 for the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei which with elements from the banned NSDAP became the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei. Kube was general secretary and Berlin gauleiter of the DVFP and was elected to the Reichstag on 4 May and again in November 1924 for the NSFP. He founded in 1926 the Völkisch-Socialist Working Association in Greater Berlin. It was in February 1928 that he joined the NSDAP and became Nazi faction leader in the Prussian Landtag in May. He was editor of the gau journal *Märkische Adler*. That the party was short of good leadership material is confirmed by the fact that in September 1928, shortly after he joined the party, Kube was made leader of the new Gau Ostmark (Frankfurt an der Oder). Kube played a major role with his colleague Frick (q.v.) in the Nazi election successes in 1932. In March 1933 he was designated *Oberpräsident* of Brandenburg and gauleiter of Gau Kurmark (Gau Ostmark and Gau Brandenburg combined) on 1 June, a post he held until 1936. As *Oberpräsident* he failed entirely to gain control over the Prussian government machinery which was firmly in the hands of Göring (q.v.), Frick and Daluge (q.v.); as gauleiter, he demonstrated himself to be a corrupt opportunist who was fond of the trappings of

power, with personal servants waiting on him at meal times. (He demanded that church bells should be rung as he travelled around the Ostmark.) It was a combination of a personal scandal in which he made one of his secretaries pregnant and his antagonizing of Buch (*q.v.*), whom he accused of having a Jewish wife, which led to his downfall in 1936.

Drawn out of semi-retirement, Kube was appointed Reich Commissioner for White Russia on 17 July 1941 with headquarters in Minsk after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. He continued his corrupt progress and lived like a colonial governor, possibly a shade more benevolent than some of his neighbouring Commissioners. His penchant for political blackmail stood him in good stead. As Reich Commissioner he presided over the exploitation of White Russia on behalf of the Reich and successfully implemented its racial policies. Kube had a long-standing history of virulent anti-Semitism from his early *völkisch* days and in 1934 had said: 'the plague-carrier [Jews] must be removed and isolated.' On the whole, the Belorussians were treated better than the Jews; in July 1942 Kube boasted: 'In the past ten weeks in White Russia we have liquidated about 500,000 Jews.' However, he claimed to find the murder of German Jews unworthy of the land of Kant and Goethe but did not protest about the murder of Russian or Polish Jews. In March 1942 he incurred the wrath of Himmler and the SS when he withheld German Jews from execution by shooting; he blamed the SS not only for encroaching on his authority but also for the speedy liquidations which threatened his fiefdom with economic crisis by removing potential labour.

Kube became the victim of rising partisan activity and was killed by a bomb placed under his bed by a servant working for the anti-Nazi resistance on 22 September 1943 in Minsk. Himmler believed that the main saboteur of his extermination plans had met his demise and declared his death a blessing for the Reich.

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KUHN, Fritz (1896–1951)

Führer of the pro-Nazi German-American Bund.

Kuhn was born into a lower-middle-class family in Munich on 18 May 1896. He served in the First World War as a machine-gunner on the Western Front and later in Romania, Italy and Serbia. Like many of his fellow ex-servicemen in the dislocated times that followed the end of the war, he joined the Freikorps Epp in 1919 and in 1921 the Freikorps Oberland, from which he moved into the NSDAP. Having studied chemical engineering for a few terms in the University of Munich and concealing a jail sentence for petty theft in 1921, he emigrated to Mexico in 1923 where he worked until 1927 as an industrial chemist. From there he obtained a post in Detroit working in the Ford Hospital laboratory from which he moved to the Ford Rouge River plant in Dearborn. On 3 December 1934 he became a naturalized US citizen. In the summer of 1933 he had joined a National Socialist front organization, the Friends of New Germany, and by his considerable organizing ability worked his way up through leader of the Detroit local, head of Gau Mittelwest, to become leader of the national organization in succession to Fritz Gissibl in December 1935. Kuhn had been prominent in drafting the new constitution, in Sellersville, Pennsylvania at Camp Deutschhorst in March 1935, which had reaffirmed the leadership principle, a timely manoeuvre which allowed him to become absolute leader of the newly-titled Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund formed at the Buffalo convention in March 1936 from ex-FONG members and various splinter groups. It was at this convention that Kuhn was officially elected *Bundesleiter*.

Despite his flair for organization and business acumen, he made little headway in creating a mass movement. His pronounced German accent and his aping of Hitler's oratorical style, thumbs in his Sam Browne belt and legs apart, did little to convince that his Americanization programme was any more than camouflage. More damaging was his continuing predilection for financial misdemeanour; in December 1939 he was sentenced to 2½ to 5 years in Sing Sing for embezzlement of Bund funds. Kuhn was also known as a frequenter of nightclubs, a playboy and a womanizer, one of his girlfriends being a former Miss America.

The Bund had, in February 1939, reached its apogee with the rally held by Kuhn and his allies in Madison Square Gardens on George Washington's birthday, a rally made famous by the newsreel coverage. After the war Kuhn had his US citizenship revoked and he was deported to Germany where he

was released in April 1946 by the American occupation authorities only to be interned in Dachau by a Bavarian denazification court after his arrest in July 1947. He escaped but was tried *in absentia* in April 1948 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, later reduced to two. He continued his work as a chemist and died in Munich on 14 December 1951.

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LAGARDELLE, Jean-Baptiste Joseph Hubert (1874–1958)

French revolutionary syndicalist, later a supporter of the Vichy government.

Born in Burgand (Haute-Garonne) on 8 July 1874, Hubert Lagardelle studied law in Toulouse and later taught at the Collège Libre des Sciences Sociales de Paris and the New University of Brussels. In 1893 he became joint-secretary of the Groupe Républicain Socialiste which was affiliated to the Parti Ouvrier Français. He was the publisher of *La Jeunesse Socialiste* in 1895 and by the following year a follower of the revolutionary syndicalists who rejected all parliamentary roads to socialism. From January 1899 to 1914 Lagardelle was connected with the journal *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, a period during which he became a disciple of Sorel (*q.v.*), although he was always more concerned with the institutional aspects of syndicalism rather than with the revolutionary heroism of Georges Sorel. In 1902 he joined the Parti Socialiste de France and corresponded with the German socialist Karl Kautsky. As a friend and associate of Benito Mussolini (*q.v.*), then an active Italian socialist, Lagardelle later claimed to have influenced the fascism of the Duce. Lagardelle, however, did not follow Sorel in 1910 in his brief flirtation with the monarchists of Action Française; he made it quite clear that he disapproved of Valois (*q.v.*) and the Cercle Proudhon alike, and that 'we meant to criticize democracy, not to suppress it, but to go beyond it.' From this time on his relations with Sorel were cooler. By 1914 he was a reformist socialist.

In the period after the armistice of 1918, Lagardelle joined Georges Valois' Faisceau movement, in 1931 was the financial backer and chief contributor to Philippe Lamour's journal *Plans* which attempted a synthesis of fascism, communism and American industrialism. 'Industrial civilization will save the world from material and moral exhaustion,' he believed. Mussolini in 1932 acknowledged Lagardelle as an influence along with Sorel and Edouard Berth (1875–1939) on fascism in *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932). In that year Lagardelle secured a post as counsellor to the French ambassador in Rome,

Henry de Jouvenel, and approved Italian fascism for its search for the 'real man' as opposed to that creation of liberal parliamentarism the 'abstract citizen'. Lagardelle was also connected with Bergery's (*q.v.*) Front movement and contributed to its journal *La Flèche*.

Lagardelle's neo-syndicalist and *planiste* views led him to join the Centre Français de Synthèse which was to flourish under the Vichy regime and from 1940 he was also connected with the Institut d'Études Corporatives et Sociales. Lagardelle adhered to Marshal Pétain and the Vichy regime and as Secretary of Labour in 1942 and 1943 introduced the *Chartre du Travail* with its slogan 'solidarity, duty and sacrifice', the culmination of his struggle for an organic state, the antithesis of individualist democracy. Sentenced by the High Court in 1946 to life imprisonment for his part in the deportations of French workers to Germany, he was later released and contributed to right-wing journals like *Écrits de Paris*. An article in *Sidos* (*q.v.*) *Jeune Nation* in October 1958 called him 'one of the greatest figures of the European revolution of the twentieth century'. Lagardelle died on 20 September 1958.

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LAMMERS, Hans-Heinrich (1879–1962)

German National Socialist bureaucrat and Reich Chancellor chief.

Lammers was born on 27 May 1879 in Lublinitz (Upper Silesia), the son of a local veterinary surgeon. His legal training at Breslau University was followed by his practice as a junior lawyer in the Prussian judicial service from 1901 and in 1912 as a county judge in Beuthen (Upper Silesia). On his discharge

from the army after the First World War, in which he won the Iron Cross and later served in the Warsaw occupation authority as a captain in the reserve, Lammers, a convinced monarchist, accepted the new Republic formally rather than wholeheartedly and in 1922 became an adviser in the Ministry of the Interior. As a nationalist and a conservative he joined the DNVP in May 1922, a party he abandoned for the National Socialists in 1932; he had first heard Hitler speak at a National Club meeting. Lammers came to the attention of the Führer through Frick (*q.v.*) who had heard of his reputation as the perfect civil servant; he had also been responsible for a well-received treatise on public law. As a result Lammers was appointed state secretary in charge of the Reich Chancellery on 30 January 1933; he was to retain this post, in which he acted as an indispensable channel between Hitler and his state machinery, until 1945. Where Hitler was disorganized and hated the grind of administrative detail, Lammers provided the bureaucratic competence and the necessary legal expertise; he even argued that Hitler's 'euthanasia' programme should be carried out with a façade of legality.

Lammers, whose main outside interest was as the president of the duelling fraternities, became Minister without Portfolio in 1937. Although he argued at the Nuremberg Tribunal that he was no more than a secretary, he had an encyclopaedic knowledge of the day-to-day workings of the vast bureaucratic machine of state until he was outmanoeuvred and up-staged by Bormann (*q.v.*) who in 1942 imposed himself between Hitler and Lammers, reducing the latter to the role of office manager; Bormann kept a special file on Lammers in order to be able to use him. As a member of the 'Committee of Three' which regulated all orders to be signed by Hitler, with Bormann in charge of party affairs, Lammers of the administrative sector and Keitel of military affairs, Lammers (who served on it until ousted in January 1945) was gradually squeezed out by Bormann who took advantage of the ambiguity between areas of party and state jurisdiction; Lammers even lost his powers to mediate in disputes between gauleiters. A Ministerial Councillor for Reich Defence in 1939 and honorary SS General in the following year, he was given an estate by Bormann in May 1944.

Lammers was briefly placed under house arrest on 23 April 1945 in the last days of the war but he was able to join Göring in his escape to Obersalzberg. In the Wilhelmstrasse trial after the war on 11 April 1949 he was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for complicity in the extermination of the Jews

but in 1951 the sentence was commuted to ten years and on 16 December of that year remitted, and Lammers was released from Landsberg prison. He lived in Düsseldorf until his death on 4 January 1962.

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LANGBEHN, August Julius (1851–1907)

German völkisch art critic and leading writer of the 'conservative revolution'.

Julius Langbehn was born on 26 March 1851 in Hadersleben (North Schleswig, now Haderslev in Denmark), the son of a schoolmaster in the local Gymnasium. The family was driven out of Danish Schleswig and moved to Kiel. It is tempting to see the origins of his later call for German youth to rise against their fathers as arising out of his early sufferings at the hands of a stern, disciplinary father, and a dependence on his mother, who was later committed to a mental asylum. Langbehn studied chemistry and natural sciences in Kiel University and in 1872 archaeology and art in the University of Munich. He volunteered for military service during the Franco-Prussian war and fought in Le Mans and Orléans; he was invalidated out as a result of rheumatism. His dissertation on Greek sculpture was completed in 1880. Langbehn never overcame the desire to be an eternal student, to live a Bohemian life which after 1890 became increasingly isolated. With a passion for anonymity and secrecy, the melancholic, moody, quarrelsome writer, who could sit for hours caressing his own portrait, developed, like the youthful Barrès (*q.v.*), a cult of the self, a narcissism which was later to lead him into a world of fantasy and self-obsession. Langbehn demanded utter devotion from his followers and acolytes.

In 1890 his prophetic work *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Rembrandt the Teacher) appeared anonymously. It traced the influence of 'the painter of truth and simplicity', the purveyor of the Germanic spirit of enlightenment who stood in contrast to the superficiality of contemporary culture, on the spiritual and intellectual life of the German people. *Rembrandt* was a huge success with the younger generation. The painter as portrayed in the book was merely a starting-point for a meditation on the restorative

value of art and the importance of the creative individual in a corrupt world. Despite his training in the natural sciences, Langbehn rejected the pseudo-certainties of science which were anathema to German culture. In this and in his other writings he denounced the Americanization of German life through materialism and the spirit of commerce. 'The teacher ought to be an artist and is a manufacturer.' Known as the 'Rembrandt German' his dismissal of the prevailing fashion for positivism in favour of an irrational neo-romanticism had great appeal to the German youth movement. The Wandervogel was largely a product of this Langbehnian cult.

Langbehn's ideas for all their claims to apoliticism had vast political implications. His elitism ('Equality is death, Hierarchy is life'), his defence of egocentricity and of instinct as a sound basis for political behaviour, his belief in an unsophisticated peasant *Volk* as a storehouse of German virtue, and his rejection of the principles of the French Revolution, all made him a hero of the 'conservative revolution'. 'Social democracy . . . constitutes a regression to the herd-principle,' he observed. Over the different editions of *Rembrandt* there appears an increasingly anti-Semitic note. Jews are a 'cholera' who everywhere sympathize with decay and control high finance. Denouncing parliamentary politics, Langbehn took comfort in a 'hidden emperor' who would release the *Volk* from the thralldom of decadence. Only Karl Lueger (q.v.) of contemporary politicians offered a glimmer of hope. Converted to Catholicism in 1900, Langbehn died on 30 April 1907 in Rosenheim.

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LANGE, Friedrich (1852–1917)

German radical nationalist of the Wilhelmine period.

Lange was born on 10 January 1852 in Goslar; he was trained as a philologist and philosopher in Göttingen University. In his search for the creation of a national religion for *Deutschum*, he became a disciple of Paul de Lagarde (1827–91). From 1873 to 1876 Lange worked as a secondary school teacher in Wolfenbüttel and then in Hamburg. From 1882 to 1895 he edited the *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin), having earlier served the same function on the *Braun-*

schweiger Tageblatt. A product of the world of the *Burschenschaften* fraternity movement with their tradition of *grossdeutsch* nationalism, Lange was involved with Carl Peters, the founder of the Society for German Colonization, but he never belonged to the Pan-German League although he shared its ideology which aimed to stir in each German 'the warming flame of community' in order to become 'richer in the love of his brothers, because he is a good German'.

A racial anti-Semite, who believed in the notion of an Aryan aristocracy, Lange took quite seriously the idea that the Jews had always been 'a plague on practically all humanity' and needed to be beaten back 'with all legal means and steadfast will'. His *Reines Deutschtum* (Pure Germanism) of 1891 castigated the spread of cosmopolitanism; in 1893 he wrote an anti-capitalist play, *Der Nächste*, in an acknowledgement that anti-Semitism by itself was not enough. Lange launched in 1894 his own version of a *Burschenschaft*, the *Deutschbund*, which excluded Jews. He hoped by a process of slow Fabian infiltration and ideological subversion to convert more powerful organizations like the Pan-German League to full-blown biological anti-Semitism. Falling out with his staff on *Tägliche Rundschau* he founded in 1896 the *Deutsche Zeitung* which in 1917 was to be taken over by the Pan-German League. Though he was not affiliated to the German parliamentary anti-Semitic movement neither was he hostile to it.

Lange represented a strain of radical and revolutionary nationalism which set him apart from those in the tradition of what he called the 'self-deceiving', reactionary nationalism of Arndt and Jahn; he advocated a kind of 'national socialism' with a racial ideology and although his ideas were often muddled and mystical he campaigned for concrete issues like school reform, colonial expansion, and anti-clerical measures. He also had links with the Society of German Engineers and did not reject the natural sciences; in fact, he could be considered something of a modernizer. In 1902 he founded the anti-socialist National Reich Elections League which sought to unite the national parties for the coming elections but in 1905 this was absorbed into the Pan-German-inspired Reich League against Social Democracy.

Lange was a member of the expansionist Eastern Marches Society and editor of the *Zeitschrift für die Reform der Höheren Schule*. In 1912 he retired from the *Deutschbund* and died in Detmold on 26 December 1917. Lange was to have a considerable influence on the German youth movement, the Wandervogel founded in 1901.

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LANGOTH, Franz (1877–1953)

Upper Austrian Pan-German and later National Socialist politician who directed the Nazi aid organization NS-Volkswohlfahrt.

Born on 20 August 1877 in Linz, the son of a miller and flour merchant, Langoth was brought up in a Catholic family. He taught after 1896 in several places near Linz. In 1909 he was elected to the Provincial Landtag as a *Freiheitlich* (libertarian) but became known as a German nationalist. He fought in the First World War, first as an under-officer and then as a lieutenant; he was later in the *Landsturm* (Home Guard).

After the war in 1918/19 Langoth headed the provincial security committee in Linz as a passionate devotee of Anschluss and of hierarchical *völkisch* values, although he worked closely with the so-called Red Prelate, Johan Nepomuk Hauser, the governor of Upper Austria and had contacts with certain Social Democratic elements. From 1918 he became deputy *Landeshauptmann* (deputy chief of the local administration) and security director. He gained a reputation as an effective and level-headed organizer of local militias and police in preserving public order. He was elected to the Upper Austrian provincial parliament representing Linz in 1918, a seat he held until 1934. He became one of the principal creators of the Grossdeutsche Volkspartei (Pan-Germans) which he served as provincial chairman.

In May 1932 Chancellor Dollfuss offered him the post of Federal Minister of Police Security which he turned down. As an enemy of the Heimwehr he upset the Federal Minister of Security and leading Heimwehr member, Fey (*q.v.*), by banning their marches in Upper Austria. It was under Langoth's

influence that many Pan-Germans joined the National Socialist camp. Langoth himself joined both the NSDAP and the SS in March 1933; he was eventually to attain the rank of *SS-Brigadeführer* in 1944. He was later to claim that he had joined the NSDAP in 1938 although it is clear that he had had Nazi sympathies as early as November 1932. Langoth was forced to resign as local security chief in May 1933, but continued until 1934 as *Landesrat* (senior administrative official in Upper Austria), as a result of Fey's influence and because of his Nazi connections at a time in May/June when the party was proscribed.

Langoth began to work for the Hilfswerk organization set up to give aid to illegal Nazis. Following the *putsch* of July 1934 this became the Österreichische Flüchtlingshilfswerk with Langoth at its head; Chancellor Schuschnigg tended to turn a blind eye to the activities of this organization. In 1936 Schuschnigg allowed a legalized version of the organization which, while acting as a charity front, passed money to prominent pro-Nazis. Langoth's other claim to fame was as an intermediary between Dollfuss and the exiled leader of the Austrian Nazis, Habicht (*q.v.*). As a moderate Nazi he also took a leading part in efforts to negotiate with the Schuschnigg regime after the abortive *putsch*. As part of the National Front founded on 5 March 1935 in Linz, involving Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*) and Reinhaller (*q.v.*), he tried to persuade the government to accept the legal activity of the SA and the SS in return for Nazi cooperation with the Chancellor.

After the Anschluss Langoth became *Gauamtsleiter* in charge of the NS-Volkswohlfahrt, the National Socialist League for Public Welfare in 1939. He also served in the Reichstag for Linz from 1938 to 1945. From January 1944 until the liberation by the Americans he was the Mayor of Linz. After internment in Glaserbach near Salzburg he moved to Bad Goisern where he died on 17 April 1953.

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LANZ, Adolf Josef (known as Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels) (1874–1955)

Austrian racist and occultist who influenced the National Socialist Weltanschauung.

Lanz was born on 19 July 1874 in Vienna-Penzing, the son of a schoolmaster. An enthusiast for a romanticized medieval past and in particular for the Templar Knights, Lanz entered the Cistercian Order as Fra Georg in Heiligenkreuz Abbey near Vienna in 1893 and from this early religious influence was to develop his curious pseudo-religious, racial philosophy which led him to a belief in the 'castration knife' as a eugenic aid and to the idea of racial beauty contests. His dualistic system identified the good with the heroic men, *Asings* or *Heldings* who were in eternal struggle with a race of evil dwarfs, the ape-like *Äfflings* or *Schrättings*. Lanz left holy orders in 1899. His bizarre gnostic amalgam was most fully expostulated in his *Theozoology* (1901). From 1905 Lanz, having been a contributor to Fritsch's (*q.v.*) *Hammer-Blätter*, launched his own journal *Ostara* to spread his unusual ideas of battles with lower races whose liquidation was a matter of Darwinist necessity, of 'racial struggle including the castration knife', of breeding stations and heroic men who could best be recognized by the length of their big toes, etc.

The evidence suggests that the young Hitler may have read *Ostara* in Vienna and almost certainly contacted Lanz in 1909 although Hans Deuerlein was sceptical about the general influence of Lanz on Hitler's outlook. On Christmas Day 1907 Lanz raised the swastika banner over his newly-acquired Austrian castle, Burg Werfenstein, bought for him with money donated by admirers. The actual vehicle for Lanz's racial gnosis with sexual overtones was to be the *Ordo Novi Templi* (Order of New Templars) founded in 1907. After 1918 he was able to solicit considerable funds for the ONT from the Viennese industrialist Johann Walthari Wölfl, the man responsible for the Lumen Club founded in 1932 as a front for the ONT, soon to be suppressed by the Gestapo in December 1938. One of Lanz's few forays into overt politics was during the Hungarian counter-revolution in 1918/19 through his membership of Ebreď Magyarok (Awakening Hungarians). He was a direct influence on early Nazis like Eckart (*q.v.*) and Artur Dinter (1876–1948), on the Ludendorff (*q.v.*) Circle, and on Himmler and his SS Race and Settlement Office but Lanz had an ambivalent attitude to the Nazi movement after the Anschluss. The ONT had petered out by 1943 but Lanz survived until 22 April 1955; he died in Vienna.

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LANZILLO, Agostino (1886–1952)

Italian Sorelian syndicalist then Fascist academic, intellectual and economist.

Born in Reggio Calabria on 31 October 1886, Lanzillo studied law in the University of Rome. He was active in syndicalist circles from 1908. Author of the first biography of Georges Sorel (*q.v.*) in 1910, he was a frequent contributor to *Divenire Sociale* and *Pagine Libre*. Lanzillo had close relations with Sorel, who often arranged journalistic posts for him, and particularly admired his critique of democracy; he was prepared to defend Sorel in his controversial if brief flirtation with Action Française. In fact, Lanzillo, who had been expelled from the Socialist Party in 1908 was himself concerned to find an accommodation with the radicals of the right like Maurras (*q.v.*) and was a contributor to Prezzolini's *La Voce* (*q.v.*).

A strong interventionist, Lanzillo contributed to Mussolini's organ of revolutionary interventionism *Il Popolo d'Italia*. In November 1914 he was one of the founders of the Fascio Rivoluzionario d'Azione di Roma. His political outlook remained Sorelian in his acceptance of the Heraclitean motto *Polemos pater panton*. In this fluid situation the war had produced a new revolutionary elite not connected with any particular socio-economic group. Lanzillo emphasized the connection between the twin forces of syndicalism and nationalism. In 1918 he wrote *La Disfatta del Socialismo*, a critique of orthodox socialism, which had a great impact on Mussolini, and in 1919, *La Dittatura del Proletariato*, which argued that the proletariat was too backward to form a revolutionary vanguard in the novelty of the post-war situation. His Sorelianism came to full flower with his assertion of the need for 'creative violence' and the necessity for psychological preparation by the proletariat. In 1919 he became a member of the central committee of the Fasci di Combattimento and in November was included on their list of electoral candidates.

Lanzillo became one of the most influential of fascist intellectuals, working as professor in the

Institute of Economics and Finance in the University of Bocconi (1920–2) and then taught political economy in the University of Milan. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, was a representative on the Commission of Fifteen (later Eighteen) and on the National Council of Corporations. In 1923 he taught in the University of Cagliari (Sardinia). Although he held comparatively open views about syndicalism and, indeed, some of his views on topics like free trade bordered on the liberal, he had few doubts about the need for a syndical state run by technical experts, an alternative to liberal, parliamentary democracy. His views on fascism evolved little through the 1920s and 1930s but the independence of these and especially his hostility to Alfredo Rocco's (*q.v.*) more fashionable authoritarian concepts led inevitably to a diminution of his influence. He was on the supreme council on education and in 1934 returned from Cagliari to become Rector of the Regio Istituto Superiore di Economica e Commercio in Venice (1935–8).

In February 1944 he escaped to Switzerland after joining the opposition. After the war he edited *Il Tempo* in Milan, became a communal councillor, and contributed to *Corriere della Sera*. Lanzillo died on 3 March 1952 in Milan, almost forgotten.

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LA ROCQUE DE SEVERAC, François, Comte de (1885–1946)

Leader of the French Croix de Feu.

François de La Rocque was born in Lorient (Morbihan) on 6 October 1885, the son of Raymonde Comte de La Rocque, a royalist general, into a strict, aristocratic, Catholic family. Educated in Saint-Cyr Military Academy, he served in the cavalry in Algeria and Morocco from 1906 to 1916. Seriously wounded in 1916, he ended the war as a commandant but with a 55 per cent disability. La Rocque served as Marshal Foch's *État Major* in 1919 and represented him in Poland from 1921 to 1923. He had volunteered in 1920 for the Polish army to help to stem the Red Army advance towards Warsaw. In the mid-1920s he returned to Morocco to take part in the Riff War, became chief of the Deuxième Bureau and returned to Foch's staff.

The Croix de Feu, with which La Rocque's name

will always be associated, was founded in November 1927 by Maurice Hanot (known as d'Hartoy) as the Association Nationale des Combattants, an organization with no political programme or ambitions. La Rocque left the army in 1928, joined the ANC in November 1929 and by December 1931 was president of the Croix de Feu. Under his presidency the new organization took a decidedly political turn with an anti-communist and later an anti-Popular Front orientation but more potent than its specific policies was an underlying mystique about a 'national reconciliation'. La Rocque rejected any connection with fascism and stressed the spirituality of the movement despite certain superficial paramilitary trappings, resembling those of foreign movements. The exact nature of the movement, whether it was merely political boy scoutism, fascism, or an authoritarian anti-parliamentary movement in the tradition of Boulangism, is a matter of dispute.

The movement was expanded in 1933 to include the Ligue des Volontaires Nationaux which was open also to non-combatants. La Rocque, who was reserved, cautious, reticent and rather lacking in colour, was a moderating influence during the riotous events of 6 February 1934 when he discouraged an attack on the Palais Bourbon. In June 1936 he refused to join Doriot's (*q.v.*) Front de la Liberté and issued a warning to his followers about the dangers of belonging to the Cagoule. Following the proscription of the paramilitary leagues in June 1936 by the Popular Front government, a prohibition that included the Movement Social Français des Croix de Feu, La Rocque set up instead the Parti Social Français which claimed to be '*ni à droite, ni à gauche*'; it called for the revision of the constitution in favour of a strengthened executive, for class reconciliation, and for curbs on the right to strike.

After the armistice in 1940, La Rocque relaunched his journal *Le Petit Journal* (begun in 1937) in Clermont Ferrand in July but his PSF was to be absorbed into the Légion des Combattants, the Vichy ex-servicemen's organization. During the early years of the *Revolution Nationale*, La Rocque was generally supportive and sent observers to Déat's (*q.v.*) Comité de Constitution du Parti Unique (although he rejected any notion of a single party), an attempt to unite the parties of thoroughgoing collaboration. In 1941 he was appointed a national councillor and to the insubstantial post of *chargé de mission* to Pétain's cabinet. However, he forbade his supporters to join the anti-Bolshevik Légion des Volontaires Français and later the Milice. Opposed to De Gaulle, he was nevertheless arrested and

deported to Ravensbrück in March 1943 for suggesting to Pétain the need for contacts with the Allies. From mid-1942 he supplied the British with military intelligence.

Released by the Americans after the Liberation he was rearrested by the French police on 8 May 1945 and imprisoned in the attic of a barracks in Versailles. Under a decree applying to 'individuals dangerous for national defence or public security', he was held under house arrest at Croissy, losing weight and in poor health, vainly appealing to De Gaulle, who, in one of the shabbier episodes of his life, refused to reply to La Rocque's letters. His detention was later found by a commission of enquiry to be illegal and he was posthumously awarded by De Gaulle the medal of resistance deportees. He died on 28 April 1946.

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LAROCHE, Lyndon Hermyle (1922–)

American maverick ex-Trotskyist, founder of the National Democratic Policy Committee, considered by many to be on the extreme right and by Congressman Fazio of California to be 'a threat to our democratic institutions'.

LaRouche was born in Rochester, NH, on 8 September 1922 into a Quaker family. He attended Northeastern University in Boston from 1940 but did not fare well academically and although he returned in 1946 he emerged without a degree. He served in the army between 1944 and 1946 and was briefly close to the Communist Party of the United States before joining the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in January 1949. At this time and well into the early 1970s he seems to have been a sincere and ideologically pure Marxist. He was expelled from the SWP in 1966 and began to court the Students for a Democratic Society, a significant New Left organization whose extreme wing, the Maoist Progressive

Labor party, LaRouche was particularly anxious to influence. LaRouche gained control of the SDS Labor Committee, an elitist hard core which eventually, in the wake of the SDS split, became known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees. His campaigns at this time were still distinctively left-wing with attacks in the Mid-West on international bankers but this combined with his increasingly fierce anti-communism and his belief that the Rockefellers were engineering a nuclear apocalypse tipped over into pure conspiracy theory. In 1973, as Dennis King has aptly described, he 'launched his followers on the most extraordinary odyssey in the history of American extremism: a journey to the farthest limits of the left and from thence, by circuitous paths, to the outermost reaches of the right'. A study of fascism had convinced him of the need for a more populist ideology and in the same year he began 'Operation Mop Up' designed to supplant the Communist Party on the extreme left by naked strong-arm tactics.

In his professional life he abandoned the L.H. LaRouche Research management consultancy in 1966, and in 1975 launched and edited the *Executive Intelligence Review*. This was the basis of what has been described as 'one of the best private intelligence services in the world'. As a militant anti-communist he stood as the presidential candidate for the NCLC-controlled US Labor Party in 1976. In 1979 the LaRouchians entered the Democratic Party and in 1980 he stood in the Democratic presidential primary election in New Hampshire, a year in which he also founded his National Democratic Policy Committee. In 1984 he stood for the presidency as an Independent Democrat with negligible success. His strategy has been to try to take over the Democratic Party by a policy of entryism designed to gain access to the system. His methods have been called Leninist involving a small elite inner cadre of dedicated activists attempting to manipulate a mass population. On 18 March 1986 the LaRouchians won a double victory in the Illinois Democratic primary elections when two of their nominees were selected as candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State. LaRouche, who considers himself a conservative Democrat and employs an aggressive and belligerent oratorical style, set himself the task of replacing candidates for office in the Democratic Party with his own candidates, starting at the bottom with school boards and city councils, a level at which he had a certain success in the mid-1980s.

LaRouche has been the latest well-known representative of what Richard Hofstadter called the 'paranoid style in American politics'. 'History is nothing

but conspiracies', he has declared, and he has postulated the most bizarre and elaborate conspiracy in American history, one involving Henry Kissinger, 'an agent of the British'; Walter Mondale, a 'Soviet agent of influence'; Queen Elizabeth, who directs an international system of drug trafficking from Buckingham Palace; the Jews (B'nai B'rith is the 'special political-intelligence arm of London-centered financial interests commonly linked to the Montefiore's and the Rothschilds'); and the hated British (Hitler was apparently 'a creation of the right-wing of British Intelligence'). Resurrecting a historic, populist Mid-West tradition of anti-British feeling (compare Mayor William Hale Thompson (1867–1944) of Chicago), he has argued that Britain runs Israel as 'a zombie state'. His foreign policy is built on the twin pillars of anti-Zionism and anti-communism.

He has called for a return to the gold standard, supports the American nuclear industry, advocates low interest rates, and, as the cornerstone of his defence policy, invokes the need for MX missiles and a 'Star Wars' strategy. He became notorious in the late 1980s for his call to have victims of the AIDS virus quarantined, and for his advocacy of a military-style war on the international drug trade. In 1983 LaRouche moved into a heavily-guarded headquarters in Leesburg, Virginia, worth \$1.3 million. From there he has been the instigator and the victim alike of copious litigation. In 1984 he brought a law suit for libel against NBC but was ordered to pay \$3 million (later reduced to \$200,000) damages in a counter-claim that he had interfered in legitimate news gathering. In 1986 the preliminary findings of a grand jury investigation suggested 'an extensive nationwide pattern' of credit-card fraud by LaRouche supporters, and LaRouche himself was sentenced on 7 January 1989 in Alexandria to 15 years imprisonment for conspiracy to commit mail fraud and eleven counts of actual mail fraud involving \$294,000 in defaulted loans from his supporters. His conviction was still being challenged in October 1989.

LaRouche is exceptionally difficult to categorize and has been called everything from an 'American Whig' to an exemplar of 'American crankism and cultism' (Howe). Terry Michael, a Democratic Party official said of him: 'he isn't ultra right or ultra left. He's ultra crazy'. The conservative publisher, John Rees, believes that he has never really changed in his political orientation and has referred to a 'roast-beef Nazi: brown on the outside, red on the inside'. Dennis King, on the other hand, believes that his move from the extreme left to the extreme right is a genuine move towards fascism.

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LEDESMA RAMOS, Ramiro (1905–36)

Spanish founder of the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista and later a leading Falangist.

Born in Alfaras (Zamora) on 23 May 1905, the son of a village school master, Ledesma worked in Madrid before graduating in 1926 from the Central University with a degree in philosophy and letters and in physical sciences. A philosophical disciple of Ortega y Gasset from whom he learnt his elitism, he later transferred his enthusiasm to Hegel and his organic view of the state and to the metaphysical existentialism of Martin Heidegger (*q.v.*). Employed in various temporary posts and finally as a postal clerk, he wrote for journals like Ortega's *Revista de Occidente* and Gimenez Caballero's (*q.v.*) *La Gaceta Literaria*. Among a whole gallery of literary and political influences were Nietzsche, Unamuno and later Sorel (*q.v.*). According to Southworth, Ledesma was the genius of the Spanish fascist movement who invented its most powerful slogans.

His first public profession of fascism was, perhaps, at the *Gaceta Literaria* banquet at the Café Rombo on 8 January 1930 when he coined the slogan '*Arriba los valores hispanicos*' (Long live Hispanic values). Believing that communism was the enemy of both hierarchy and national revolution and foreseeing a political space for a new movement which would reject the outmoded dogmas of nineteenth-century thought, he launched in 1931 the first Spanish fascist movement around the journal *La Conquista del Estado*. On 3 October he was joined by Onesimo's (*q.v.*) group to form the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista.

Appealing to few (with the notable exception of the Madrid taxi-drivers), the new movement opposed communism, lauded state power, affirmed Spanish values and culture, called for the expropriation of large estates, embraced social justice tempered with discipline and declared itself for imperial expansion and a syndicalist economy. Cold and reserved, Ledesma, who combed his hair in a deliberate imitation of the German National Socialist leader, was not

a charismatic figure. He contributed in 1932 to the single number of *El Fascio* but by 1933 the movement was moribund and Ledesma himself had spent some time in prison. On 11 February 1934 he met José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*), the Falange leader, and it was decided to merge the two forces under the name Falange Española de las JONS with a ruling triumvirate of José Antonio, Ruiz de Alda (*q.v.*) and Ledesma.

Ledesma became president of the Junta Política, was author of the 27-point manifesto, and organizer of the workers' syndicate CONS; he was particularly keen on the integration of the working classes into the national revolution which he planned. In the international field Spain was considered one of the proletarian nations like Germany and Italy which would replace, in the new Europe, the early industrializing and colonialist old powers. Believing in the full mobilization of the state which would entail a militarized education system, nationalization of some industrial enterprises and mines, and action against destructive foreign capital in the shape of Río Tinto and others, Ledesma's radical petty bourgeois ideology was at odds with that of some of the more aristocratic and reactionary elements in the movement.

Ledesma was expelled from the Falange on 16 January 1935 only to launch a journal *La Patria Libre* containing violent polemics against José Antonio. He returned to work for the postal service, his political career consigned to obscurity. He was in the process of founding a new splinter group when he was detained, in the early days of the military rebellion, in the prison de las Ventas and on 29 October 1936 was shot by a firing squad in Aravaca (Madrid). Later youth groups were much influenced by Ledesma's doctrine of national syndicalism.

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LEEMANS, Victor Louis (1901-71)

Flemish extreme-right intellectual and journalist who after the war became president of the European Parliament.

Born on 21 November 1901 in Stekene, Leemans received his teaching certificate from the training college in St Niklaas and until 1936 taught in Stekene. He also studied extensively in France where he was granted his doctorate in sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales. In 1926 he established the journal *Jong Dietschland* of which he was editor until 1930. Of a distinctly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic orientation, he wrote in 1932 a book *Het Nationaal-Socialisme* which had a clearly approving tone. On the foundation of Van Severen's (*q.v.*) Verdinaso, he displayed a brief sympathy but found his long-term home in the VNV founded in 1933. He was to be appointed the secretary-general for economic affairs of this organization. On 28 November 1936 he became president of the short-lived Arbeidsorde, a corporatist organization, and editor of the joint VNV/Rex journal of the same name founded after the ill-fated accord between the two groups on 8 October 1936.

There were idealistic elements in Leemans' make-up which, allied with a naive nationalism, allowed him to collaborate closely with the occupying Germans whom he served from 15 August 1940 to September 1944, first in the Department of Wages and Prices, then as deputy to the Commissioner General for Reconstruction and finally in 1941 as secretary-general of the Department of Economic Affairs, although it must be said that his role in economic affairs was based on a non-doctrinaire and pragmatic approach, influenced by the socialist Henri De Man (*q.v.*).

Arrested after the war, Leemans was interned for two years but in 1947 the decision was taken not to prosecute him for his wartime activities. In 1948 he worked for *De Standaard*, the daily newspaper, and in 1958 was elected to the European Parliament for the Christian Social Party (he was always an ardent Catholic), a party he also represented as president of the parliamentary group in the Senate in 1964. From 24 September 1965 to 7 March 1966 he was president of the European Parliament. He wrote a number of important books among which are *Werner*

Sombart (1938), Søren Kierkegaard (1956), and *De Jonge Marx en de Marxisten* (1963). He died on 3 March 1971 in Leuven.

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LEERS, Johann von (1902–65)

German anti-Semitic propagandist of the Third Reich.

Born in Vietlütbe (Mecklenburg) on 25 January 1902, von Leers studied at Kiel, Berlin and Rostock Universities. Before becoming an attaché at the Foreign Office, he had been involved in the Free Corps movement. He joined the NSDAP in 1929 and served the party in the capacity of a speaker in the Berlin area. He then worked as the ideological training chief of the Nazi Student League from 1931. An accomplished linguist, he was appointed as director of the Department of Foreign Studies of the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik. He became editor-in-chief of Goebbels' (*q.v.*) *Wille und Weg*.

Von Leers was responsible for a large number of anti-Semitic diatribes and polemics including *Juden Sehen Dich An* (The Jews are Looking at You) (1933) and most noxious of all *Der Verbrechernatur der Juden* (1944) which called for the liquidation of the Jews. Von Leers was to be appointed a professor at the University of Jena.

After the war he escaped to Perón's Argentina and became editor of the neo-Nazi *Der Weg*. He also wrote for *Nation Europa*. His main post-war activity, however, was as head of an anti-Israeli propaganda machine in Egypt under Nasser, having been the political adviser to the Information Department under Naguib. Von Leers changed his name to Omar Amin and was converted to Islam. He became a close friend of the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Muhammad Amin Al-Husayni (*q.v.*) and was a vital link in the underground railway established to assist ex-National Socialists on the run. Leers died on 5 March 1965 in Cairo.

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LEESE, Arnold Spencer (1878–1956)

Eccentric British veterinary surgeon who founded the Imperial Fascist League at the age of 50.

Born in 1878 in Lytham (Lancashire) into a middle-class family, the nephew of a baronet, Leese trained as a veterinary surgeon, receiving his diploma in 1903. After three years practising in the East End of London, he worked for twenty years as a specialist in camel diseases in India and Kenya. In 1928 he wrote a study on the camel. He served in the First World War as a member of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps in France and Somaliland and then started a private practice in Stamford; in 1928 he decided to give up his veterinary work in order to concentrate on full-time politics.

A food faddist, teetotaler and anti-smoker as well as a sensitive animal lover, Leese had joined the ultra-conservative British Fascists in 1924. In that year he and Henry Simpson were elected to the local council, perhaps the only candidates to win a contested British election under a fascist label. As the chairman of the local Stamford group, he persuaded it to leave the British fascists which he referred to as the BFs. In November 1928, having absorbed the racist and anti-Semitic ideas of Henry Hamilton Beamish, founder of the Britons, and of Arthur Kitson, a local monetary 'reformer', Leese launched the Imperial Fascist League whose policy was anti-democratic, elitist and vaguely corporatist, but until 1930 not obsessively anti-Semitic, (Jews were not explicitly banned from membership.) This was, however, to change drastically as anti-Semitism grew increasingly to be the motive force of the IFL; race, as Leese put it, was 'the basis of all politics' and fascism, 'less a policy than a state of mind'. Moving to Guildford, Leese dominated the IFL, which consisted at its height of only some 150 members and was dominated in its turn by the leader's racial and anti-Semitic obsessions. Mosley (*q.v.*) was a 'koshier fascist' and the BUF, the British Jewnion of Fascists. His views on Aryan supremacy and on the innate inferiority of 'niggers' and 'gorillas' and on the incompatibility of Christianity and Nordicism were not only crude but derivative. Most of his other views were those of street Conservatism which could be found from many a suburban 'disgusted-of-Tunbridge Wells'; he believed that unmarried men and women were not 'living a normal life'.

In 1936 Leese was charged with creating a public mischief with his accusations of Jewish ritual murder and was sentenced to six months in prison. When Hitler came to power he adopted the swastika as his emblem and fostered a growing admiration for the

Führer. At first he advocated Beamish's plan for solving the 'Jewish question' involving the deportation of all Jews to Madagascar but in 1935 suggested that the only answer was extermination 'by some humane method such as the lethal chamber'. Arrested in November 1940 he was detained under Defence Regulation 18B until February 1944. After the war he described the outcome in his book, *The Jewish War of Survival*, as a victory for international Jewry. In 1947 he was imprisoned for giving assistance to escaped Dutch Waffen-SS men. He issued an information service-style journal *Gothic Ripples* ('an occasional report on the Jewish question for the Jew-wise'). By the time of his death in 1956 he had become the mentor of a young Cambridge 'nationalist', Colin Jordan (1923–) whom Leese made his political heir and to whom his widow handed over Leese's property, No. 74, Princedale Road, London, which, renamed Arnold Leese House, became the headquarters of the neo-Nazi movement of Jordan, John Tyndall and Martin Webster.

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LEMBCKE, Cay (1885?–1965)

Former Danish cavalry officer and later head of the Danish boy scouts who founded the Danish National Socialist Workers' Party in 1930.

An officer in the Garderhussarregiment (Royal Horse Guards), Lembcke resigned in October 1923. Before the First World War he had been the chief of the Danish Boy Scouts Association but was forced to leave because of his attacks on Christianity. He had acquired a strong interest in Norse mythology and scandalized many religious people by declaring that he knew the Norse gods better than he did Christianity. He seemed to have had a talent for arousing hostility for, in October 1923, he declared that he

would rather be a stone-breaker than serve in a comic opera army. The subsequent furore in parliament led to his dismissal from the reserve. He was also known to have opened a shop in Copenhagen selling camping and sports equipment.

In 1926 he published a collection of articles, *Leve Faedrelandet*, which demonstrated among other things an admiration for Mussolini. He was connected with various semi-fascist organizations like Genrejsningsforeningen (the Regeneration Association), which he served on the executive committee, and the Selvstyreforbundet (the Self-government League), which existed for a brief time in 1927. Earlier in April 1924 he had been on the list of *Folketing* candidates for the Radical Liberals. On 16 November 1930 he founded the Danmarks National Socialistiske Arbejder Parti whose programme was based on the German NSDAP's 25 points. It was an attempt to realize National Socialist ideals not through revolution but through constitutional methods. In 1931 Lembcke wrote *Dansk National Socialisme*. A rather ridiculous figure, addicted to the use of a monocle, emotionally unstable, hot-tempered, but also weak, he was Führer only in name and survived as that only for three years. In the November 1932 elections, the party was not able to collect the 10,000 signatures necessary to participate, except in South Jutland where the party's performance was abysmal.

Lembcke was ousted from the leadership in 1933 when he was forced to resign. His policies were in some ways consistent from his time in the Radical Liberals to his disastrous leadership of the DNSAP, being 'pre-fascist', in the sense that he was concerned more with efficient government, the primacy of community over individual interests, and the overcoming of class conflict. He tried after 1933 to create a new National Socialist party but without success. Lembcke survived until 31 January 1965, forgotten except in boy scout circles.

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LEONHARDT, Ernst (1885–1945)

Swiss major and businessman, pro-Nazi propagandist and founder of SGAD.

Born in Tennessee in the United States on 25

September 1885, the son of a German immigrant into Switzerland, Ernst Leonhardt went to school in Basel, after his return from America, where he studied commerce for three years. Eventually, he joined the army and was promoted to major. He later set up his own business.

In November 1932 Leonhardt joined the National Front and by the spring of 1933 was a frequent speaker for the Front. He was appointed *Gauführer* of Basel-Stadt Canton and Solothurn. In the autumn of 1933 following a personality clash with the *Ortsgruppenführer* of the Basel group, Alfred Zander, he abandoned the NF and launched with Emil Sonderegger (*q.v.*), the Volksbund, to which he devoted himself full-time. Leonhardt was not by nature one of life's compromisers nor was he prepared to ingratiate himself with his followers. Arrogant, conceited and with a will to dominate, he was the cause of many resignations and a great deal of dissension in Volksbund ranks. A follower said of his speeches which were usually well-delivered but unoriginal, that every sentence contained 'a patent lie or a demagogic distortion'. Always a germanophile and a pro-Nazi, he was eventually to leave for Germany in March 1939. Before this in 1938 he had founded the SGAD (Schweizerische Gesellschaft der Freunde einer Autoritären Demokratie) which survived until 1941 although it was banned in Switzerland in November 1940. From 1942 until 1944 Leonhardt was also a member of the Nationalsozialistische Bewegung in der Schweiz and from 1941 a leading member of the Nationalsozialistischer Schweizerbund.

After his arrival in Germany, he met a Nazi press agent, Franz Burri, in Frankfurt and the two men initiated a propaganda onslaught against Swiss democracy. Burri's *Internationale Presseagentur* was subsidized by the German government. The Leonhardt/Burri movement formed what amounted to the most abjectly pro-Nazi of all the Swiss extreme right-wing groups. It acted to recruit Swiss volunteers for the SS and propagated the idea of a Union of the German Peoples which would seek the absorption of Switzerland into a Greater German Reich. Leonhardt once declared: 'there is no Swiss people'. Although legal proceedings were initiated against him in November 1939 and he was deprived of his Swiss citizenship in 1943, he remained inviolate in Germany until his death in an air raid in Frankfurt in March 1945.

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LEOPOLD, Josef (1889–1941)

Gauleiter of Lower Austria and leader of the Austrian NSDAP.

Leopold was born on 18 February 1889 in Langenlois (Waldviertal area of Lower Austria) into a peasant family. His father was a small wine-grower and Josef was to work on the family farm after receiving little formal education. On 7 October 1910 he entered the army spending three years in the Infantry Regiment No. 49; by 1913 he had been promoted to sergeant. During the First World War he fought on the Eastern Front and was soon captured in August 1915; he spent the rest of the war in Siberia from where he escaped in February 1918. He ended the war never having been commissioned as an officer.

In December 1918 he joined the Social Democrats and appears to have fought for a short period as a lieutenant in the Marxist Volkswehr after, on his return in February, finding employment in the reconstructed republican army as a recruiting instructor. Leopold joined Riehl's (*q.v.*) NSDAP in 1919, heard Hitler speak in Krems in 1920, and in 1924 became *Ortsgruppenleiter* in Krems, and a year later *Kreisleiter* of the Waldviertal area in Lower Austria. A little later he became the head of the Lower Austrian SA and in 1926 deputy gauleiter of Lower Austria as a result of his loyalty to Hitler in opposing the Karl Schulz faction and adhering to the NSDAP-Hitlerbewegung.

On 29 August 1927 the ambitious but ill-educated Leopold was appointed gauleiter of Lower Austria. In 1933 he was the only gauleiter who did not flee Austria after the banning of the party. He was interned in Wöllersdorf concentration camp on 1 January 1934 and not released until February 1935. He thus played no part in the abortive *putsch* on July 1934. However, in December 1934 Leopold was appointed the new leader of the Austrian NSDAP. He was reimprisoned in Wöllersdorf on 22 June 1935 and released on 23 July 1936. Although nominally the leader while in prison, Leopold was upstaged by the Rainer/Globocnik (*q.v.*) faction who followed Hitler's express orders to work with the sympathetic

nationalist elements like Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) and to seek apparent reconciliation with the Schuschnigg regime while all the time gaining strength and preparing for the inevitable Nazi takeover. Leopold was prepared to negotiate with Schuschnigg about legal recognition of the Austrian NSDAP, and wanted the NSDAP reconstituted as the Deutschsozialer Volksbund within the Fatherland Front, but talks were inconclusive and to add insult to injury Leopold was not appointed to Schuschnigg's cabinet; his efforts had merely led to the charge that he had sold out and at the same time the Rainer/Globocnik faction, which in September 1936 he had tried to remove, had managed to outmanoeuvre him in their contacts with the Austrian Chancellor, by their acceptance of the leading role to be played by the Reich, and in their opposition to mass entry of the Austrian party into the Fatherland Front. The touchy and quarrelsome Leopold had also fallen out with his co-leader Neubacher (*q.v.*) and by 1938 he had alienated most of the leading National Socialists, including Hess (*q.v.*), Göring (*q.v.*), and Himmler (*q.v.*), who in June 1937 had placed Leopold in charge of the Austrian SS; Hitler too lost patience when Leopold foolishly ordered a bombing campaign immediately before talks were due to take place between Seyss and Schuschnigg and later with Hitler himself. In his stubborn, strong-willed and dogmatic behaviour (von Papen (*q.v.*) once called him 'a typical, unintelligent non-commissioned officer'), Leopold became increasingly unacceptable to the party leadership in Germany and he was dismissed as *Landesleiter* in February 1938.

From 1939 to 1941 Leopold worked in the party chancellery in Munich in an obscure post working for Hess. Earlier he had been considered but rejected for the post of gauleiter of Lower Danube. Leopold was killed on the Eastern Front two days after the start of the German invasion of Russia on 24 June 1941 as a volunteer and *Oberstleutnant*. Much has recently been made of his Austrianness, Pauley calling him 'more of an Austrian than a Nazi' and referring to the fact that he considered his time in Germany as exile.

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LE PEN, Jean-Marie (1928–)

French National Front leader.

Born in La Trinité-sur-Mer (Morbihan) on 20 June 1928, the son of a sailor lost at sea when his fishing-boat was torpedoed in 1942, Le Pen was educated first in a state school and then in a Jesuit college. Determined to become an advocate, he went on to study law at the University of Paris. He later claimed that at the time of the Liberation he was at the same time a Pétainist and a Gaullist. His first known involvement with politics came as a seller of the Maurrasian royalist journal *Aspects de la France*; he was noted several times in police records for his right-wing activities.

In 1949 he was appointed president of the Association Corporative des Étudiants en Droit and, according to a police record of January 1956, was a participant in April 1951 in an incident in Notre Dame church in Aix-les-Bains when a fracas resulted when he was refused permission to take communion; Le Pen had allegedly arrived at the church in what the curé had interpreted as a state of inebriation.

In 1950 Le Pen was close to the Mouvement d'Action Universitaire et Culturelle and worked for the extreme right-wing movement Unité Nationale des Indépendants Républicains as a bodyguard for its leader Jacques Isorni. In 1954 Le Pen joined the army and after training was assigned to the first foreign battalion of parachutists as a sub-lieutenant. He was sent to Indo-China where he discovered that Dien Bien Phu had already fallen; he found himself directing the evacuation of Hanoi and working on the military journal *Caravelle*.

On his return to France in 1955 he made contact with Pierre Poujade's (*q.v.*) Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans and in November was invited to lead the Poujadist Union des Jeunes. On 2 January 1956 at the age of 27 Le Pen was elected to the Chamber on the Poujadist Union Fraternité Française ticket, the youngest deputy in the Chamber. In September 1956 he volunteered to join his old battalion for service in Suez and in Algeria after being deprived of the leadership of the youth movement by Poujade. He served until May 1957 and was later accused of torturing young Algerian nationalists in the Villa des Roses. Le Pen cut all his ties with Poujade in January 1957 to form with other dissident Poujadists, Louis Alloin, Jean Dides and J.M. Demarquet, the Mouvement National d'Action Civique et Sociale and later the Front National des Combattants of which he became general secretary. One of the most fervent defenders of French interests in Algeria, Le Pen claimed to respect the rights

of all races but some were 'favoured by nature' and some penalized by 'biological determinism' (Arabs in particular).

Re-elected to parliament for Paris in November 1958 for the Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans after a campaign during which he lost his left eye in a street brawl, Le Pen became general secretary of the Front National pour l'Algérie Française, sympathetic to the clandestine operations of the OAS, although he condemned violence. In the legislative elections of 1962 he was defeated by a left-wing Gaullist, René Capitant, after Le Pen's rejection of De Gaulle, and so began what he later called his 'traversée du désert' (desert crossing). He founded the Société d'Études et de Relations Publiques which sold records and cassettes, including Nazi speeches and Panzer songs, in a collection entitled *Men and Deeds of the Twentieth Century*. This was to bring him considerable notoriety and in 1965 an action for an 'apology for war crimes' with his disc *Songs of the German Revolution*; in 1968 he was given a suspended sentence of two months in prison and a fine of 10,000 francs. Le Pen worked for Tixier-Vignancour (*q.v.*) in the presidential elections of 1965 as general secretary of the Comités TV. Tixier won only 5.3 per cent of the vote and after the elections Le Pen broke with him to resume his presidency of the so-called Cercle du Panthéon.

Emerging from the wilderness in October 1972 he founded with the leaders of the black leather-uniformed Ordre Nouveau, who were seeking a way out of the political ghetto towards electoral acceptability, the Front National. Le Pen gained 190,921 votes as FN presidential candidate in 1974 on a programme of stopping 'the intellectual, moral, and physical decadence' of the country and was shortly after deserted by many of the original militants who left to found the Parti des Forces Nouvelles. In November 1976 his Villa Poirier was wrecked by a bomb and he and his family narrowly escaped with their lives. 1976, however, was also a year of good fortune for Le Pen with his inheritance of a large legacy from a wealthy supporter, Hubert Lambert.

From a low point in 1981 when the Front National leader failed to get enough notables' signatures to stand in the presidential election, 'the Reagan of France' was able to manipulate the 'demographic threat of the Third World' to win 10.95 per cent of the vote and a seat for himself in the Euroelection of June 1984 and 9.8 per cent in the legislative elections of 16 March 1986 when his fiercely anti-immigrant policies and militant xenophobia, his promise of 'economic democracy'

and 'super-liberalism', of denationalization, of private initiative in social security and education, his simple ideas, street charisma, pithy formulae and proverbial demagogic style took him back to parliament after twenty-four years.

In July/August 1987 Le Pen moved from beach to beach in his latest attempt to win the presidency but in September in a television interview he described the Holocaust as 'a point of detail in the history of the Second World War' and seemed to cast doubt on the existence of the gas chambers. He won 14.39 per cent of the valid votes in the first round of the presidential elections in April 1988. In June 1988 the Front won only 9.6 per cent of the votes in the legislative elections and Le Pen only 35 per cent of the vote in his Marseilles constituency. Le Pen suffered a further setback in November 1988 when the hard-man of the FN, Jean-Pierre Stirbois, whose 16.72 per cent of the vote in Dreux in 1983 in the local elections had marked the upsurge of the Front, was killed in a car accident.

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LEY, Robert (1890–1945)

German National Socialist leader of the German Labour Front.

Born on 15 February 1890 in Niederbreidenbach (Rhineland), Ley was the son of a comfortable, evangelical farmer from Upper Bavaria, suddenly plunged into poverty due to his father's financial incompetence. After school in Grönwald, Waldbröl and Elberfeld, he attended the Universities of Jena, Bonn and Münster for a total of eleven terms studying natural sciences and chemistry. In the middle of his preparations for the state examination, the First World War broke out and Ley joined the artillery in Strasbourg. He fought on both Eastern and Western Fronts and was severely wounded in July 1917 near

Ypres, taken prisoner by the French, and left with frontal lobe damage that was later to lead to a stammer and to chronic alcoholism.

Freed from a French POW camp in Chateauroux in January 1920, he completed his doctorate and in 1921 found work with a chemical conglomerate, the I.G. Farben organization, in Wiesdorf-Leverkusen. Socially insecure but ambitious and at the same time a naive idealist, Ley, in March 1924, joined the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung, the successor in the North to the outlawed NSDAP, after reading Hitler's trial speech and campaigned for the Nazi-Völkisch list for the Reichstag in Wiesdorf. Despite his chronic weakness for alcohol (he later became known as the *Reichstrunkenbold*, the Reich Drunkard) Ley was asked by Rhineland gauleiter Heinz Haake to take over the post in his absence and in June 1925 he was accepted as *de facto* gauleiter of Rhineland-South (to be confirmed by Hitler only in September 1928). Blunt and violent, Ley was jailed five times after becoming gauleiter. Goebbels (*q.v.*) in 1925 referred to him as 'a blockhead and, perhaps, an intriguer' and in December of that year he was the only supporter of Hitler against Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) in a discussion of the new programme. In January 1928 Ley was dismissed from I.G. Farben for his Nazi activities; he had been tactless enough to attack the Jewish banker Max Warburg, a member of Farben's board. In the revived newspaper, *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, edited with Grohé (*q.v.*), he indulged his crude anti-Semitism and his verbal venom against local officials, and transformed it into a scandal sheet.

Ley was elected to the Prussian Landtag in May 1928 and to the Reichstag in September 1930, sustained in his rough and violent demagoguery by the approval of his Führer. As one of Gregor Strasser's deputy organization leaders he served the function of a Reich inspector from October 1931 whose duty was to supervise the management of the various gaus; Ley was responsible for the western and southern areas including Austria. As Hitler's man in the Strasser organization, he kept his master informed of internal developments. In December 1932 Ley became chief of staff to Hitler, who had taken over Strasser's powers as party organizational leader, and from this point was included in the Reich leadership. However, his duties confined him to comparatively trivial matters like personnel affairs and training programmes but more importantly he inherited from Strasser control over a host of professional and charity organizations like the Nazi Factory Cell organization. Ley had loyally and abjectly supported Hitler in his strategies including the opening

to the right and as a conservative Nazi approved of his caution in dealing with big business interests.

On 2 May 1933 Ley, who had appointed an Action Committee for the Protection of German Labour, to 'coordinate' the free trade unions, announced the formation of the German Labour Front (DAF), a huge state organization for employers and employees (excluding civil servants and peasants on Hitler's orders) subservient to the party, covering some 25 million people (by 1942); in the process the independent trade unions were crushed. Ley was also the creator of the *Kraft durch Freude* leisure organization.

Ley's already demonstrated penchant for corrupt behaviour and 'a loose life-style' now burgeoned to such proportions that Buch (*q.v.*) complained to Hitler. Rosenberg (*q.v.*) complained about his administrative 'gigantomania' and, indeed, in some respects, the size of his totalitarian corporate empire was the great attraction for the megalomaniac Ley. The Deutsche Arbeitsfront over which Ley presided and whose functions he integrated with those which he enjoyed as Reich Organization Director was 'a misshapen child of hectic improvisation'. Designed to produce class harmony under the banner of 'German socialism', the DAF in the wake of the death of the independent working-class organizations set out to convert the masses to National Socialism through the aestheticization of the labour process by means of organizations like Speer's (*q.v.*) Beauty of Labour. Ley found himself in the creation of his gigantic empire in conflict with the Hess-Bormann machine, with Rosenberg, Darré (*q.v.*), Economics Minister Schacht (*q.v.*) and with Labour Minister Seldte (*q.v.*) over the right to arbitrate in cases concerned with wages and conditions for workers. According to the new working ethos, managing directors were now designated as plant leaders (*Betriebsführer*) and workers as their retinue (*Gefolgschaft*) and the words employer and employee were abolished.

In February 1940 Ley had also been named Reich Social Security Commissioner. He was further responsible for the special elite Nazi schools, the *NS-Ordensburgen*, for young adult males which would supplement the Nazi educational system and seek to produce a new Nazi ruling caste. During the war the DAF was reorganized to cope with its wartime duties but Ley 'never gave up his jurisdictional hunger' (Smelser). However, his many opponents had waxed in strength to such a degree that Ley's power became a shadow of its former extent. He drank increasingly, retreated into a world of unreality to fulminate against the Jews. At the end of the war Ley set off towards the Tyrol but was

captured *en route* by American troops of the 101st Airborne Division in May 1945 in Schleching, an eccentric figure in blue pyjamas and green hat. Indicted as a war criminal at Nuremberg, he hanged himself in his cell on 25 October 1945 outraged that he had been considered a criminal.

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LIE, Jonas (1899–1945)

Jonas Lie, the Norwegian Minister of Police under Quisling (q.v.), was the grandson of the famous author of the same name (1833–1908)

Born on 31 December 1899 in Oslo, he enrolled in the police force in 1932. In 1934 he was chosen by the League of Nations to lead the peace-keeping force sent to supervise the plebiscite in the Saar. When Trotsky was interned in Norway in 1936, it was Lie who was entrusted with the leadership of the *Vaktstyrken*, the police guard, on the Sundby estate in Hurum where Trotsky was held. He accompanied Trotsky on the petrol tanker *Ruth* when he set off on 19 December 1936 for Mexico. In 1938 he was appointed chief of the security police.

After the German invasion (during which Lie had fought bravely against the Wehrmacht), Quisling, knowing him to be a sympathizer if not a member of the Nasjonal Samling (he denied, rather improbably, being a member of NS to the Presidential Board of the Storting just before he was appointed Quisling's Minister of Police in September) appointed Lie as Minister of Justice in his first, abortive cabinet in April 1940. Lie first heard about his appointment on the radio and declaring himself 'completely horrified' hurried to join the army to avoid the privilege. His ally Terboven (q.v.), the Reich Commissioner, made him police inspector in the Justice Department. In September 1940 the attractive, outgoing Lie finally overcame his dislike of Quisling and accepted the portfolio of Police and Justice in the commissarial state council regime. He proved to be particularly ruthless in the dispensing of justice, ordering the death penalty with alacrity, and in the use of his special Statspolitiet set up in summer 1941.

Of all his ministers Quisling came to loathe Lie

the most, not least because Terboven favoured Lie in his secret plans for the restructuring of Nasjonal Samling, with Lie taking over from Quisling as leader. Lie in his turn was not the most accommodating of colleagues and was jealous of both Quisling and Hagelin (q.v.) with whom relations deteriorated during 1944. Lie defied Quisling by cooperating with Terboven in the establishment of the Norges SS of which he became head with the rank of *Sturmabführer*. In September 1942 he joined his SS regiment near Leningrad and fought with it in the Greek campaign where he earned both the Iron Cross Second Class and the nickname 'Judas Lie'.

When the Germans ordered the evacuation of Finnmark in the winter of 1944/5 in the wake of the Russian advance, Lie was put in charge of proceedings and with J.A. Lippestad carried out his assignment with ruthlessness and diligence. Rather surprisingly he wrote detective novels under the pseudonym Max Mauser. Towards the end Lie barricaded himself in a bunker in Oslo surrounded by the Home Forces and, refusing to surrender, committed suicide on 11 May 1945.

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LINDHOLM, Sven Olof (1903–)

Most successful Swedish National Socialist leader.

Born in Jönköping (South Central Sweden) on 8 February 1903, Lindholm joined the Swedish army after a junior secondary education. He enlisted as a volunteer in the artillery and became a *Furir* (Sergeant). Stationed in Stockholm he became acquainted with fascism through the newspapers and sought out the native anti-Semite Elof Eriksson (q.v.). Lindholm's main concerns at this time were anti-communism and the belief in a strong defence policy. In 1926 with Konrad Hallgren and others he founded the Sveriges Fascistiska Folkparti (Swedish Fascist People's Party) soon to be called the Sveriges Fascistiska Kamp Organisation (Swedish Fascist Combat Organization). Lindholm was at first the leading organizer and propagandist and later the leader. In 1929 he visited Nuremberg and Hitler and moved away from Italian fascism as a model towards National Socialism as practised in Germany.

On his return steps were taken to amalgamate his organization with that of Furugård (*q.v.*) under the name Nationalsocialistiska Folkpartiet and then in 1931 the Sveriges Nationalsocialistiska Parti (Swedish National Socialist Party). Lindholm served as editor of both *Vår Kamp* (1930–3) and from March 1930 *Nationalsocialisten*. He also served as deputy leader responsible for propaganda and organization. In 1932 after an extensive and concentrated propaganda campaign he won 6 per cent of the vote in Gothenburg, the highest vote achieved by the Swedish Nazis. By January 1933 Lindholm had become thoroughly disillusioned with his partner Furugård for both ideological and personal reasons. He favoured a more social revolutionary, Strasserite, anti-capitalist form of National Socialism than Furugård; he had also grown tired of his colleague's alcoholism, gluttony and his financial malpractices.

Lindholm abandoned Furugård and founded the Nationalsocialistiska Arbetarpartiet (National Socialist Labour Party) with a more anti-capitalist or perhaps Poujadist policy including measures to defend the small retailer, nationalization of the banks, opposition to the 'moneylenders', and the encouragement of profit-sharing schemes. He was instrumental in setting up a number of youth movements, the Nordisk Ungdom and the Nordiska Skolungdomsförbundet which were particularly active in their opposition to the League of Nations. After October 1938 Lindholm tried to create a more national brand of National Socialism, dropping some of the trappings of German Nazism such as the swastika which he abandoned for the Swedish Vasa sheaf. The new Svensk Socialistisk Samling (Swedish Socialist Union), however, continued to propagate the essence of National Socialism and was not finally dissolved until 1950. In 1941 Lindholm became a *Styckjunkare* (warrant officer II) in the artillery and though he denounced the German invasion of Norway, also recruited some 800 Swedes for the German army and was arrested and accused of receiving German aid.

He continued his efforts to oppose 'unconstitutional democracy', to demand the end of all Jewish immigration, and advocated a programme of racial hygiene, immediately after the war, but soon after 1950 went into semi-retirement although it is reported that still in the late 1950s he was connected with a Nordic youth group. He was known to be living in Stockholm in 1987.

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LIST, Guido Karl Anton von (1848–1919)

Austrian völkisch publicist, writer and ariosophist.

Born on 5 October 1848 in Vienna, the son of a wealthy leather merchant, Guido von List supported himself as a private scholar and a free-lance writer. In 1868 he founded a private theatre called 'Walhalla' and managed it until 1870. A solitary who loved long walks, List believed that the 'closer to nature, the closer to truth'. Christianity was an alien creed which had been superimposed over the ancient lore and the accumulated wisdom of Germandom. During the late 1870s and 1880s he wrote for the Austrian nationalist newspapers *Heimat*, *Deutsche Zeitung* and *Neue Welt*. He was obsessed by the battle between the Romans and the Germans that had taken place at Carnuntum, a fateful date for German history; he wrote a novel with that title in 1888. An associate of the Pan-German movement of Schönerer (*q.v.*) as a journalist and lecturer, List became well known in nationalist circles with his book of 1891 on folklore, *Deutsche-Mythologische Landschaftsbilder* (German Mythological Landscape Pictures). He was also a member of the Deutscher Turnverein, the German Gymnastic League.

After 1902 his neo-romantic obsession with German mythology was augmented by a new interest in occultism. He believed that by a study of runes he had discovered the secret language of the Germans. He came under the increasing influence at this time of theosophical ideas. In 1905 a Guido Von List Society was launched with support not only from anti-Semites like Karl Lueger (*q.v.*) but from Pan-Germans, occultists, theosophists and supporters of various brands of *völkisch* thought. His cult of Ario-Germanism led List's biographer Johannes Balzli to claim that List was 'the rediscoverer of ancient Aryan wisdom'. List's semi-crazed irrational ideas with political implications for Germanic forms of government were taken up by organizations like the Deutschnationale Handelsgehilfen Verband, the largest white-collar union and filtered down through the Germanenorden and the Thule Society to the foundation of National Socialism in Munich after the First World War. The ariosophical movement of the 1920s and 1930s was to influence the ritual of the

SS. List himself died on a journey from Vienna to North Germany in Berlin on 17 May 1919.

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LJOTIĆ, Dimitrije V. (1891–1945)

Yugoslav integral nationalist and founder of Zbor.

Born on 12 August 1891 in Smederovo into a middle-class Serbian family, the son of a diplomat, Ljotić attended the high school in Salonika and graduated from law school in Belgrade in 1912. He was at first a disciple of Tolstoy, a vegetarian and teetotaler, and a pacifist. He served as a hospital attendant in the two Balkan Wars, working among cholera victims, in 1912–13. From autumn 1913 he studied in Paris and coming under the influence of Maurras (*q.v.*) and the Action Française movement and heavily affected by the tragic vision of Pascal he performed a political *volte face*.

Following service in the First World War as a company commander and later as a military intelligence officer on the Italian frontier, he was demobilized in June 1920 and joined the Radical (Conservative) Party. As a profoundly religious man he was especially concerned about the problem of corruption in practical politics and plagued by a sense of moral decadence affecting the very roots of political life. He was active in his local agricultural co-operative movement. In February 1931 he was appointed Minister of Justice but resigned after a brief tenure when the draft constitution was rejected by the authoritarian King Alexander. In 1934 Ljotić founded the Zbor movement, a middle-class movement significantly indebted to Maurras; it combined an elitist outlook, a belief in a hierarchical, organically unified state freed from 'Jewish/masonic' subversion, and the desire for a corporatist economy. It shared the ambiguity of many fascist movements which paid lip-service to a belief in a corporatist, interventionist state, operating in the interests of national and class unity, but harboured Poujadist yearnings for frugality in state expenditure and a low tax burden. Ljotić always claimed to be an opponent of fascism and of Hitlerism. Zbor was never able to win more than 1 per cent of the votes in any national election.

As war approached in 1940, Ljotić was attacked

by the government for his pro-Italian position after the deterioration of relations with that country in November 1940, although Ljotić, in fact, favoured strict neutrality. During the German invasion he was in charge of a Srem infantry regiment but after the surrender he gave his support to the collaborationist regime of General Nedić (it was he who suggested the name of Nedić to the Germans after refusing power himself). Through his Zbor Srpski Dobrovoljacki Korpus, which acted as a useful auxiliary corps to quell resistance, he became a reliable ally of the Germans. Ljotić was not lacking in intelligence or shrewdness, nor did he suffer from illusions about his fellow men; he described Nedić's dilemma as one of being 'caught between Teutonic brutality and Serbian stupidity'. There was no question of his approving Hitler's racial policies and particularly the implications for Slavs generally of the *Drang nach Osten*. His fascism was more a product of visceral and instinctive forces, an outcome of his religious mysticism rather than a rational process as, perhaps, can be determined from his depiction of the war as being one between 'the forces of the stomach' and 'the forces of the spirit'.

When Soviet troops and partisans entered Belgrade in 1944, Ljotić fled to Istria and then to the mountains of Slovenia to fight a final rear-guard action with a rag-tag band of Chetniks, Zbor remnants and Nedić troops. He died in a car accident attempting to escape from Slovenia on 23 April 1945.

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LOHSE, Heinrich (1896–1964)

German National Socialist gauleiter and Reich Commissioner for the Ostland (Baltic States) during the German occupation.

Born on 2 September 1896 in Mühlenbarbek, a small Holstein town of 300 people, into an old Schleswig-Holstein farming family, Lohse was educated from 1912 in a commercial school in Hamburg. An employee in the dockyards, he was called up for military service in 1915 but invalidated

out after being severely wounded. After the war, he was politically active in the farmers' movement, the Bauernverein, and a business leader (*Geschäftsführer*) in the Schleswig-Holstein Landespartei, a conservative party thriving on anti-Semitism, in Neumünster from spring 1920 to May 1921. He abandoned the party after a disastrous election result. From November 1922 to 1924 he worked as a bank clerk in Darmstadt and in the Nationalbank in Hamburg. Having already prepared the ground as an eager and a passionate anti-Semitic agitator for the Landespartei and rejecting both the Social Democrats and the conservative DNVP, Lohse moved over to the infant NSDAP in spring 1923 although he had been in contact with the party faithful since 1921, many of the early members being students from areas like Schleswig with a *völkisch* tradition who had met Hitler while studying in Munich. Lohse did more than anyone to conquer Schleswig-Holstein for the Nazis.

Lohse became the leader of the small Bezirksgruppe in Altona which he led into the Völkisch-Sozial Block after the proscription of the NSDAP in late 1923. He was elected town councillor in Altona in 1924. Lohse rejoined the NSDAP in February 1925 and founded the first Ortsgruppe in Schleswig-Holstein. On 27 March 1925 he was appointed gauleiter, in 1928 elected a deputy in the Prussian Landtag and on 31 July 1932 a member of the Reichstag until 2 September 1933. Of limited intellectual capacity and little imagination, he was a 'man without qualities', a 'good' family German who was portrayed by his followers as a 'knight without fear or reproach' but, notwithstanding his shortcomings, he was appointed *Oberpräsident* of Schleswig-Holstein on 29 March 1933.

An *SA-Gruppenführer* in 1937 and a Reich Defence Commissioner in 1939, he was appointed Reich Commissioner for the Ostland in November 1941. With headquarters in Riga he presided, as head of the civil administration, over the huge area of western White Russia and the Baltic lands. Fundamentally in sympathy with the Jewish liquidation policies, he nevertheless occasionally found himself at odds with Rosenberg's (*q.v.*) Ostministerium, with the Wehrmacht and with the SS on matters of tactics. The complacent bureaucrat, in his concern with building an independent empire, took great interest in personal matters (he spent a great deal of time in his own gau) and in 'castles, hotels, and administrative palaces'. Dallin has graphically described his obsession, demonstrated by the tons of paperwork he produced, with the minutiae of administration; he personally approved No Smok-

ing notices while his empire crumbled. Despite his part in the economic exploitation of his charges and his complete indifference to the slaughter of the Jews (although he was not quite as brutal as his neighbour Erich Koch (*q.v.*) in the Ukraine), he was sentenced by a Bielefeld court in January 1948 to ten years in prison but freed in February 1951 on grounds of ill-health. He tried unsuccessfully to claim a pension as an ex-*Oberpräsident*. Lohse died on 25 February 1964 in Mühlenbarbek.

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LONG, Huey Pierce (the 'Kingfish') (1893–1935)

Governor of Louisiana and US Senator who was accused of 'fascism' when he set up in his home state the most authoritarian political machine ever seen in United States history. Long was born on 30 August 1893 into a comfortable Baptist family living in Winnfield, in the pinewood country of northern Louisiana noted for its political unorthodoxy and radicalism. His animus against the planter class and the New Orleans elite was absorbed from his background. He began his working life as a travelling salesman. He later studied at the University of Oklahoma Law School, and as a part-time student in Tulane University Law School, following which he was able to pass a special bar examination. In May 1915 he set up practice as a lawyer. He made his name in the locally-famous case of a widow suing a bank, a lawsuit which he won against all the odds.

His first state post was as a member of the almost-moribund Railroad Commission to which he was elected in 1918 and of which, renamed the Public Service Commission, he became chairman in 1921. It was at this time that Long first seriously clashed with 'vested interests' and, in particular, with the Standard Oil Company. In 1924 he stood for the Governorship of Louisiana on an anti-oligarchic platform but was eliminated in the first round. He finally became Governor in May 1928 after a long campaign in which he used his famous slogan, 'every man a king, but no one wears a crown' for the first time. When presented with the Constitution of

Louisiana he replied, 'I'm the Constitution here now'. Impeachment proceedings were initiated in 1929 after Long had incurred the hostility of conservative forces with measures such as the 'occupational license tax' on the refining of crude oil in Louisiana. His expertise as a political operator allowed him to avoid impeachment.

In September 1930 he ran for the US Senate and was elected by 38,000 votes but did not take his seat until January 1932 and thereafter used it mainly to gain publicity. At first he supported President Roosevelt but soon began to criticize him as the tool of the financial interests. He had nothing more than a nuisance value for the president. Meanwhile Long continued to run Louisiana in an alliance with the formerly-hostile Old Regular machine of New Orleans, through the pliant Oscar K. Allen, financed by deductions from state employees' salaries and donations from corporations. The whole edifice depended inevitably on graft, turpitude and corruption on a huge scale. He continued his programme of much-needed public spending, initiated a policy of extensive road and bridge construction, provided schools and hospitals, and significantly expanded Louisiana State University. He introduced much progressive legislation including a free textbook programme for schools. He set out to correct what was one of the highest rates of illiteracy in the US and made improvements in an inefficient tax system. Although he opposed the oil and other corporate interests, especially the Standard Oil Company, he actually achieved little in the way of social and labour legislation. Abandoned by the Old Regular machine but sustained by the almost religious adulation of the populace he built up a dictatorial machine never seen in the United States before or since, based on a total mastery of the legislature and backed by intimidation and violence, a system which he liked to call 'a perfect democracy'. He abolished local government in parish and community by moving almost all authority to the state level. He had complete control of patronage in the state and of the judicial machinery. In January 1934, a constant and genuine supporter of the down-trodden, and fired by the need to redistribute wealth, Long organized a Share-Our-Wealth Society guaranteeing each family a minimum income of at least \$2,000 and a 'homestead allowance' of \$5,000 to be financed from the taxation of personal fortunes. Long's ultimate aim of attaining the presidency was terminally frustrated when he was shot in Baton Rouge on 8 September 1935 by Dr Carl Austin Weiss, for reasons that remain essentially mysterious. Much to the relief of prominent national New Deal Democrats, Long died two days later.

Violent, unethical, ruthless, ambitious, brutal, insincere, pragmatic and unideological, he was noted for his eccentric behaviour which gave him something of the reputation of a clown. It is fashionable now to describe him not as a 'fascist' but as 'a good mass leader' (Williams). Brinkley sees him as a believer in individualism and community rights, opposed to the encroachment of the modern industrial state and the power of anonymous institutions. Arthur M. Schlesinger has said: 'At bottom, Huey Long resembled, not a Hitler or a Mussolini, but a Latin American dictator, a Vargas or a Perón'.

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LUCHAIRE, Jean (1901-46)

French diplomatic journalist and youth leader who moved from radicalism to collaboration.

Lucaire was born in Siena (Italy) on 21 July 1901, the son of a university professor who taught in the universities of Grenoble and Lyons and was director of l'Institut Français in Florence. A precocious youth, Lucaire spent the First World War in Florence and in 1916 founded the Ligue Latine de la Jeunesse. He had already developed a taste and a talent in Florence for political journalism and he founded in November 1921 a short-lived bimonthly, *Jeune Europe*, a journal of distinctly pacifist and internationalist leanings. From 1919 to 1923 he was involved with various youth groups. In the early 1920s he joined the radical journal *L'Ere Nouvel* and in 1921 became deputy head of the diplomatic services for *Le Matin*; in 1924 he moved to become diplomatic editor of *Le Petit Parisien*. From 1925 to 1933 Lucaire was general secretary of the radical daily *La Volonté*, owned by the corrupt Albert Dubarry. In his international commentaries he persistently criticized the post-war peace treaties as a camouflage for the lack of any real climate of peace.

Although Luchaire did not join the Radical Party until 1927 he was a member of the related organization the Fédération des Jeunesses Laïques et Républicaines. Like his fellow radical Pierre Dominique he was attracted by Georges Valois' (*q.v.*) *Le Faisceau*, a party whose emphasis was on the syndical aspects of fascism. Considered like Bertrand de Jouvenel and Bergery (*q.v.*) as one of the 'young Turks' of the Radical Party, Luchaire, a *Briandiste*, launched the radical journal *Notre Temps* (later a daily), aimed at selling radicalism to the younger generation; Briand himself subsidized the journal and the contributors included Mendès-France, Déat (*q.v.*), Marion (*q.v.*) and de Jouvenel. Luchaire in his pacifist zeal became a supporter of Franco-German cooperation and from 1930 a friend of Otto Abetz (*q.v.*), later German ambassador to occupied France. His close relationship with Abetz, as war approached, was to lead to accusations of Luchaire being a salaried agent of German National Socialism. His involvement in fostering good youth relations between France and Germany and his work for a united Europe did not preclude his early support for the Popular Front. In 1933 he was one of those who met in the Café de l'Acacia to seek a new political realignment.

It was in the late 1930s that his enthusiasm for détente led him to apologize on behalf of the German and Italian dictatorships, to support the Munich agreement and eventually to become an admirer of National Socialism and a friend of the Vichy regime. In 1938 *Notre Temps* included contributions from neo-socialists like Déat, Montagnon and others far on their odyssey from left to extreme right. In July 1939 *Notre Temps* ceased but in March 1940 was resurrected from its temporary demise with help from the Information Minister, L.O. Froissard, but in August 1940 a new paper *Les Nouveaux Temps* was launched with Luchaire as director. It was to last until August 1944. With this paper Luchaire staked his claim to be considered one of the ultras of the collaboration, determined to present the favourable economic, political and cultural aspects of Franco-German relations and to suppress the more unfavourable manifestations like anti-Semitism. After 1940 Luchaire was appointed head of the Corporation Nationale de la Presse Française. As an advocate of total collaboration and a member of Déat's Rassemblement National Populaire, he opposed the more moderate line of Laval and in 1943 was co-author with Déat, Darnand (*q.v.*) and others of the Plan de Redressement National Français. The tall and handsome Luchaire gained a personal fortune out of his collaboration which he lavished on expensive mistresses and on the pursuit of the high life.

Fleeing to Baden-Baden as the Allies approached Paris, Luchaire published *La France* in Signaringen, seat of the Paris exiles, and became a commissioner for information and propaganda on Brinon's shadow governmental commission in exile. He moved on to Italy after the German collapse, was arrested by the Americans, and sent back to Paris where he was sentenced to death for 'intelligence with the enemy' and executed on 22 February 1946 in the Fort de Châtillon.

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LUDDENDORF, Erich Friedrich Wilhelm (1865–1937)

Leading German general in the First World War, co-leader of the Munich beer hall putsch and inspirer of the völkisch Tannenbergbund in the 1920s.

Born in Kruszwania (Kruszczewina) near Posen on 9 April 1865, the son of a cavalry reservist with the 12th Hussars who had lost his family estate, Luddendorf attended the cadet school at Gross-Lichterfelde. He was commissioned as an officer with the 8th Westphalian Regiment No. 57. All his life he was an insecure loner who suffered from a sense of social inferiority. In 1893 he attended the War Academy in Berlin and three years later was appointed a captain on the General Staff of the 4th army corps in Magdeburg. From 1904 to 1913 he served in the deployment and mobilization section of the General Staff in Berlin where he played an important role in the planning for the Great War. In January 1913 he was dismissed with little warning from the General Staff and redeployed as a regimental infantry commander for differences with his superiors. He was promoted in 1914 to Quarter-Master of the 2nd army and from 21 August served under Hindenburg as chief of staff to the 8th army. His strategic experience, technical calculation and expertise was a decisive factor in the German victories at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes in 1914 and he continued to think in terms of a decisive outflanking operation. Later moving to the Western Front he was responsible for the last

massive offensive of 1918. In between from 1916 to 1918 as Senior Quartermaster-General he, with other generals, was the real power rather than the civil authority of Prime Minister Bethmann-Hollweg who did little to curb their ascendancy. Luddendorf thought in terms of a technological dictatorship based on an alliance between the military and heavy industry in a total mobilization with the aim of winning the war. In this scenario, psychological and economic warfare became almost as important as the struggle on the battlefield. In October 1918 Luddendorf was dismissed from his post.

After the German defeat Luddendorf was hissed in the streets and fled to Denmark and then to Sweden. He put the blame for defeat on the Reichstag and the politicians; as Max Bauer had expressed the same idea: 'we will win the war when the home front stops attacking us from behind'. On the day of Eisner's (Independent Social Democrat premier in Bavaria) assassination in February 1918, Luddendorf returned to Germany as Karl Neumann. His experience of semi-dictatorial powers during the war led him to believe in a kind of 'war socialism' and an economy run on the lines of rational efficiency. His war memoirs, *Meine Kriegserinnerungen*, appeared in 1919 as a rallying point for the extreme right. Many on the anti-parliamentary and anti-republican right like Max Bauer and Waldemar Pabst (q.v.) saw Luddendorf as a national saviour, as, indeed, did the *putschist* Kapp (q.v.). The former general was to play only a minor role in Kapp's *putsch* of 1920 believing that the time was not yet appropriate. Over the next two years, avoiding mainstream practical politics, he contacted a motley band of racists, occultists, *völkisch* enthusiasts and other cranks and was converted to the notion of an all-embracing Jewish conspiracy and to the congeries of ill-digested ideas that came to be expressed through the Tannenbergbund from 1925.

In November 1922 convinced that only a *völkisch* dictatorship could rescue Germany from the democratic sink into which it had fallen, he took part in Hitler's abortive Munich coup of 1923, having been promised the command of the national German army should it have proved successful. Arrested after the *putsch*, Luddendorf denied all responsibility and was acquitted but forfeited in the process all his credibility with the higher echelons of the army, although with the assistance of Rosenberg (q.v.), Röhm (q.v.) and Gregor Strasser (q.v.), he now reformed the remnants of the proscribed NSDAP into the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung with himself as *Schirmherr*. He gained a seat for the NSFB in 1924. With Röhm he launched the paramilitary *Frontbann* but in the presidential election of 1925, after winning

only 1 per cent of the votes for the *völkisch* forces, lost face with Hitler and his bid to take over the leadership of the extreme right was finally abandoned.

Under the influence of his second wife Mathilde von Kemnitz, a medical psychologist with eccentric occult ideas, he founded in August 1925 the Tannenbergbund, a 'working association of front soldiers and youth leagues'. Through journals like *Ludendorffs Volkswarte* (1929–33) and *Am Heiligen Quell Deutscher Kraft* (At the Sacred Source of German Strength), the Luddendorffs produced tons of paper in the effort to publicize the idea of a mysterious supernatural conspiracy to destroy Germany and its *Volk*, clearly the product of paranoia. The Jews as creators of liberalism, capitalism, democracy and 'interest slavery' had to be eliminated from public life and from the private economy; the churches, the Jesuits, the freemasons and, indeed, the Nazis as the 'party of Rome', all had to be controlled. As a result the organ of the Luddendorf movement, the *Volkswarte*, was suppressed by the Nazis when they came to power to be replaced by the more moderate *Am Heiligen Quell*. Harassed by the police, the movement, which called for an authoritarian, military dictatorship, had all but disintegrated after 1933 as the Tannenbergbund gave way to Das Deutschvolk, an organization first launched in 1930 as a philosophical society. Luddendorf finally reached a reconciliation and a *modus vivendi* with Hitler in March 1937 and his wife's Deutsche Gotterkenntnis was for a time raised by the Nazis to an equality with the Christian sects but Hitler soon grew tired of 'that hysterical woman' and tried to discourage her propaganda efforts. Luddendorf died on 20 December 1937 in Tutzing and was awarded an elaborate state funeral attended by Hitler. Mathilde's movement was finally banned in 1961 (she died in 1966) but her works are still published and marketed by her latter-day followers.

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LUEGER, Karl (1844–1910)

Austrian Christian Social politician and Mayor of Vienna.
Born on 24 October 1844 in Vienna, the son of a

retired soldier who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars, and became a laboratory janitor at the Polytechnic Institute, Lueger graduated in law from the University of Vienna in 1862 despite the poverty of his parents. He received his doctorate of law in 1870 and in 1874 he opened his own law office. He first entered Vienna politics in 1872 as a member of the Deutsch-Demokratischen Verein but soon transferred allegiance to the Liberals for whom he won a seat in 1875 on the Vienna Community Council; he was re-elected in 1876 and served until 1879. Lueger became noted for his espousal of a new style of democratic politics, a champion of the suburban 'little man' and an enemy both of corruption and of the 'Judeo-Magyarismus' influence on Austrian affairs. An advocate of the social collective economics of the economist Wilhelm Neurath, he supported, after 1882, measures such as the municipalization of transport. His major aim was the 'reunification of the fragmented bourgeoisie into a more imposing, effective political party which could cope with the demands of *Mittelstand* extremism and with the challenge of Austrian Social Democracy' (Boyer). In 1885 Lueger was elected to the *Reichsrat* (national parliament) as a representative for Lower Austria, a seat he was to hold until his death in 1910.

Lueger was a founder and leader of the Christian Social Party from 1888 to 1910. It was at this time that he discovered, under the influence of Carl von Vogelsang and of the Hegelian professor of administration in Vienna, Lorenz von Stein, his characteristic blend of state interventionism in the interests of social justice, strong Catholicism, and the exploitation of anti-Semitic and anti-Slav emotions. Always a pragmatist pursuing consensus politics, Lueger was a product of the traditional state and not a prophet of the new one to arise in Germany in the 1930s. In 1887 he voted for Schönerer's (*q.v.*) proposed bill to restrict the immigration of Russian and Romanian Jews. The appearance of anti-Semitism on his agenda, a prejudice that was as much tactical as it was racial, is usually traced to a speech he made in September 1887 to a meeting of the Christlich-Sozial Verein. He was most famous for his remark: 'I decide who is a Jew.' He claimed to be an admirer of the French anti-Semite Drumont (*q.v.*) who had a similar social constituency in Paris. Lueger also launched his own Antisemitische Vereinigung.

He was in many ways a man of the people who used the Vienna idiom in his speeches and as such endured the hostility of the establishment from the Emperor downwards. Known as 'Schöne Karl' he introduced as Mayor of Vienna extensive measures of municipal 'gas and water' socialism. First elected

Mayor in April 1887 he was to be elected another four times until 1910. As an Austrian nationalist he decreed that only Austrian wine should be served in the *Rathaus* restaurant. Insincere and unprincipled, a genial compromiser on the surface, he was subject to fits of moodiness and proved capable of the most cynical manoeuvring in the interests of enforcing his political will. He made use of the extension of suffrage in 1885 to become one of the first bourgeois politicians to create a symbiotic relationship with the newly enfranchised mass electorate. Karl Kraus compared him to a comet who had briefly lit up the ship and then disappeared leaving no trace.

Perhaps Lueger's most famous legacy was the effect he had on the young Hitler; his demagogic talents and his exploitation of the Jewish issue gave the future Führer his first hint of what could be done in this direction. It is not surprising that Hitler called him 'the greatest German mayor of all time'. However, as Boyer has reminded us, he 'sought not the role of a demagogic and authoritarian Führer, but rather that of a patrimonial and patriarchal *Vater*'. The ambiguity of his legacy is apparent from his adoption as a pioneer of environmentalism, a latter-day hero of the Greens. Karl Lueger died on 10 March 1910 in Vienna.

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LUGONES, Leopoldo (1874–1938)

Leading Argentinian poet, essayist, novelist and man of letters who had a profound effect on the extreme right in Argentina and has been called the 'pioneer of fascism' in his native country.

Lugones' father was a political boss in northern Córdoba who had lost his ranch in 1890. Consequently, Leopoldo was born in Villa María del Río Seco (Córdoba) on 13 June 1874, into a family materially poor but of a high status. He was largely self-taught. He was something of a rebel in his youth although his early anarchism had much of the purely aesthetic about it. He was connected with the journal *Pensamiento Libre*. From 1893 to 1913, much of the period spend as a journalist and editor in Buenos Aires on

La Tribuna and *La Nación* among others, he was a socialist; then followed a period until 1920 as a liberal. In his socialist period he was connected, from 1897, with the journal, *La Montaña*. In the years before the First World War he became a government minister in the province of San Luis and from 1904 worked as Inspector General of Education, after giving up his job with Post and Telecommunications. It was largely during the war (he lived for some time from 1911 to 1914 in Paris where in the latter year he edited the *Revue Sud-Américaine*) that his commitment to the left finally evaporated. After this he moved inexorably toward the nationalist right.

From the early years of the century, under the influence of Nietzsche, he adopted a cult of anti-Christian Hellenism and of classical paganism. His distaste for mediocrity and demagoguery led to a loss of faith in the very concept of democracy but at the centre of his philosophy was a strong belief in individualism. In 1919 an enemy of anti-Semitism, which he claimed merely distracted attention from genuine problems, he in time came to identify Jews not only with a threat to the integrity to Argentina but with all the forces of cosmopolitan modernism which this one-time admirer of the modernist Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, disapproved, including pornography. This impulse also led him to condemn mass immigration: a far cry from the days when he had celebrated 'the blond European youth' responsible for 'the wealth of golden wheat' (quoted in Solberg). In November 1913 he had given a series of lectures in the Teatro Odéon in Buenos Aires concerned with the danger to national unity from immigration. In his lectures, to be published in 1916 as *El Payador*, he used the *gaucho* as a symbol of the true Argentina, a nationalist rejection of foreign and modernist influences. His intrinsically ambiguous trinity of 'beauty, strength and hope' was to be transformed into an aestheticization of politics whose outcome would have come as no surprise to Walter Benjamin.

From these fragmentary beginnings there evolved a full-blown military fascist ideology (Zuleta has characterized it as 'integral militarism') entailing a worship of the armed forces as the defenders of the nation, a defence of violence (he would have called it an honest force), and an irrationalist philosophy that emphasized the instinctive at the expense of the rational. His heroes were Mussolini (*q.v.*) and José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). In 1931 Lugones, the translator of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into Spanish, became an adviser to the dictator General Uriburu, whose coup of September 1930 he had aided, and in the same year a member of Acción

Republicana along with Irazusta (*q.v.*) and Palacio (*q.v.*). He accepted the whole package of beliefs of this organization, the need for basic industries to be established, protectionism, the defence of agrarian interests, the opposition to foreign ownership of railways and oil, and the criticism of democracy, which he labelled 'a public calamity'; he preferred a strong 'classical' authoritarian republicanism. Lugones frequently contributed to *La Nueva República*. He eventually renounced the Uriburu dictatorship and was involved from August 1933 with the Guardia Argentina. He continued to advocate a corporate state, albeit one with less 'politics', which should come as no surprise to Bernard Crick. On the social question he was a reactionary, believing in old-fashioned financial rectitude, limits on government spending and the theory that wealth would filter down to the lowest segments of society.

Lugones committed suicide in Buenos Aires by taking cyanide on 19 February 1938. His most important political work is contained in *La Grande Argentina* (1930), an attack on Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in *La Patria Fuerte* (1930), *Política Revolucionaria* (1931) and *La Hora de España* (1929), the transcription of a speech given in Lima. His complete poems appeared in 1948. He was a major spiritual influence not only on a generation of Nationalists but also on innovative writers of the new generation like Jorge Luis Borges.

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LUKOV, Hristo Nikolov (1887–1943)

Bulgarian general and head of the fascistic Legionary Movement.

Born in Varna in 1887, Lukov completed his military studies in Sofia in 1907. During the First World War he was the general in charge of the 2nd Bulgarian army on the Macedonian Front. In 1924 he

was appointed head of the Artillery School and he was heard in meetings with fellow officers talking about sweeping away corrupt politicians. He worked in the educational department of the Artillery Inspectorate of the War Ministry from 1928 to 1934. He was the founder and general editor of the journal *Artillery Survey*. In 1934 he became commander of the 3rd Division of the Bulgarian army and on 23 November Minister of War, a post he held until 4 January 1938. Though he had supported the May 1934 coup of Georgiev, Velchev and Zaimov, he later changed his mind and as War Minister was used by Tsar Boris to rid the army of Zveno (Military League) elements; he allowed Boris considerable latitude in military affairs.

As one of the leaders of the SBNL or Union of Bulgarian National Legions, an extreme right-wing organization founded in 1932, Lukov declared his absolute loyalty to Boris and was prepared to use the organization to allay any threats to the monarchical regime although the Legionary Movement was banned in January 1936. In the autumn of 1936 Lukov was one of the Legionary leaders who tried to find a *modus vivendi* with the National Social Party of Tsankov (*q.v.*) in an attempt to forge a fascist unity.

During the Second World War Lukov became absolute leader of the Legion, which by this time was no more than a persecuted oppositionist party anxious to identify completely with the German cause. Lukov was not allowed to profess his opinions in public but he continued to seek unity with the Tsankovites in advocating Bulgarian intervention in the war against the Russians alongside the Germans. It is clear that the Germans wanted a government headed by Lukov which would be unequivocally of the Axis. In the interests of diplomacy, however, they had to assure Tsar Boris that they had no formal contacts with Lukov and the Legion. In April 1942 after a German investigation of Lukov's activities, Schellenberg (*q.v.*) declared: 'I do not believe that General Lukov has any non-private connections with Germany and German circles.' Lukov was not only personally anti-Semitic but so anti-Turkish that he was accused of throwing pork down Turkish wells. Lukov was assassinated on 13 February 1943 after he had retired from active politics, allegedly by a group of communists led by Violeta Yankova but possibly by the Tsar's agents.

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LUNDE, Gulbrand Oscar Johan (1901–42)

The Norwegian Goebbels, leading member of the Nasjonal Samling.

Born on 14 September 1901 in Fona, Lunde attended the Technical High School (EHT) in Zurich in 1920 and Freiburg University from 1921 to 1925, receiving his D Phil. in the latter year. He also attended various educational institutions in Graz, Vienna, Geneva and Bern. In 1927 he was appointed a lecturer in chemistry in Oslo University and worked from 1929 until 1940 in the Hermetikkin-dustriens Laboratory in Stavanger where he eventually became director, and struggled with the problems of crystal structure. He also specialized in food technology.

He was one of a number of talented scientists who joined the Nasjonal Samling in 1933. He was created the *Fylkesfører* for Stavanger where he was elected to the city council in 1934. This city was one of the fertile areas for NS support; the movement won 12 per cent of the vote in the communal elections of 1934. Lunde was in charge of the propaganda effort for the NS and was able to mobilize the strong Christian pietist tradition on the west coast to attack atheistic socialism.

Lunde was not only very able and intelligent but very loyal to his leader Quisling (*q.v.*) although when he was granted the portfolio for social affairs in Quisling's short-lived cabinet of 9–16 April 1940 after Quisling's 'seizure of power', he was about to decline, disturbed by his leader's precipitate behaviour. From 25 September of the same year he served on the commissarial state council in charge of propaganda and later as head of the Department of Culture and Public Opinion. In this capacity, and still NS propaganda chief, he was responsible for strong attacks on the press and an attempt to infiltrate various cultural and communication organizations in the field of radio, theatre and publishing. He failed in his efforts to create a corporate organization for the press. Lunde remained a Quisling loyalist to his death, specializing in a particularly abject and sycophantic idolatry. Quisling was devastated by Lunde's drowning on 25 October 1942 when the car in which he and his wife were travelling fell into the water while boarding a ferry near Andalsnes.

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LUTKIE, Wouter Leonardus (1887–1968)*Fervent Dutch Catholic priest and fascist.*

Lutkie was born on 28 February 1887 in S'Hertgenbosch into an affluent family whose head was an importer of leather and skins. At first a Catholic idealist, influenced by Ernest Hello and the French writer Léon Bloy, and a democrat, he was soon to discover not only a strong vocation to be a priest but also a parallel interest in the ideas of internal nationalism and an uncompromising and militant Catholicism. He was ordained in 1919 after attending seminaries in Den Bosch and Haaren. He never completed his studies, a fact which left his ideas with the eccentric stamp of the autodidact. As early as 1921 he was in conflict with his bishop over his extreme views expressed in the journal *Vreugde*. He was allowed to set up semi-independently in a house in Nuland where he lived for the rest of his life as a fascist publicist and priest.

In 1922 already owing more to Mussolini than to his earlier idol, Maurras (*q.v.*), he began to contribute to Emile Vervier's (1886–1968) conservative *Katholieke Staatskunde*. An episcopal ban forbade the use of the word Catholic in the title but undeterred, Lutkie travelled to Italy in 1924 and saw fascism at first hand and declared that it was good. In the same year he was ordered by his superiors to abandon the journal now retitled *Opbouwende Staatskunde* (Constructive Statecraft). However, no ecclesiastical prelates or powers appeared to deter the single-minded priest from his fascist course and he continued in a flood of books, pamphlets and articles to propagate the faith. In 1928 appeared *Van Toorop naar Mussolini* (Jan Toorop was a Dutch fascist painter), in 1929 he edited the journal *Oisterwijk*, and in 1930 the literary-political journal *Aristo*, which he kept going until 1943 and which was, in fact, resurrected after the war and survived until 1965. He also translated Mussolini into Dutch, published a series of interviews with him, took part in the activities of the Istituto Universale di Studi Corporativi and worked closely with a

number of the 'restorational' movements in Holland including the Politiek Herstel.

During the occupation he was far from being an enthusiastic collaborator, being fascist rather than National Socialist in outlook and having little sympathy for Mussert's (*q.v.*) NSB; Aristo was banned by the Germans in 1943. He always claimed that fascism was simply 'democracy governed by a dictator'. He did appear after the war before an examining commission but no prosecution followed. Lutkie died in Nuland on 23 January 1968.

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LUTZE, Viktor (1890–1943)*German National Socialist who succeeded Röhm as chief of the SA.*

Lutze was born on 28 December 1890 in Bevergen (Westphalia) into a family of farmers from Lower Saxony. His father was a master shoemaker as well as a farmer. After his schooling in Ibbenbüren, he joined the army in October 1912, resigning to become a businessman – a career that was interrupted by the First World War in which he volunteered for the Infantry Regiment No. 369. He lost the use of his left eye, the result of a wound. When the war was over he joined the NSDAP in Elberfeld in 1922 after being a member of the Deutsch-völkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. Lutze was the founder of the volunteer corps, the Kameradschaft Schill, of which the martyr Leo Schlageter (1894–1923) was a member, during the anti-French Ruhr campaign. Lutze worked for the NSDAP in Gau Rhineland-North and later the Gau Ruhr. In 1927 he became a deputy gauleiter. By the following year he had become an *Oberführer* in the SA of which he had been a founder member of the Elberfeld group in 1923.

Elected to the Reichstag in 1930, Lutze became police president of Hanover, *Oberpräsident* of Hanover province and a member of the Prussian State Council. At the time of the Röhm *putsch* he was commander of the SA *Obergruppe Hanover* and accused Röhm of making anti-Hitler speeches, informed the Führer in Berchtesgaden, approved of

the SA commander's subsequent arrest, but was disgusted by the way in which the number of deaths was enlarged from the planned 7 to over 80. He was never able to forgive the SS for the executions, although he personally benefited when he was appointed Chief of Staff of the SA on 30 June 1934. The SA was never again able to find a major role for itself despite Lutze's efforts to reconcile its alienated members to the new order and to transform it into 'a politically reliable instrument' of the party. While Himmler (*q.v.*) schemed to have Lutze dismissed as SA leader, Lutze, who was promoted to Reich leader, in his turn, though under strict SS surveillance, plotted to gain the assistance of the Wehrmacht in his personal vendetta against

the SS. Goebbels wrote in his diary: 'Everywhere [Lutze] feels that his SA has been put in the shade. He has got into the wrong hands.'

In April 1941 Lutze resigned as *Oberpräsident* after the stress of his position had made him turn to alcohol. While on an illegal trip with his whole family in a forbidden official car he was killed in a road accident on 2 May 1943 in Hanover.

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M

MACH, Alexander ('Sano') (1902–80)

Slovakian journalist, commander of the Hlinka Guard, Minister of Propaganda and of the Interior in the Slovakian independent state.

Born in Polarikovo near Nove Zamky on 11 October 1902, Mach came to prominence as the disciple and aide of Tuka (*q.v.*). After school he became an editor of the Slovak People's Party journals *Slovak* and *Slovenska Pravda*. He had been from 1924 a member of the Slovak People's Party's (*Ludaks*) political committee. In 1936 he attended the meeting at which representatives of Slovak and foreign fascist and extreme right groups met in Piestany. On 6 June 1938, he wrote an editorial in *Slovenska Pravda* suggesting the formation of a paramilitary wing of the *Ludaks* which in October of the same year became the Hlinka Guard. Mach was appointed its commander in succession to Sidor (*q.v.*) in March 1939 and he held the position until 1944; he had earlier been the chief executive of the HG's predecessor the *Rodobrana*, which aspired to the 'highest priestly and military virtue'. Mach's was one of the most shrill and persistent voices calling for Slovakian independence and was the organizer of the violence which followed the final destruction of the Czech Republic in March 1939.

In 1938 and before March 1939, Mach was chief of the Slovak Office of Propaganda and from March to 29 July 1940 was Minister of Propaganda in the independent Slovak state. From the latter date until the collapse of the state before the Russian advance in 1944, Mach was Minister of the Interior and often acting Prime Minister for Tuka, who was frequently incapacitated through illness. Like his mentor, Tuka, Mach was an authoritarian and a strong National Socialist supporter who lamented the slow pace of fascistization by the reactionary clerical forces led by President Tiso (*q.v.*). The attempt at a coup by Mach and the radicals was forestalled by Tiso in 1940 and Mach was temporarily removed from office on 21 May 1940 as head of the Hlinka Guard. Half-educated with no competence for high office, Mach was described by the German minister in Slovakia as '*eine rhapsodische Persönlichkeit*'. In favour of a more

pronounced pro-German stance, Mach also pushed for a more vigorous anti-Jewish campaign and in autumn 1941 made plans for concentration camps in Slovakia, but in the event the Germans themselves removed the burden from his shoulders with their more efficient organization of deportations to the East. Throughout his career in the Slovak state, Mach tried to use the weapon of resignation to enforce his radical policies on the party but in 1942 Tiso refused to accept his threat to abandon the portfolio of the Interior.

Mach remained loyal to the independent state and to the Germans until the end; he held the purely shadow post of Minister of Home Affairs in the government in exile in Vienna from September 1944 to April 1945. In 1947 he was sentenced by a People's Court to 30 years' imprisonment. He was released in 1968 and lived as a pensioner in Bratislava until his death on 15 October 1980.

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McWILLIAMS, Joseph E. (1904– ?)

Leader of the Christian Mobilizers, an anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi organization active in New York.

McWilliams was born on the Cheyenne Indian Reservation in Hitchcock, Oklahoma on 23 March 1904, of mixed Indian and Irish stock. He had little education and at the age of 17 moved to Perrytown in the Texas Panhandle where he worked in a number of manual jobs. After a time in Los Angeles as a truck driver, he supported himself as a factory

worker and as the inventor of mechanical gadgets, including an improved razor blade. There is some evidence that he was supported by some Jewish friends and that from 1928 to 1938 he held orthodox communist views which by 1938 had a distinct Trotskyist colouring. In 1933 he had attended the Communist Party school. His lightning conversion to the extreme right and his discovery of anti-Semitism seem to have the ring of opportunism about them and were in no little degree influenced by his desire for personal power. He became active in Yorkville, New York, on behalf of Father Coughlin's (*q.v.*) Christian Front though he was not a Catholic. When this organization proved to be, in his eyes, equivocal on the Jewish issue, he founded his own more extreme Christian Mobilizers to incite violence against Jews; he was quite prepared to fraternize with the Nazi German-American Bund and in 1939 the Mobilizers, the Bund and other sympathetic groups held a 'patriotic' rally in New York.

McWilliams claimed that he was gathering around him 'the meanest, the toughest, the most ornery bunch of German soldiers, Italian veterans and Irish IRA men in the country'. Known as the Yorkville Führer and 'Joe McNazi', he was an accomplished demagogue, campaigning from a covered wagon decorated with swastikas, and would often be accompanied by a devoted band of teenage 'groupies' attracted by the blue-green-eyed, tall, dark, curly-haired, man. He would say: 'While we were on our knees praying, they [the Jews] had their hands in our pockets' and 'This nonsense about democracy and equality is through when I'm in power'. When the police appeared, on the look-out for anti-Semitic abuse or incitement to disorder, he evasively referred to 'Eskimos' rather than using the word Jew. In September 1940 he was arrested for disorderly conduct while campaigning for his American Destiny Party and sentenced to 75 days in the workhouse. He was defeated in the 18th district of New York. After being released on parole, he was ordered to serve the remainder of his sentence when he continued his tirades against the Jews and referred to President Roosevelt as 'the Jew King'. In November 1941 he moved to Chicago and in July 1942 was one of the defendants in the sedition case known as *United States v. Winrod* and then in 1944 as *US v. McWilliams*. The case finally collapsed in 1947. From January to October 1945 he acted as a fund-raiser for the American Nationalist Party founded by Senator Robert R. Reynolds, G.L.K. Smith (*q.v.*), and Carl H. Mote. One of his last public appearances before disappearing into obscurity was at a

trial brought for libel against the magazine *Sentinel* in the Illinois Court of Appeal in November 1949.

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MAEZTU Y WHITNEY, Ramiro, Conde de (1875–1936)

Spanish right-wing intellectual of the generation of 1898, essayist, lecturer, publisher, diplomat, playwright and politician who began on the left and moved to an extreme right, authoritarian position.

Maeztu was born on 4 May 1875 in Vitoria, of a Cuban father and an English mother; he was something of an autodidact, a quality which he was to manifest in the lack of scholarly rigour in his works. He spent some time in Paris before 1894 and in the following year wrote for the Bilbao paper *El Porvenir Vascongado* before moving to Cuba to work on his father's plantation. He began his political odyssey as an anarchist, a Basque nationalist and a democratic socialist. In Cuba he was able to see at first hand the consequences of the loss of the Spanish colonies in the disastrous war with the United States of 1898. An awareness grew in Maeztu of the need, in the wake of the disaster, for a revision of fundamental values, for the re-creation of a ruling elite, and for the regeneration of the Spanish moral and spiritual environment by a reawakened intelligentsia. He became the associate of many of the leading writers and intellectuals of his generation, Azorin, Baroja, Unamuno, Machado and others.

The years from 1905 to 1919 were spent in London where he was the London correspondent for several Spanish newspapers and for the Buenos Aires paper *La Prensa*; he attended meetings of the Fabian Society and his anglophilia was confirmed. Passionate, rigid and humourless, Maeztu now began to be concerned about the lack of order and discipline in contemporary society and under the influence of conservative writers like T.E. Hulme and Hilaire Belloc turned his back on the whole humanistic tradition of Western Europe from the Renaissance. In *La Crisis del Humanismo* (1919), his most complete political work, his rejection

of the idea of progress and hostility towards liberal values reached its apogee. He postulated a new social order based on vertical corporations and lauded the hierarchical principle in political structures. He was to be one of the few intellectuals to welcome the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera and in 1928 he served the regime as ambassador to Argentina. He was by this time clearly and unequivocally in the tradition of Spanish Catholic reactionaries like Vasquez de Mella and Donoso Cortés, his slogan being '*Dios, Patria, y Rey*'. While God was the source of all authority, his will would be carried out by a modern form of Caesarism.

In 1928 Maeztu wrote in *La Gaceta Literaria* that fascism was 'the best sign of Europeanism, of spiritual loftiness'. With the foundation of the Republic, he spoke at Unión Monárquica meetings and in 1932 was briefly imprisoned for his part in the abortive Sanjurjo conspiracy. A year earlier he had become director and editor of the monarchist *Acción Española* whose aim, as he saw it, was the 'return of the old Catholic monarchy'. Elected a deputy for Guipúzcoa in 1933 on the Renovación Española list, he epitomized the anti-modernist and traditionalist values of the most reactionary of the monarchists. Jews, he believed, were prone to 'serve and glorify the material'. Predictably he supported the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. In 1934 with *Defensa de la Hispanidad* there appeared the fullest version of his Hispanidad ideology which he described as 'the political promotion of the myth of Hispanicism'. He called for the return of the old religious zeal of the sixteenth century which had conquered a new continent.

Although he never became a member of the Falange Española, he was a major ideological influence and at the same time an apologist for the movement. Detained in 1936 by the Republicans, he was killed on 29 October 1936 in Paracuellos de Jarama, on the outskirts of Madrid where some 2,400 Nationalist prisoners were massacred in November and December.

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MAHRAUN, Arthur (1890–1950)

Head of the Jungdeutscher Orden paramilitary organization.

Mahraun was born in Kassel on 30 December 1890, the son of a privy councillor, Hans Mahraun. In 1908 he joined Infantry Regiment No. 83 in the Prussian army. As a young idealistic officer he fought on the Eastern Front during the First World War. The Jungdeutscher Orden grew out of the Offizierskompagnie Kassel, a Free Corps formed by Mahraun on 10 January 1919; it was renamed the Jungdeutscher Orden on 17 March 1920 after it had been involved in counter-insurgency activity in Kassel and in restoring order in Thuringia after the left-wing risings following the abortive Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch*. By 1921 the Orden had a membership of some 70,000. Emerging from Mahraun's interest in the neo-romantic youth movement, particularly the Wandervogel, the JdO combined a concept of strong leadership with the *bündische* principles of the youth movement. Close until the autumn of 1921 to the more conservative Orgesch movement of Escherich (*q.v.*) and until later to the Stahlhelm, Mahraun's movement, the second largest of the paramilitary formations, worked for an end to the parliamentary system in favour of a national *Volkgemeinschaft*.

Mahraun rejected any forceful overthrow of the Weimar Republic and favoured a pro-Western foreign policy based on reconciliation with France. He met Hitler in Munich during the 1923 *putsch* and considered his appeal to be 'to the evil quality of hatred and passion'. In 1927 he wrote the manifesto of the JdO. In the following year, overcoming his enmity to the democratic system, he founded the Volksnationale Reichsvereinigung (originally called the Volksnationale Aktion) and in 1930 united with the Democratic Party to form the Deutsche Staatspartei, a combination to suffer catastrophically in the election of autumn 1930. Mahraun's strategy was now to work for the rejuvenation of the centre and to counter the reaction of Hugenberg (*q.v.*). (He had always harboured a certain hostility to big business.)

The Order was banned in June 1933 after the Nazi *Machtergreifung*; Mahraun was imprisoned by the Gestapo in Berlin. He was to remain a mildly authoritarian, anti-democratic romantic even after he distanced himself from the regime and turned to writing and publishing. The remnants of the JdO were absorbed after the war into the socially reforming Neighbourhood Movement, which called for a renewal of democracy. Mahraun died on 29 March 1950 in Gütersloh.

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MALAPARTE, Curzio (pseud.) (Kurt Erich Suckert) (1898–1957)

Controversial writer of the fascist period, soldier, syndicalist, journalist, politician and novelist.

Born on 9 June 1898 in Prato, the son of an immigrant Saxon master dyer and textile-machinery technician, later a mill-owner, and an Italian mother, Suckert was secretary of the youth section of the Republican Party in 1913. Malaparte had the temperament of a romantic rebel and an adventurer who was to be involved in duels, scandals, arrests, and political passions; Gramsci declared that he was 'capable of any villainy'. Although it is often said, romantically, that he ran away from home to join the Garibaldi brigade volunteers fighting in France, in fact, he was with the small group of volunteers formed by Peppino Garibaldi from February/March 1915 in a brief and bloodless excursion to France. However, he later served as a private in the Brigata Alpi and became an officer. At Bligny during the Ludendorff (q.v.) offensive of 1918 he was badly gassed.

When the war had ended, Malaparte, who had been a colleague of the syndicalist Filippo Corradini, a disciple of Sorel (q.v.), and a participant in the red week troubles of 1914, was deeply impressed by the Russian revolution. He entered the diplomatic service and in 1920 was attached to the Italian legation in Warsaw and saw Trotsky's red army lay siege to the city. Malaparte was always more impressed by the rural peasantry as a source of revolution than by the urban proletariat, but he had an abiding belief that revolutionary impulses must be controlled from the top. In time his incipient reactionary populism was to take the form of an attack on 'modernism' in a defence of the 'provinces' against the 'city of profiteers and shirkers'. He remained a member of the Republican Party until the end of 1921 and then joined the Florence *fascio*. On 1 October 1922 he became secretary of the syndical federation of Florence province. In 1923 he accepted a journalistic post on Rossoni's *Il Lavoro d'Italia* and wrote *L'Europe Vivente* in which he called for a return to Catholic values. By 1924 he had moved to the intransigent wing of the Fascist Party along with his

friend and colleague from Prato, Tullio Tamburini (q.v.).

His opposition to parliamentary fascism led in July 1924 to his launching of the journal *La Conquista dello Stato*; he tried to persuade Mussolini to prorogue the Chamber and set up a state based on the fascist syndicates. Malaparte opposed 'normalization' to such an extent that he became known as 'the laureat of *squadrismo*'. Anti-intellectual, anti-industrial and anti-urban, he idealized the early, violent phase of provincial fascism. He indulged in a dialogue with Bottai who did not believe that fascism was necessarily incompatible with 'true' liberalism. From the autumn of 1926 Malaparte was connected with Massimo Bontempelli's review *900* and from 1924 had been a regular contributor to *Il Selvaggio* which shared his Stapaese views. Also in 1926 he became secretary of the literary review *La Fiera Letteraria* and in September 1928 of *Il Mattino* in Naples. However, Malaparte's views had become less acceptable to the regime and in June 1928 he was arrested for a brief time and *La Conquista dello Stato* came to an end. His book *Don Camileo*, written in 1926 but not published until 1946, was an obvious satire on Mussolini.

By this time Malaparte's scepticism and independence had led him to reject the personality cult though he was still loyal enough to attack Benedetto Croce's anti-fascism in an article in *Il Mattino* in 1928. He resigned as editor of *La Stampa* (Turin) in January 1931, went into exile in Paris and left the PNF. In Paris he wrote his famous *Technique of the Coup d'État* which was to be such a great influence on right-wing terrorists like the Cagoulards in France; the irony is that the book stresses the defence of the state as a technical rather than a political problem. Malaparte had still not purged the powerful aura of Il Duce from his consciousness as he was able to write: 'Hitler is only a caricature of Mussolini.' On his return to Italy in the autumn of 1933, he was arrested and sentenced to five years' confinement for 'anti-fascist activity abroad', a sentence made severer, perhaps, not only by his involvement with the daughter-in-law of a leading Italian industrialist but through the hostility of Balbo (q.v.) with whom Malaparte had ceased to be on good terms. In the event, Malaparte served only one year on Lipari, Ischia, and in Forte dei Marmi (from where he wrote articles for *Corriere della Sera* as Candido), thanks to Ciano's (q.v.) intervention.

In 1937 Malaparte became editor of the literary review *Prospettive* (it survived until March 1943) which succeeded in rallying a handful of intellectuals to the Mussolini regime. Anti-fascists were inclined

to dismiss Malaparte's misfortunes with the regime as merely incidents 'in the life of a courtier'. As a war correspondent he began working in Africa for *Corriere*, but then moved on in 1941 to Bessarabia and the Ukraine and later still reported the Finnish siege of Leningrad. His experiences in Russia formed the basis of his book *La Pelle* (1949), a mixture of fact and fiction in novella form. He also worked for a year in Finland on his other wartime memoir the better-known *Kaputt* (1944), after being expelled by the Germans for the tone of his *Corriere della Sera* articles in May 1941. On his return to Italy he was again arrested in July 1943 for a short time. After Italy's withdrawal from the war he served as a liaison officer with the Allied forces in the occupation of Naples. He later toured Germany for the Allied psychological warfare branch.

Vain, preoccupied with his own appearance and a social climber, Malaparte came close to communism after the war, writing for the party paper *L'Unità* under the name of Giani Strozzi; his interest in communism had been apparent as early as 1929 when he was allowed to visit the Soviet Union, and returned impressed with Stalin's five-year plan. His especial interest in Maoism provoked not only a visit to China but also the bequest of his villa on Capri to the Chinese communist government. Malaparte died on 19 July 1957 in Rome after undergoing a death-bed conversion to the Roman Church.

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MALLIARAKIS, Jean-Gilles (1944–)

French doctor of economics and extreme right activist.

Malliarakis, descended from a Greek admiral Marc Malliarakis, was born in Paris on 22 June 1944. He was a young supporter of Sidos' Jeune Nation in the late 1950s. In 1966 he founded the anti-Zionist Cercle Capitaine Moureau and in 1969 launched L'Action Nationaliste, with recruits mostly from the Sciences Po in Paris; its aim was 'to free France from foreign parties, to free the press from the money-power'. A year earlier he had been associated with Roger Holeindre's Jeunesses Patriotes et Sociales. Arrested a number of times, he was imprisoned for violent agitation on behalf of his solidarist beliefs.

From 1969 until its proscription in 1973, he was a leading member of the Ordre Nouveau and represented on its political bureau. He refused, however, to join Le Pen's (*q.v.*) National Front in 1972, disagreeing with it on a number of issues. In February 1975 he rejoined a group with which he had earlier been associated, the Groupe Action Jeunesse, an adherence which caused the traditional solidarists of the movement to walk out. The GAJ was later transformed into the Mouvement Nationaliste Révolutionnaire. Malliarakis was editor of *Jeune Nation Solidariste* from 1975 to 1977. The MNR, whose differences with the Front National did not at this time preclude the provision of stewards for FN meetings (although he referred to his own skin-head elements as '*petits cons*'), represented a vehicle for the concrete embodiment of Malliarakis's economic and political obsessions, his condemnation of the 'Yalta system', his exaltation of revolutionary activism, his anti-capitalism, his deep hostility to 'Zionism' and to American imperialism, and his commitment to French national independence and, on the economic front, his espousal of a kind of non-Marxist interventionist national communism. At times 'anarcho-fascist' and at other times veering towards a pro-Soviet orientation, Malliarakis represents a radical 'Strasserite' nationalism determined to undermine a liberal society.

In the 1970s Malliarakis bought the publishing and propaganda house, La Librairie Française from Henry Coston (*q.v.*), a figure with whom he shares a hatred of the 'bourgeois dynasties'. He has used it to propagate an eclectic congeries of right-wing ideas in a way similar to those of GRECE. He has demonstrated a certain sympathy for current Islamic nationalist movements including the PLO and Colonel Qadafi and also for the IRA. One of his mentors has been the veteran Action Française professor, Pierre Gaxotte. Malliarakis published in 1982, *Yalta et la Naissance des Blocs*. In February of the same year MNR came together with the Comités de Soutien au Journal Militant and with Sidos' (*q.v.*) L'Oeuvre Française to form the Regroupement Nationaliste but a year later Militant abandoned the coalition. In June 1984 the youth groups of MNR and the Parti des Forces Nouvelles amalgamated to form the Jeune Garde to support Le Pen in his election campaign.

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MANOILESCU, Mihail (1891–1950)

Important Romanian corporatist and 'dependency' theorist and supporter of the extreme right.

Born on 10 December 1891 in Tecuți, the son of a teacher, Manoilescu was educated as an engineer in Bucharest Polytechnic but later became a self-taught amateur economist. His political career began with his membership of General Avarescu's People's Party, a party he served as Undersecretary in the Ministry of Finance in 1926/7. He then switched to the Peasant Party but opposed the more 'peasantist' aspects of the party's policy. The peasantry could never be the dominant force in any modernizing state, Manoilescu believed. In October 1927 he was arrested for carrying political letters from the exiled King Carol to Romanian opposition leaders but was acquitted and later completely vindicated when Carol returned as King in 1930.

In the National Peasant government of Maniu he served as Minister of Communications and Public Works and in late 1930 was a part of the Mironescu cabinet as Minister of Industry and Trade. In 1931 he was appointed Governor of the National Bank and in 1932 professor of political economy in Bucharest University. As his interest in corporatism developed so did his sympathy for Italian fascism and for the extreme right in Romania. In 1932 he launched a review, *Lumea Nouă*, advocating a corporate state for Romania and in November of the same year he attended the international conference in Rome to mark the tenth anniversary of fascism; in 1936 he was a guest at the Nuremberg rally in Germany. It is perhaps ironic that in the 1930s he lived for a time in Mussolini Street, Bucharest. In 1932 he had founded his National Corporatist League (Liga Național-Corporatistă) and thereafter was a major influence on the Carolist dictatorship that was formalized in 1938. He had travelled a vast distance from his neo-liberalism of 1923 towards his authoritarian corporatist ideas of the late 1930s. The essence of his economic beliefs was expressed in his *Theory of Protection and International Trade*, written in French in 1929 and translated into English in 1931.

In *Le Siècle de Corporatisme* of 1934 and in *Le Parti Unique* of 1936, which marked his ultimate conversion to fascism, he argued for the protection of native industries by high tariffs; free international trade

could only increase the industrial dominance of the fully-developed western economies. In order to achieve the scientific organization of production, and to create 'a discipline of economic activities in harmony with the ends of the state', in a country where three-quarters of the population were engaged in agriculture, it was essential to give control to a state-subsidized oligarchy. It is clear why this doctrine appealed particularly to Carol's so-called *camarilla*. Manoilescu believed that the twentieth century was to substitute the struggle of nations for the nineteenth-century class struggle. He further believed that the century would be one of a new corporatism taking the place of an outmoded liberalism. He regarded the necessary economic restructuring as being possible only within the framework of a one-party state which could eliminate social and class conflict; in fact, one-party government was 'a biological necessity'.

As a friend of Codreanu's (*q.v.*) Iron Guard, Manoilescu was elected to the Senate on the Guard list. However, the Legion of the Archangel Michael, to give the Guard its original name, never had a strong interest in concrete economic policies; Moța (*q.v.*), in particular was opposed to corporatism in principle. In 1940 Manoilescu became Foreign Minister in time to preside over the Vienna Diktat negotiations by which Romania lost North Transylvania to the Hungarians. Manoilescu passed out at the conference table when the worst was known. He survived the war but died in 1950 in a Romanian prison having been sent there without trial by the communist regime in 1948.

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MARAVIGLIA, Maurizio (1878–1955)

Italian nationalist and then fascist deputy and journalist. Maraviglia was born in Paola (Cosenza) on 15 January 1878 and after taking a degree in law became a functionary in the Ministry of Public Instruction. After a time in the Socialist Party, which he left in 1906, he contributed to Olivetti's (*q.v.*) *Pagine Libere*

and to the Sorelian journal *Divenire Social*. By now he had rejected the internationalism and reformism of socialism. He was to be one of the founders of the Italian Nationalist Association and worked on the staff of *L'Idée Nazionale*. A supporter of intervention, he volunteered for the First World War and in 1918 contributed to *Politica*, founded by Rocco (*q.v.*) and Coppola (*q.v.*). A strong advocate of the fascist/nationalist fusion, he was one of the negotiating team that brought this about. Included on the fascist list for Calabria-Lucania in 1924, he was elected a deputy, a capacity in which he served until 1939. A year previously he had been appointed a member of the Fascist Grand Council.

From 1925 he was assistant editor of *La Tribuna* and in 1928 a teacher in the University of Perugia; he was one of the academics assembled by Panunzio (*q.v.*) in the Faculty of Political Science. Created a senator in 1939, he was accused of illicit profiteering in the Banca del Sud and in the Società Bonificale Calabresi and thereafter played little active part in political life. Following the fall of fascism he spent some time in an Allied internment camp but was released after acquittal. Maraviglia died in Rome on 26 September 1955.

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MARIN, Vasile (1904–37)

Leading Romanian legionary killed in Spain in 1937.

Born in Bucharest on 29 January 1904, Vasile Marin was educated at a lycée in the capital where he was a fellow pupil of Mircea Eliade. His earliest influences were the romantic nationalist ideas of A.C. Cuza (*q.v.*), Eminescu, Aurel Popovici and Nicolae Iorga, and those in the French anti-Semitic and nationalist current of Maurrasianism. A youth with a strong aesthetic tendency, he displayed a consuming interest in literature, art and music. In 1924 and 1925 in the University of Bucharest where he was installed in the law faculty, he became a member of Codreanu's (*q.v.*) nationalist circle and was appointed president of the student Cercului Studentilor Ilfoveni. In the following two years he entered the Școala Militară de Infanterie where he completed his law degree and emerged as a sub-lieutenant in the army. Setting up as an advocate, he simultaneously took a post as secretary to

Ion Lugojeanu, a member of the National Peasant Party and later ambassador to Rome.

In 1929 he became editorial secretary of *Vremii*. When Lugojeanu was made Undersecretary of State to the President of the Council, Marin was appointed his head of cabinet. Marin then moved to the solicitor's office of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. By now it was clear that politically he had, under the influence of Sorel (*q.v.*) and others, embraced fascism; his doctoral thesis from Bucharest University was on the theme of fascism. In October/November 1932 he joined Codreanu's Legion of the Archangel Michael (Iron Guard) in which, from 1933, he formed a group around the journal *Axa* with Moța, Vojen, Constant and Polihroniade. As a lawyer he often defended legionaries in court. When the Liberal premier Ion Duca was assassinated in 1933 and the Iron Guard banned, Marin went into hiding, although he had not been directly involved. When the authorities caught up with him he spent nineteen days in Jilava prison in December 1933.

In September 1935 Marin led the legionary organization in Ilfor and later became its Bucharest leader. He wrote for many of the Legion's journals, for *Cuvântul Studentesc* and *Revista Mea*, and in March 1936 launched (with Gheorghe Ciorogaru) the review *Vestitorii* (The Announcers) which had many of the same contributors as *Axa* and was banned after four issues. Marin, like many other legionaries, believed in the ethical value of violence, a sentiment that was to lead to his death on 13 January 1937 in Majadahonda on the Madrid Front during the Spanish Civil War for which he had volunteered with his friend Ion Moța. Their funeral on 13 February was attended by hundreds of thousands of mourners.

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MARINELLI, Giovanni (1879–1944)

Italian fascist functionary and bureaucrat.

Born in Adria (Rovigo) on 18 October 1879, Marinelli trained as an accountant. A member of the

Socialist Party and director of *Avanti*, he was expelled from the Socialist Party in September 1914. He had been active in Milan as a member of the executive committee of the Chamber of Labour. Exempted from military service because of eye trouble he did not serve in the First World War. On 24 January 1915 he was one of the founders of the Fasci Interventisti di Azione Rivoluzionaria, the organization calling for Italian intervention in the war, and with Bianchi (q.v.), Mussolini (q.v.), Olivetti (q.v.) and De Ambris was a member of its directing committee. In 1916 he was seriously injured at a demonstration in the Teatro Fossati.

In 1919 Marinelli was one of the so-called *sansépulcristi*, the founders of the fascist movement who attended the March meeting in the Piazza San Sepolcro in Milan. From 1919 to 1924 he was a part of Mussolini's personal entourage and, arguably, his most faithful lieutenant who controlled the movement's funds and helped to solicit funds as administrative secretary of the PNF from November 1920. He was to act in the capacity of a sort of *éminence grise* of the regime. As Renzo Martinelli has suggested, he was the founder from the administrative point of view of the bureaucratic organization of the PNF through, in particular, the creation of a corps of inspectors after March 1926. With Rossi (q.v.), Marinelli tried in 1924 to oust Giunta (q.v.) as party secretary. He was one of the provisional directorate of four which ran the party from April to August 1924 with Melchiori, Forges Davanzati (q.v.) and Rossi. As a functionary in the Ceka del Viminale Marinelli worked with operators like Dumini (q.v.) against anti-fascist exiles in France and elsewhere. He was seriously implicated in the socialist Matteotti's murder in June 1924; the squad that did the killing had been under Marinelli's direct orders. In December 1925 investigating magistrates found that Marinelli and Rossi had ordered Matteotti's abduction but Marinelli was released under the recent amnesty for political crimes. In 1947 the trial of Dumini, whose squad had actually carried out the killing, suggested that the chief instigator of the crime was now dead (i.e. Marinelli or Mussolini himself).

Marinelli was dismissed, only to be reappointed as inspector-general of the party in March 1926. In effect he resumed as administrative secretary until November 1939, when his functions were absorbed by the party secretary, with considerable power (he was instrumental in the fall of Giuriati as party secretary). He was elected to the Chamber in 1929 and remained a member of the Fascist Grand Council until July 1943 (to which he was appointed in May 1935 for his services to 'the nation and the cause of the revolu-

tion'). He served as Undersecretary for Communications from November 1939 to February 1943.

Marinelli voted for the Grandi motion at the Grand Council meeting in July 1943 and was arrested in November 1943. Put on trial for high treason by the authorities of the Italian Social Republic, he was condemned to death by the Verona Tribunal with Ciano (q.v.) and De Bono (q.v.). He was executed by firing squad in the fort of San Procolo in Verona on 11 January 1944.

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MARINETTI, Filippo Tommaso (1876–1944)

Italian poet, novelist and founder of Futurism.

Born in Alexandria (Egypt) on 12 December 1876 to wealthy Milanese parents who had business connections in Egypt, Marinetti studied in the Jesuit school in Alexandria from where he was expelled for his enthusiasm for the 'immoral', to the Roman Catholic Church, Zola. He took a degree from the University of Paris and then moved to the law faculty in the University of Pavia and to Genoa, graduating with a thesis on parliamentary government in 1899. Marinetti dedicated himself to a literary career and established his reputation as an admirer of the symbolists and as a rather unoriginal modernist poet.

It was the publication of the first Futurist manifesto in *Le Figaro* in February 1909 that launched the dynamic, avant-garde Futurist movement and with it Marinetti's career as its originator. Rooted in French symbolism, in the world of Alfred Jarry, Nietzsche and the Italian nationalists, Futurism represented a total rejection of the past, the apotheosis of destruction, violence, struggle, and all that was dynamic and modern in contrast to the dead world of libraries, museums and academies and the 'canker of professions, archaeologists, cicerones, and antiquaries'. Marinetti's methods of propagation included various provocative antics, buffoonery and polemics designed to shock the bourgeoisie, and he did, indeed, scandalize many of his contemporaries. War he believed to be the 'world's only hygiene' and art could only be 'violence, cruelty and injustice'.

The Futurists were among the most violent interventionists in 1915 and as Marinetti declared: 'we go to war singing and dancing'. He was arrested twice in 1915, once for burning the German flag. Marinetti joined the first Lombard cyclist volunteers and later the Alpini. He often spoke with Mussolini at the same meetings and in April 1919 the two men joined forces to destroy the socialist paper *Avanti!*. In September 1918, with Mario Carli and Emilio Settimelli, he had founded the journal *Roma Futurista* (subtitled Journal of the Futurist Political Party). This party defined itself as the movement of revolutionary nationalism against pacifistic socialism. In truth, Marinetti's political ideas were a confused mélange which embraced a belief in women's rights, a vague anarcho-libertarianism which advocated the abolition of police and prisons, a belief in mass-production, Fordist, techniques, and an Italian nationalist faith in the creation of a technocratic elite who would guide the soporific masses. He called for a 'Futurist democracy' opposed to political parties with a vague mystique of action, 'violence rehabilitated as a decisive argument', and a social dimension which would expropriate church property and nationalize large land-holdings.

Elected to the central committee of the fascist movement in March 1919, he stood as an unsuccessful candidate for parliament in November but was to leave the party at the second fascist congress in Florence in 1920 because of his disapproval of what he saw as excessive monarchism, clericalism and sympathy for bankers and industrialists. Marinetti's call for the expulsion of the Pope from Rome did not endear him to Mussolini who called him an extravagant buffoon. However, in 1924 Marinetti dedicated his book *Futurismo e Fascismo* to 'his dear and great friend Benito Mussolini' and he was to find a personal *modus vivendi* with the fascist regime which led to his election to the Italian Academy in 1929 and to Mussolini's surface adoption of Futurism as one of the founding influences of fascism. Marinetti came to believe that fascism constituted the 'realization of the minimum Futurist programme'. In 1923 he had presented Mussolini with a manifesto in defence of *Italianità* in the hope that the regime would aid young artists in reasserting Italy's cultural hegemony. His championship of Italian values (curiously his first few books had been written in French), typical in their vehemence of the expatriate, his hatred of traditional socialist leaders, his discovery of Sorel (q.v.) and his substitution of an 'aristocracy of the spirit' for the proletariat, amounted to something less than fascism but, as in the case of other intellectuals, he

was drawn by the force field of fascism into an allegiance he was to regret.

He deplored the anti-Semitic legislation of 1938 and became severely disillusioned by fascist practice. Only his personal loyalty to Mussolini caused him to rally to the Salò Republic in late 1943. Marinetti had volunteered for the Eastern Front in the winter of 1942/3 as he had done in the Ethiopian campaign; returning home wounded he was bed-ridden until his death on 2 December 1944 in Bellagio. So ended the life of a man who had in 1919 carried a few hand grenades in his pockets, who had suggested the idea of a bank for artists and whom Papini (q.v.) described as 'like a meteorite landing in an old palace garden'. His funeral was almost the last public occasion in the Italian Social Republic.

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MARION, Paul Jules André (1899–1954)

French journalist who moved from the Communist Party through socialism to Doriot's (q.v.) PPF and a ministerial post under the Vichy regime.

Born in Asnières (Hautes-de-Seine) on 27 June 1899, the son of a lawyer's clerk and former laboratory medic and a man of the extreme right, Paul Marion volunteered for the First World War in January 1918 but saw no action. Demobilized as a quartermaster sergeant in 1921, he enrolled in the philosophy department in the Sorbonne in August 1921, emerging with a degree in 1924. He joined the Communist Party in 1922 and in November 1924, when the propaganda school in Bobigny (l'École Nationale) was established, Marion became an instructor. By the summer of 1926 he was secretary of the central propaganda department, editor of *L'Humanité* (1925–8), a member of the central committee of the party, and editor of *Cahiers du Bolchévisme*. In November 1927 he, up till then a loyal and intelligent communist, visited the Soviet Union and met Stalin, Rykov, Molotov and

Bukharin. In Moscow, where he remained until February 1929 to attend the Lenin School for communist activists, the experiences of his mistress, his attendance at a show trial and the obvious manipulation of the Revolution by a handful of oligarchs, made him gradually aware of 'a Russia, hidden, unknown, enveloped in thick darkness, a Russia, subterranean and tragic'.

When he returned to Paris, he broke with the Party in August 1929. 'I remain attached to the idea of struggle for the emancipation of the workers and the creation of a better society,' he wrote. His Russian memoirs are contained in *Les Deux Russies* (1930). In the latter half of 1931, still a revolutionary, he joined the Socialist Party (SFIO), where he gravitated towards Déat (*q.v.*) and the 'right' of the party. Already before his break with the Communist Party he had contributed to the organ of Valois's (*q.v.*) Republican Syndicalist Party, *Cahiers Bleu*. In the early 1930s he sought a complete realignment of revolutionary elements across conventional party boundaries; he wrote for Luchaire's (*q.v.*) *Notre Temps*, talked of the need for 'rational solutions' of the economic problem and of 'general cooperation' in the economic crisis of 1931, studied the socialist solutions of the Parti Ouvrier Belge and called for Franco-German rapprochement.

Paul Marion had become aware of the debasement of political language which enabled socialist concepts to appear in 'singularly different mental contexts' and had begun to recognize the 'particular necessities of each nation'. In a neo-Jacobinist zeal for a strong, state-led, social and political restructuring, Marion adhered to the neo-socialists in July 1933; he wrote *Socialisme et Nation* and contributed to the journal *L'Homme Nouveau* while a neo-socialist. He also took part in the meetings in the Café de l'Acacia of men of different ideological origins. These men, Luchaire, Marquet (*q.v.*), Victor Arrighi and others, hoped for a 'second French Revolution', a junking of old dogmas, a regime based on economic collectivism, and were as anti-capitalist as they were anti-parliamentary. Men of the right like Claude Jeantet (*q.v.*), Claude Popelin and Jean-Marie Aimot shared Marion's concern with new directions and a 'new order'.

In 1936 Marion was defeated as Union Socialiste Républicaine candidate in Belleville (East Paris). He began to talk about national communism, a totalitarian state with popular support. In June 1936 he joined his fellow communist dissident Doriot's PPF which he described as 'a soul, a doctrine, a mystique'. Marion became a member of the political bureau and the national council, edited *L'Emancipation Nationale* and *La Liberté* (1937–38), and practised

his expertise as propaganda director. His input into the party programme was considerable but in January 1939 he departed, disgusted by Doriot's gross personal habits and 'Stalinist methods'. In his book *Leur Combat* (1939) he characterized the revolutions of the twentieth century – Bolshevism, fascism, National Socialism and Francoism – as having a common nationalist mission. In August 1939 he was mobilized near Wassembourg on the German frontier, taken prisoner in June 1940 and released from POW camp in January 1941.

On 11 August 1941 Marion was taken on as secretary-general for propaganda in the Vichy regime. He was a powerful influence on the propaganda effort of the new Vichy state including censorship of press, radio and cinema among his responsibilities. As Secretary of State for Propaganda in the Laval government from April 1942, he, paradoxically, suffered a diminution of his powers when Laval insisted on taking over the portfolio himself. Marion was rumoured to be, with Pucheu (*q.v.*), one of the mysterious technocratic elite, the so-called *synarchie*. He had by now become convinced of the validity and the justice of European National Socialism. He was appointed president of the Committee of Friends of the Waffen-SS.

On 6 January 1944 Marion relinquished his propaganda post and in August fled first to Belfort and then to Sigmaringen in Germany where he was one of the 'passives' of the exile community, a tragic figure who came to be known as 'Paul de la Lune'. He attempted a flight to Switzerland after the end of hostilities but was expelled. He hid for a time in Fügen (Tyrol) but on 12 July 1945 surrendered to the Allies. Imprisoned in Fresnes, he was tried and sentenced to ten years but in July 1951 was granted a presidential amnesty and released in September. He died on 1 March 1954 in Paris.

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MARKOV, Nikolai Evgenevich (1866– ?)

Russian leader of the Union of the Russian People.

Born in the Kursk area in 1866, Markov was a prominent land-owner but also by profession an engineer.

In 1905 he organized the local upper middle classes into a self-defence organization known as the Party of Civil Order. He was responsible for the publication of the journals *Kurskaia Byl'* and *Zemschchina*. Markov joined the Union of the Russian People (Soyuz Russkogo Naroda) and as a member of the executive council proved himself the most formidable leader of the URP. In the Duma he attacked stock-exchange capitalism and revolutionary socialism, uncovered alleged masonic plots and railed against Jewish 'ritual slaughter'. He prophesied the murder of all Jews in a massive pogrom. After the Revolution he wrote: 'in its spirit the Russian popular movement was almost similar to contemporary National Socialism', although this view has been most convincingly refuted by historians like Professor Rogger.

Markov was a member of both the third and fourth Dumas and despite his opposition to speculative capitalism was himself active in several private railway companies. After the split in the movement and the departure of Dubrovin (*q.v.*) in 1910, Markov became the leader of the URP and editor of *Vestnik Soyuza Russkogo Naroda*, the journal of the Purishkevich (*q.v.*) faction. In spite of his membership of the fourth Duma from 1912, he agitated for a *coup de main* in order to return the country to primitive autocratic rule; his claim to abide by the rules of the Duma was undercut by his basic hostility to parliamentary and party government. During the First World War, Markov was one of those demanding a separate peace treaty with the Germans and in 1918 tried to get the Germans to assist in a plot to save the Russian Imperial family, plans that belonged to the realm of fantasy. He moved to Germany after the Revolution where he headed the Russian Monarchist Union. Markov represented the extreme right of the monarchists and came to admire Italian fascism. He was appointed editor of *Dvuglavyi Orel'* and wrote under the name Goi in various émigré publications. He was forced to flee to Bavaria after the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* in Berlin but continued his efforts to bring about a Romanov restoration with Prince Kyrill of Coburg as the favoured Tsar. It was Markov's group that was responsible for the murder of the liberal democrat Kadet leader V.D. Nabokov.

In 1928 Markov's memoir *Voiny Temnykh Stil* was published (translated in 1935 as *Der Kampf der Dunkelen Mächte*) and shortly after he threw in his lot with the Nazis. His fear of 'Jewish/Bolshevik revolution' became almost apocalyptic and in the late 1930s he lectured for the anti-Semitic propaganda machine, the World Service. It is believed he died shortly after 1938.

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MARQUET, Adrien Théodore Ernest (1884–1955)

French neo-socialist Mayor of Bordeaux who became a Vichy Minister of State.

Born in Bordeaux on 6 October 1884, Marquet studied in his native city to become a dental surgeon. As a member of the Socialist Party he had risen by 1908 to become the secretary-general of the SFIO in the Gironde and in 1912 a municipal councillor in Bordeaux. Following his service in the First World War he was elected Mayor of Bordeaux in 1925, where he built up a clientelist machine, a local fiefdom in which his spectacular success was due in no small measure to competent administration. Marquet was deputy for the Gironde from 1924 to 1942. As early as 1927 he had rejected the socialist myth of the revolutionary proletariat in favour of a new coalition of peasants, artisans, small traders, civil servants and other disaffected middle-class elements.

After the split in the SFIO at the Paris conference in 1933, Marquet with Déat and other neo-socialists was expelled from the party in November and in the same month launched the new Parti Socialiste de France based on the neo-socialist slogan 'Order, Authority, Nation', one that Marquet himself had proposed. Marquet had called at the Paris conference for socialism to appear as 'an island of order, a pole of authority' as a substitute for the disorder of capitalism. Proletarian class action should be abandoned and a new pragmatic strategy adopted based on 'the new reality of the nation'. In the wake of the abject failure of working-class revolution, the current of idealism could be manipulated psychologically to create a united effort to overcome the depression. Collectivist but strongly anti-communist, the new party installed 'as its socialist basis, concern for a national instinct rather than for the old class solidarity, its anti-capitalism, modified by the success of

MARQUET

some of the neo-capitalist experiments, now directed purely at finance capitalism rather than 'productive' capital.

Marquet was appointed Minister of Labour in the Union Nationale government of Doumergue from February to November 1934. As a member of this cabinet he was able to introduce a plan of public works, approved in July, to tackle the unemployment problem but on 21 October 1934 he resigned from the PSF taking with him the Gironde Federation to form his own neo-Socialist Party, driven out by the adverse reaction which had been generated in the PSF against his acceptance of a ministerial portfolio. Marquet was, as Sternhell describes him, 'the most hard-line of the neo-socialists' and as in the case of Déat (*q.v.*), Montagnon and Marion (*q.v.*), his willingness to search for a new order based on the new forms of capitalism like cartels was to lead him far to the right, lured by the interventionist regimes of all political colours in the United States, Soviet Union, Italy and Germany, which presented a variety of exemplars from which to choose. Marquet was to support Marion's Plan of 9 July.

In Bordeaux Marquet cultivated his mayoral machine through patronage, a large public works programme, local electoral alliances with the bourgeois parties, and a grey-shirted militia; he remained in power until 1944. Marquet's personal dandyism earned him the nickname 'Adrien le gigolo'. As the international crisis developed in the late 1930 he came to accept an understanding with Germany and approved the Munich agreement. In the Chamber he found himself the ally of rightists like Tixier-Vignancour (*q.v.*) and those who had moved from left to right like Bergery (*q.v.*) and Déat who sought 'new definitions of authority and of liberty'. On 23 June 1940 Pétain appointed him Minister of State in the Ministry of the Interior. Tried after the war in January 1948, he spent 3½ years in prison and ten years of national disgrace. Marquet died in Bordeaux on 3 April 1955. His old cabinet chief later said: 'Marquet himself thought he was someone of great consequence' and Déat referred to him as a '*cascadeur et bretteur*' (reveller and swashbuckler). Raymond Aron has, perhaps justly, summed up the neo-socialists and planistes in his disinclination to believe they were fascists or National Socialists but instead 'sought an issue in the world crisis and in the impotence of parliaments'.

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MATTHYS, Victor Hubert (1914–47)

Belgian Rexist chief in Degrelle's (q.v.) absence on the Eastern Front in 1941.

Born in Anderlecht on 20 February 1914, Matthys joined the Rex movement at an early age and was involved in the birth of the movement in Louvain; he became its director of propaganda from May 1941. He was editor of the Rex journal *Le Pays Réel* from 1936. Known to be strongly Hitlerian in sympathy, he was later to write: 'By our blood we belong to Germandom, for it is from that we have originated, it is from there that have come to us constant gifts of new blood.'

Arrested on the eve of the German occupation in May 1940, he was after the VNV-Verdinaso-Rex accords to become the acting leader of Rex (from July 1941 'until [Degrelle's] return at the end of the war') in Degrelle's absence as a volunteer in the Walloon Legion. Though a good propaganda organizer, Matthys had been chosen by Degrelle as one who would not constitute any real challenge to his position. Impressionable, physically unimpressive, intelligent, weak, cynical and amoral, Matthys was, like Vidussoni (*q.v.*) in Italy, whom he resembled in many ways, capable of unreflecting acts of aggression and ill-considered impulsive gestures as when he referred to Cardinal Van Roey, the Archbishop of Malines, as the 'old rhinoceros of Malines' and threatened to publish a dossier implicating him in some dubious financial transactions involving the Farmers' Union in the 1930s. The tendency proved his downfall when he ordered some particularly bloody reprisals against the Resistance in Courcelles (Charleroi) on 17/18 August 1944 when 27 prominent citizens were massacred in the name of what he called 'scientific counter-terrorism'. Degrelle had earlier referred to his acting leader as 'my oldest and most faithful collaborator'; he supported Degrelle's change of policy in July 1943.

In August 1944 Matthys retired to Dinant before fleeing to Germany with other Rexist exiles leaving Louis Collard as effective leader. According to Raymond de Becker, he genuinely regretted these and other acts he had committed during the war (this seems to be confirmed by the long address he gave before the Council of War in Charleroi on 4 July 1946). However, the events at Courcelles as well as

the alacrity with which he had entered into the spirit of military and civil collaboration led to his condemnation to death. Sentence was carried out by firing squad on 10 November 1947. As in the case of Vidussoni, raw youth and certain failures of moral and intellectual imagination made him totally unsuitable to wield the large powers bestowed upon him.

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MAULNIER, Thierry (pseud.) (Jacques Louis André Talagrand) (1909–)

French man of letters, playwright, essayist and critic, of the Maurrasian right, prominent in the 'neo-idealist rebellion' of the 1930s.

Born on 1 October 1909 in Alès (Gard), the son of a teacher, Jacques Talagrand or Thierry Maulnier as he became known, was educated in Alès, Nice and at the lycée Louis le Grand in Paris and then at the École Normale Supérieure, where he was a contemporary of Brasillach (*q.v.*). Influenced by Barrès (*q.v.*) and Maurras (*q.v.*), Maulnier wrote for Brasillach's *L'Étudiant Français*. From 1930 he was a member of Action Française and a contributor to the journal of that name from 1931. As a young Maurrasian he wrote for *La Revue Universelle* under the patronage of Henri Massis. He met in 1930 Jean-Pierre Maxence (*q.v.*) with whom he was to form a life-long friendship and the pair of them became frequent contributors to *La Revue de XXe Siècle* and *La Revue Française*. Members of La Jeune Droite group of intellectuals, both men formed part of what Sternhell has called the 'neo-idealist rebellion' and were prominent representatives of what Loubet del Bayle has called the 'non-conformists of the 1930s', a group influenced not only by Nietzsche and Maurras but also by Marx. In 1935 Maulnier won Le Grand Prix with books on Racine and on Nietzsche. A clue to his ideological orientation can be gleaned from his preface to the French edition of Moeller van den Bruck's (*q.v.*) *Das Dritte Reich*.

Always more political than Maxence (although paradoxically while Maxence belonged to Solidarité

Française, Maulnier did not belong to any organization), Maulnier in 1935 signed the manifesto of intellectuals protesting over sanctions against Italy's Abyssinian adventure and generally aligned himself with the fascist views of the *Je Suis Partout* circle, a journal to which he occasionally contributed. His journalistic activities were furious and unceasing. From 1933 he was foreign editor of the anti-parliamentary journal *Rempart*, co-director with Jean de Fabrègues of the highly political *Combat* (1936–9), which had a small circulation (about 1,000 subscribers) and whose motto was, '*À bas la culture bourgeoise*' (Down with bourgeois culture). From 1935 to 1937 he wrote for the Comte de Paris' journal *Le Courier Royal* and with Maxence launched the violent journal with Sorelian overtones, *L'Insurgé* (1937). Maulnier was to break with Action Française (but not finally until after 1942), being too anti-capitalist for Maurras; his polemical editorials on *Combat* and *L'Insurgé* proved too much for the Maurrasian reactionaries.

Maulnier's political stance at this time was by no means simple; he was not anti-Semitic, a prejudice he considered a diversion, and in 1971 he wrote a pro-Jewish book, *L'Honneur d'Être Juif*. Fascism and Nazism he considered 'neo-nationalism' and in 1937 in *Au Delà du Nationalisme* he found fascism lacking any coherent doctrine. Although opposed to democracy which encouraged materialism, and not unsympathetic to the new authoritarian creeds, he was aware of the paradox that 'democracy weakens France but defeats of democracy also weaken her'. Conscious that authoritarian regimes were capable of degenerating into 'totalitarian brutality', Maulnier was, perhaps, closer to Francoism than to Nazism.

Maulnier was demobilized as an infantry officer in November 1939 and moved to Lyons to continue his work for the journal *Action Française* (up to November 1942). Throughout the period of collaboration he wrote for *Figaro* but, while in tune with Pétain's National Revolution, he often despaired of the sheer nihilism of the ultra-collaborators of Paris. He did, however, refer to Vichy's policies as 'authentically French'. He has been described as the 'Sartre of the right' and his position summarized as 'social Maurrasianism' (he was certainly sympathetic to some of Valois' (*q.v.*) national syndicalist experiments). All through his writing there is an implicit anti-materialism and an emphasis on spiritual values.

After 1945 Maulnier withdrew from political writing to concentrate on his function as dramatist and literary critic. He has written for *Figaro* and *Revue de Paris*. From 1946 he was connected with the Fédération movement and in 1950 with François

Mauriac founded La Table Ronde. He was elected to the Académie Française in 1964. As a 'reformed Maurrasian' and still a firm anti-communist, who in 1952 wrote *La Face de Méduse du Communisme*, he has been connected since 1983 as a member of the patronage committee with the *nouvelle droite* journal *Nouvelle École* with Jean Mabire, Louis Pauwels and Jean Cau. He signed a declaration attacking the 'scandalous' campaign by the left to have the Parti des Forces Nouvelles' Eurodroite meetings banned. In 1985 he wrote *Le Dieu Masqué*.

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MAURRAS, Charles Marie Photius (1862–1952)

French journalist, poet, critic, founder of the royalist and nationalist Action Française and immense influence on the French right in the twentieth century.

Maurras was born in Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône) on 20 April 1868 into an old, lower-middle-class, Provençal family. His father, a tax-collector, was a liberal and a supporter of Thiers. Maurras attended the Catholic college in Aix-en-Provence but later lapsed into agnosticism. Moving from the South to Paris in December 1885, he led a bohemian existence as a dilettante *littérateur* in Left Bank café society and became known at first as a literary critic and the founder of the École Romane, which expressed his budding classicism and his antipathy to romanticism.

He supported the Boulangist agitation but it was largely for the nationalist emotion it generated than for any ideological content. He was also impressed by Drumont's (*q.v.*) anti-Jewish campaign, and describes his horror at arriving in Paris and seeing those ubiquitous 'Jewish' letters K, W, Z: 'were the French still at home in France?' he asked. He contributed to Drumont's *La Libre Parole* in spite of the fact that he was disturbed by the populist and even 'socialist' tone of the Parisian's rhetoric. His real political coming of age took place in the late 1890s as a fanatical anti-Dreyfusard, a cause of which he formed the intellectual spearhead with Barrès (*q.v.*)

whom he had met as a contributor to the journals *La Cocarde* and *Le Soleil*. Convinced of an attempt by the Jews and freemasons to sow dissension in the ranks of the army, Maurras argued that there were far wider issues at stake, indeed the validity of France as a nation, than the guilt or innocence of one man. He defended the actions of the forger Colonel Henry, who had implicated Dreyfus, after his death in August 1898.

Already by 1897 a convinced royalist and rejecting the Ligue de la Patrie as too conservative, Maurras founded with Vaugois (*q.v.*) and Pujo (*q.v.*) the Action Française movement in 1899; in 1905 it became the Ligue de l'Action Française. Maurras it was who convinced the republicans in the movement of the need for monarchy and who gave it its neo-royalist (neo-royalist because it was a revolutionary creed appealing to the young as opposed to the older, nostalgic monarchism of stasis) and integral nationalist direction. 'One demonstrates the necessity of monarchy like a theorem,' he said, betraying the influence on him of the positivist Auguste Comte. His other early influences had been Renan, Schopenhauer and Anatole France. From Comte he learned his preference for concrete fact over abstraction (at least in theory) and his belief that the function of poetry was 'not to make a return to our primitive emotions'. At the other pole Maurras was in thrall to those pillars of Catholic reaction Bonald and de Maistre and to the Catholic corporatism of La Tour du Pin (1834–1924). His intellectual odyssey up to his *Enquête sur la Monarchie* (1900), often expressed in his frequent contributions to *La Gazette de France*, had led him to a thoroughgoing rejection of parliament, of the centralized state in favour of traditional local liberties and regional government, and of the forces of disorder and disintegration which he identified with romanticism and anarchism. In an avalanche of books, articles and pamphlets, through *L'Avenir de l'Intelligence* (1905), (in which he developed his anti-capitalism), *La Politique Religieuse* (1917), *Mes Idées Politiques* (1937), *Dictionnaire Politique et Critique* (1932), *La Contre-révolution Spontanée* (1943) and numerous others, he self-righteously and consistently attacked the slogan Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; revolution and romanticism had brought in train its baggage of the cult of the self, of exaggerated individualism and narcissism which marked a break with a tradition which represented a deterministic and static state of humanity subject to no evolutionary process. This eternal order expressed in the idea of the true France (*pays réel*) as against the artificial France of the alien excrescences of democracy and universal suffrage (*pays légal*) was subject to

subversion by Jews, freemasons, Protestants, and *métèques* (foreigners).

Grounded in a deep and absolute pessimism and a firm determinism, Maurras believed civilization could only survive if the masses were kept in a '*stupeur bonheureuse*'. From the logic of the new classical aesthetic allied with the need for the recognition of an elitist and natural hierarchical order, followed not only Maurras' espousal of a Yeatsian aristocracy of the spirit (Maurras was inspired by Graeco-Roman models not those of sixteenth-century Italy), his rejection of pacifism and humanitarianism, his support for property rights but also his acceptance of a social dimension, the overcoming of anomie by a return to social harmony and the restoration of ancient customary relations.

Taking his dictum '*politique d'abord*' seriously, Maurras spoke of violence in the service of reason and, indeed, in 1912 he was sentenced to eight months in prison for wounding, threatening behaviour and carrying illegal weapons; in 1929 he was given a one-year sentence and from October 1936 to July 1937 was in La Santé for issuing death threats to deputies. From a peak of influence of 1914, the AF, now with its own newspaper from 1908 and a strong-arm auxiliary, the Camelots du Roi, declined, particularly after its condemnation by the Vatican in 1926 when Maurras' works were placed on the Papal Index. Lacking charisma and considered aloof, partly the result of progressive deafness, Maurras went into decline and his influence on his young nationalist disciples was dissipated during the 1920s and 1930s. Deserted by the older generation, Dimier, Maritain and Bernanos, he was, at the end of the 1930s, to be rejected by the new generation of Brasillach (*q.v.*) and Rebatet (*q.v.*). In the 1920s he had suffered the breakaway of those, led by Georges Valois (*q.v.*), who gave social reform a high priority.

He had long lamented the 'intellectual annexation' of France by Germany and his virulent anti-Germanism remained undimmed as he disapproved Briand's policy of reconciliation and though he accepted the Munich agreement, he saw Hitler as the 'chorus-leader, the flag-bearer of the elected regime', not in his eyes a matter of congratulation. His attitude to fascist Italy was more favourable; Italy's fascism 'united men by agreement'. After the armistice, the appearance of Pétain as leader came as a distinct surprise but, in fact, he had little contact with the regime. The AF newspaper continued to appear in Lyons and Maurras continued to be the advocate of *La Seule France* of decentralization, a peasant economy, opposed to industrialization; he called for a positive collaboration and for the heavens to rain

down on the British and the Resistance. He proved himself totally indifferent to the fate of French Jews.

Maurras was arrested in Lyons and charged with having 'intelligence with the enemy'. After a spirited defence he was condemned by the High Court on 27 January 1945 to national degradation and to solitary confinement for life. He was expelled from the Académie Française to which he had been elected in 1938. In Riom and then Clairvaux prisons he discovered an even higher level of prolixity, resulting in a torrent of writings. Pardoned in 1952, he died on 16 November of the same year in Saint-Symphorien near Tours. The contradictions of his beliefs and his career were summed up by Rebatet in his description of Maurras as a Catholic without faith, a terrorist without killers, a royalist denied by his Pretender; in the end 'the brilliant illusionist of abulia'.

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MAXENCE, Jean-Pierre (pseud.) (Pierre Godmé) (1906–56)

French man of letters and of the extreme right, described by his son as a 'nationalist Quixote'.

Born on 20 August 1906 in Paris, the son of a public work entrepreneur, Pierre Godmé was educated in the Sorbonne. As a protégé of the writer Henri Massis and under the influence of Charles Péguy (1873–1914), he was close to the Action Française although never a member, but moved away when it was proscribed by the Vatican in 1926. A year earlier Maxence, a name Godmé borrowed in 1928 from *Le Voyage des Centurions* by Psichari (1883–1914), had joined the Chevaliers de Saint-Michel, invoking the

names of Henry Lagrange and Henry du Roure (1883–1914), an associate of Marc Sangnier (1873–1950), both nationalists of the right killed in the First World War. In the same year Maxence first wrote for *La Gazette Française*. A neo-Thomist who believed that ‘everything is metaphysical’, he came to epitomize the revolt of young Catholic nationalists in search of a social order opposed to established views and existing society.

As one of the ‘non-conformists of the 1930s’ Maxence became an acerbic literary critic in *Gringoire* (1934–9), a historian in *Histoire du Dix Ans* (1938), and a polemicist in *Positions I and II*. Close to the *Réaction* and *Jeune Droite* (1930–4) groups, he was director of *Les Cahiers* from 1928 to 1930 and in November 1930 moved to *La Revue Française* (1930–3). An anarchist of the right by temperament who denounced ‘les bourgeoisies d’argent’, Maxence made few forays into practical politics, the exception being his appearance as a speaker for Renaud’s Solidarité Française in 1934 and his friendship with the rural fascist Dorgères (*q.v.*), even as a member of Solidarité he claimed to prefer ‘to rethink France in order to remake it’. While it is true that he wrote for the anti-parliamentary and anti-capitalist *Remparts*, for *Combat* and for *La Revue du XXe Siècle*, supported L’Ordre Nouveau group (1934–5), and wrote with his life-long friend Maulnier (*q.v.*) for *L’Insurgé* together with the later Marxist Maurice Blanchot and Claude Roy, a friend of the then nationalist François Mitterrand, Maxence distanced himself from the fascist circle around *Je Suis Partout* and retained the germanophobia, even during the occupation, of his early Action Française days. Maxence was a decided enemy of Léon Blum and the Popular Front, as is apparent from his description of Blum: ‘he had the body and he has the soul of a degenerate aristocrat, he is a foreigner because he is Blum. Heart, spirit, flesh, blood: everything is foreign’. Despite this he was no visceral anti-Semite and not only rejected racism as contrary to the French spirit but, during the war, carried out charitable work which involved saving Jewish children. Brasillach left this picture of Maxence with his dynamism and vitality in search of a great Catholic literary review: ‘bristly hair, chain-smoking, bubbling with ideas, dreaming up magnificent projects’. However, it has to be admitted, as Sternhell has pointed out, perhaps overzealously, that Maxence, with his anti-materialist obsessions, was close to the kind of fascism represented by Poulet (*q.v.*) and the Rexists with its focus on the decadence of soul in contemporary life. It is also true that his *Demain la France*,

written with his brother Robert Francis and Maulnier, dedicated to the dead of 6 February 1934 (those killed in the riots in Paris, on that day, when right-wing Leagues threatened the government but stopped short of revolution), attempted to give some intellectual respectability to the rioters and further that the paper violence of *L’Insurgé* was to be converted to real violence by the Cagoule, which was close to the journal.

From 1933 to 1939 Maxence worked as professor of philosophy at Montefontaine College and then in Senlis and, after mobilization and capture by the Germans, was sent to Oflag II D in Grossborn from June 1940 to February 1941. He generally supported Vichy, wrote for *La Gerbe*, *Nouveaux Temps*, *Occident* and for Georges Suarez’ *Aujourd’hui* and was director of social services for the Commission for Prisoners in Paris but much of his charitable work was tantamount to resistance. After the war he was forced into exile in Switzerland from October 1946 after an investigation in July. Blacklisted and condemned *in absentia* to twenty years’ forced labour, he remained in Geneva as director of the neo-Thomist Centre Supérieure de Philosophie. Maxence died on 16 May 1956 in Geneva.

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MEIJER, Arnold Joseph (1905–65)

Dutch Catholic journalist and founder of the fascist Zwart Front (Black Front).

Meijer was born on 5 May 1905 in Haarlemmermeer into a devout Catholic and affluent farming family. After school in Oudenbosch, he was educated in a series of seminaries including the one at Warmond. He was influenced by the Catholic fascism of Father Lutkie (*q.v.*) and found the moderation of the orthodox Catholic Party anathema to him, especially after he had been removed as assistant priest following pressure from the Bishop of Haarlem. In 1932 he wrote for the authoritarian conservative *De Rijkseenhed* and in 1933 made a contribution to Jan Baars’ (*q.v.*) *De Fascist*, organ of the ANFB. He began to produce a series of articles and pamphlets, deploring the moral, cultural and political decline of Europe for which he believed fascism to be the only solution.

Having become a member of the ANFB, he launched a journal, with the substantial wealth inherited from his father, which he called *Zwart Front*. The ANFB, like many similar movements, was a hotbed of factionalism and personal ambition, resulting in the inevitable quarrel with Baars and the departure of Meijer. He took with him the southern regional organization of the movement which took on new life as the *Faschistische Verbond Zwart Front*, with Meijer as leader in May 1934. Meijer was anxious to ensure the international credentials of the new movement and travelled to Rome with Lutkie to enforce this message in January 1935. He had, the year before, been a delegate at the fascist international meeting in Montreux.

By 1937 Meijer had drawn in several smaller groups and felt strong enough to contest the elections, but received only 0.2 per cent of the vote, although he personally managed a healthier 21.4 per cent in Oisterwijk. From this time until 1940 the ZF struggled to outbid and outmanoeuvre Mussert's (*q.v.*) NSB in its appeal to the small man whether employed in industry or on the land. It was particularly virulent in its anti-Semitism. In July 1940, after the German invasion, the ZF joined the newly-created National Front which believed in corporatist solutions, was highly anti-Semitic and advocated a Greater Netherlands. This was banned by the Germans on 13 December 1941. Having virtually gone into retirement after finding a *modus vivendi* with the occupiers, Meijer escaped to Belgium following his arrest on 27 October 1944 but gave himself up and was sentenced by the High Court in June 1946 to five years in prison.

In 1946 he wrote *Alles voor het Vaderland*. Freed from prison in July 1948 he entered the hotel business but continued to be involved in political activities with the Lutkie circle around the resurrected *Aristo* journal. Meijer died on 17 June 1965 in Oistewijk from where he had operated since the middle 1930s.

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MEINVIELLE, Julio (1905–73)

Argentine priest, anti-Semite and Catholic philosopher and theologian.

Born in Buenos Aires on 31 August 1905, Meinvielle spent much of his later life as chaplain of the Santa Casa de Ejercicios. His influence as a Thomist philosopher of the extreme right extended from the late 1930s to the 1970s throughout Catholic Latin America. After receiving his doctorate in philosophy and theology, he taught philosophy in Buenos Aires at the famous Courses for Catholic Culture. In 1937 he was associated with the young Catholic group which produced the '*programa nacionalista*' and included Anzoategui, Etchecopar (*q.v.*) and Sanchez Sorondo. In a number of influential books, including *Concepción Católica de la Política* (1932), *El Judío* (1936), *Entre la Iglesia y el Reich* (1937) and *Hacia la Cristiandad* (1940), he described a Catholic traditional *Weltanschauung* which was predicated on the destruction of the 'world liberal-bourgeois structure'; he envisaged a new political and economic order, inspired by Catholic social thinking, to take its place. 'Politics is not independent of theology,' he declared. The decline of the Catholic order was the result of a three-pronged attack by Protestantism, the principles of the French Revolution and communism, with the Jews as the unifying factor behind them all. The struggle between Jews and Christians, those twin poles of attraction, was one between Lucifer and Jehovah, the Dragon and Christ. He referred to Jews as 'the cursed race' and 'sons of the devil'.

His doctrines were based essentially on Aquinas and on the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, which he contrasted with those destructive bastard children of Cartesian rationalism, liberalism and communism. He contributed to many of the movements and periodicals of the extreme nationalist right. In 1941 he was a member of Sanchez Sorondo's Nueva Política group and throughout his career he contributed at various times to *Crisol*, *La Fronda*, *Ortodoxia*, *Criterio*, and to the Irazusta's (*q.v.*) *Nueva Republica*.

Father Meinvielle supported the Hispanidad tradition, believing that Spain would re-establish its hegemony in Latin America, and he saw the new economic and spiritual order in Germany and Italy as preferable to 'enslaving' liberalism; Spanish Falangism he approved of above all. From the late 1940s to the 1960s, through his journals *Balcón*, *Diálogo* and *Presencia*, he continued to propagate his views. He gave his blessing to the Farrell/Perón regime at first but soon began to suspect that socio-economic concerns had diluted the original nationalist purity of the revolution. He criticized Peronism for its demagogic tendencies and for its opening to the trade unions. In 1952 he was a leading figure in the Unión Federale, a

post-Perón rightist party. In 1961 he was finally suspended from the Church, which had shown extreme tolerance for decades, when the Archbishop of Buenos Aires took exception to President Frondizi being called a communist agent. At this time Meinville was regarded as the spiritual mentor of the youthful extreme right Tacuara and the Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista which were banned in May 1963. He was, perhaps, most famous for his public debate with the French Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain, who took a more liberal view of Catholicism. Meinville was also the founder of the Unión de Scouts Católicos Argentinos. A list of his works can be found in the 1974 edition of *Concepción Católica*, pp. 499–510.

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MERCOURIS, George S. (1886–1943)

Founder of the Greek National Socialist Party.

Born in Athens in 1886, Mercouris was the uncle of the Greek actress and future Minister of Culture, Merlina Mercouri. His father was a Senator and Mayor of Athens. Mercouris studied politics and economics in Athens, Paris and London. He was elected as a parliamentary deputy in 1915 and served until 1929. He was a member of the Protopapadakis cabinet as Minister of Food and Supply in 1921. In 1926 he became Minister of the National Economy. Mercouris served as Greek delegate to a number of international congresses, was a member of various diplomatic missions and, in 1927, was the Greek delegate to the League of Nations.

Mercouris was re-elected to parliament in September 1932 and became vice-president of the Populist Party, but in November after a disagreement with the leader, Tsaldaris, about the necessity for coalition, he left the populists and in December 1932 founded the Greek National Socialist Party to which a number of veterans' organizations and ex-officers became attached. He had earlier, as a delegate to the International Labour Conference, shown a certain sympathy with Italian fascist trade unions and he was to represent the new movement at the Fascist International meeting in Montreux on 16/17 December

1934. Coselschi, the Italian head of the Comitati d'Azione per l'Universalità di Roma reported that Mercouris had been supplying information about government decisions to the Italian legation in Athens. He was also receiving some financial subsidy from the fascists, although reports suggest that they were not convinced that they would ever receive value for their money. Mercouris had close contacts with both Colonel Ceresome, the secretary of the Athens *fascio* and with Count Ciano (*q.v.*), then head of Mussolini's official press.

The Greek National Socialist Party was an authoritarian, corporatist and thoroughly anti-communist movement, oriented more towards fascist Italy, but many of its adherents, including Mercouris, were fervent germanophiles. During the Second World War Mercouris collaborated with the Quisling government of John Rhallis and is known to have been used on more than one occasion as an intermediary between the Greeks and the Germans; it was Mercouris who attempted to arrange talks over the Albanian situation. In 1943 he was appointed by Rhallis as Governor of the Bank of Greece but died of a heart attack in December of that year.

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MESKÓ, Zoltán (1883–1959)

Hungarian National Socialist.

Born in Baja on 12 March 1883, into a family of Slovak origin, Meskó was an eccentric landowner who entered parliament in 1931 as a smallholders' representative. On his first appearance in the Chamber, he is reported to have caused laughter when he appeared in the brown shirt of the Nazi SA. His first serious National Socialist proclivities were demonstrated in his membership of Böszörmény's (*q.v.*) Scythe Cross movement, but their temporary cooperation was not a great success. In June 1932 he announced the formation of the Magyar Nemzeti Szocialista Mezőgazdasági Dolgozók és Munkások Pártja (Hungarian National Socialist Agricultural Labourers and Workers Party), a *petit-bourgeois* party using the brown shirt and the swastika as a symbol. It called for the revision of Hungary's boundaries, nationalization of the banks, and encouraged loyalty to Regent Horthy. It was anti-Semitic. Meskó had clearly modelled himself closely on Adolf Hitler, down to the

toothbrush moustache, and the policies that excited him most were those that would exploit the anti-Jewish feelings endemic in rural Hungary at the time.

In 1933 he amalgamated with the small parties of Szász and Csomós to form the Nyilaskeresztes Part (Arrow Cross Party) with a green shirt as uniform. A year later he formed part of the directorate with Festetics (*q.v.*) and Count Pálffy (*q.v.*) in the National Socialist Party of Hungary until Meskó was expelled in September 1935. He lost his seat in parliament in 1935 but was re-elected in 1939 as an independent National Socialist. As the war progressed, Meskó became increasingly anti-German and played no major role in internal politics. This fact, however, did not protect him from receiving a five-year sentence, increased on appeal to life, in May 1945 after the Liberation. He was later released and died in Nagybaracska on 10 June 1959.

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METAXAS, Ioannis (1871–1941)

Greek general and dictator from 1936 to 1941.

Born on Ithaca on 12 April 1871, the son of a civil servant, Metaxas studied at the Military Academy in Athens from 1885 to 1889. He served in the Greek–Turkish War of 1897 on the staff of the Crown Prince Constantine. From 1899 to 1903 he completed his studies in the Berlin War Academy and served on the general staff in the First Balkan War of 1912/13.

During the First World War he favoured neutrality like the King, and found himself in opposition to Prime Minister Venizelos. He was appointed Constantine's Chief of Staff on 2 March 1915 and opposed the ill-fated Anatolian campaign on military grounds. He was to be belatedly vindicated after the catastrophe of 1920/1. He remained a passionate royalist and was forced to flee the country to Corsica with other enemies of Venizelos after the fall of Constantine in June 1917. Metaxas was condemned to death *in absentia*. He returned to Greece after the restoration of the King in November 1920. In 1921 he founded the anti-Venizelist Free Opinion Party and in 1923 was involved in the abortive counter-revolution of October 1923 after which he was

forced into exile in Italy. He later returned to serve in the Zaimis regime as Minister of Transport. From 4 September 1932 to 16 January 1933 he was Minister of the Interior and from 2 to 18 March 1935 briefly Minister without Portfolio in the Tsaldaris cabinet. During the electoral campaign in June 1935 he formed the Union of Royalists.

His opportunity for real power came on 5 March 1936 when he was appointed Minister of War by the king, George II, whom he had helped to restore to power in 1935. This led to his appointment as Prime Minister on 13 April 1936 and on 4 August the King and Metaxas established the dictatorship in order to prevent a 24-hour strike led by the communists. There were to be no more elections for ten years. Ironically, when he came to power he banned the EEE (National Union of Greece) and other fascist organizations, bringing temporary peace to the large Jewish communities in Thessaloniki.

In the first period of his dictatorship, Metaxas relied on the conservative monarchists at home and Britain abroad but after February 1938 he attempted to eliminate all traces of democracy and to create a police state, albeit one underpinned with social welfare, minimum wage legislation and the creation of public works. It was not so much fascist as a mixture of old-fashioned authoritarianism based on Greek Orthodoxy, capitalism and a cult of Hellenism. The cultural climate thus created, referring back to Spartan ideals and imbued with anti-intellectualism and moral censorship, led to bans on not only the works of Marx and Lenin but also Heine, Freud, Shaw, the *Antigone* of Sophocles and works by Thucydides.

When Italy invaded Greece in 1940, the country enjoyed a brief period of national unity only to be swept away by the German invasion and occupation which Metaxas did not live to see; he died in Athens on 29 January 1941.

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MEZZASOMA, Fernando (1907–45)

Italian fascist youth and cultural leader and minister in the Salò Republic.

Born on 3 August 1907 in Rome, Mezzasoma joined the PNF on 30 June 1921. He progressed from being the secretary of the Gioventù Universitaria Fascista in Perugia to becoming the national vice-secretary of the organization and then national secretary in Rome. In Perugia he had also been a director of the journal *L'Assolto*. He wrote a book describing the principles of the fascist student movement, *Essenza dei GUF*. In 1930 he was appointed vice-secretary of the Scuola di Mistica Fascista, an arm of the GUF, which organized courses and debates on fascist doctrine.

Before his appointment as Minister of Popular Culture, replacing Polverelli, in September 1943 under the Salò Republic, he had already had some experience in propaganda in the Ministry, particularly as it concerned the press. Mezzasoma had acquired such a reputation as an intransigent fascist and admirer of the Duce that Pavolini (*q.v.*) had little difficulty in persuading Mussolini to appoint him as minister. He took measures to stifle all opposition and to centralize the media, press, publishing industry, cinema and the radio, leaving few areas for private initiative. He occasionally had more trouble than he bargained for as with the youth literary and art journal *Architrave* (Bologna, 1942/3). One of the suggestions in his *Direttive per la Propaganda* to the media was: 'A theme which merits more detailed attention is that of the struggle against Jewry and Freemasonry.' He served as one of Mussolini's inner circle, drawn to the dictator by a 'pure simplicity of faith', which according to Almirante (*q.v.*) was visible in his face. 'I am a minister of Mussolini's: I am going to die with Mussolini,' he said and on 28 April 1945 his prophecy was fulfilled when he was killed by partisans in Dongo on his way to Switzerland. Mezzasoma made his final appearance on the following day hanging with his master in the Piazzale Loreto in Milan. Moelhausen, deputy to the German ambassador, Rahn, said that Mezzasoma had the thankless mission of making one obliged to believe the impossible.

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MICHELINI, Arturo (1909–69)

Italian MSI leader.

Born in Florence on 17 February 1909, Micheli was by profession a public accountant in the insurance business. He became federal secretary of the local Rome PNF and fought both in the Spanish Civil War and in the Russian campaign during the Second World War, where he was twice wounded; he was decorated with the silver medal. Micheli was not involved in the Salò Republic but was a leading founder of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano on 26 December 1946. In 1948 he was elected deputy for Rome and in 1954 was appointed secretary of the MSI at the Viareggio conference. At this time he worked as director of the National Federation of Employees in Credit and Insurance. He was also the political director of *Il Secolo d'Italia*, the MSI's newspaper.

Possessed of a certain skill in reconciling conflicting interests and elements, a moderate and an enemy of the 'nostalgics' within the party, who desired a return to the policies of the Charter of Verona of November 1943, he was able for a considerable time to fend off the dissidents, Almirante (*q.v.*), Gray (*q.v.*), Anderson and Romualdi (*q.v.*) who accused him of not exploiting 'a truly fascist style'. As leader of the realist wing of the MSI who believed in the creation of a great national right in support of NATO, taking in Christian Democrats and Monarchists and an opponent of the groupuscules who favoured unconstitutional methods, Micheli at the 8th party congress in June 1965 found himself in a minority, but in a pact with Almirante was able to fend off the dissidents yet again. Almirante finally attained the leadership in 1969, the year in which Micheli died, on 15 June in Rome.

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MISHIMA, Yukio (pseud.) (Kimitake Hiraoka) (1925–70)

Japanese writer and extreme nationalist posturer whose bizarre suicide earned more publicity than any of his creative works, brilliant though they are.

Mishima was born on 14 January 1925 in Tokyo, the son of a higher government official. He attended the Peers' School which he left in 1944 and then studied law in Tokyo University from where he graduated in 1947. Brought up by his grandmother who had

aristocratic pretensions, Mishima was a weak child who was allowed to play only with girls, and isolated in a world of literature and illustration. He was ridiculed in the male-oriented Peers School for his use of the formal, female form of Japanese. Like the protagonist of *Confessions of a Mask*, his earliest formative, sensual memories were of the night-soil man; the androgenous, mythic book-illustrations of Joan of Arc; and the sweaty odour of soldiers. It is all too tempting to see in this upbringing the cause of the puny and bookish Mishima's homosexuality and autoeroticism (he had himself photographed as St Sebastian, pierced with arrows) which later led to the body-building gymnasium and to his romantic longing for a pure beauty, 'a romantic impulse towards death' as he himself described it. Another factor which was to influence his life was his perception of the heroism of war (in which the kamikaze pilots feature prominently); in *Sun and Steel* (1968; English translation 1970) he describes the sheer physical exhilaration of parachute-jumping from a silver tower during his brief experience of military training. He was in constant 'mourning for the death denied him' by the Second World War. His most characteristically 'fascist' work, *Sun and Steel*, is the one in which he describes the salutary effect of the immediacy of muscle and steel on an excess of words with their imprecision and the degeneration which is individuality. His turn to extreme right-wing activism came after his disillusion with logic and his consciousness of the power of words to 'reduce reality to abstraction'.

Mishima entered the Finance Ministry in 1948 only to leave shortly to become a freelance writer. He was connected with the group of mainly left-wing writers around the magazine, *Kindai Bungaku*. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, despite the obvious 'fascist' themes of some of the works, Mishima selected the nationalist perspective as more in keeping with his aesthetic and erotic concerns. He once declared that he 'wanted to have an enemy at any cost . . . I simply chose communism as enemy, because I needed an opponent to provoke me to action.' His biographer, Nathan, has argued, convincingly, that his suicide was 'in essence private, not social, erotic, not patriotic' and has pointed out the game-playing element in his political commitment. There can be no doubt, however, about his commitment to Japanese tradition, to samurai culture and to the emperor cult. His elitism, his lack of concern for the less fortunate and his feudal outlook were expressed in his statement: 'it is my task to restore the priority of the strong'. It was after the acme of his literary career had been reached that he turned to

extremist politics. In 1967 he trained with the Self Defence Forces and, in the following year, the ultra-nationalist Mishima founded his own private paramilitary force, Tate no Kai (Shield Society). The imprecision of the movement was encapsulated in one of its five articles declaring: 'We are the embodiment of Japanese beauty.' After he had completed the manuscript of the last volume of his tetralogy, the *Sea of Fertility* (Hojō no Umi) (1971–4), on 25 November 1970 Mishima delivered a passionate address to the Self-Defence Forces in their headquarters Ichigaya (Tokyo) and, as the culmination of 'masochistic ecstasy', committed ritual suicide by *seppuku*, the traditional samurai manner, in the presence of the Eastern Army Commander, and was beheaded by Hiromasa Koga (after Mishima's male lover and companion, Masakatsu Morita, had failed). He had carefully informed the press of the time and place of the event.

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MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, Arthur (1876–1925)

German political writer, one of the pillars of the 'conservative revolution'.

Born on 23 April 1876 in Solingen, the son of a government architect descended from a long line of Protestant ministers, Moeller attended the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin and, from 1902 to 1914, travelled extensively in France, Britain, Russia, Scandinavia and Italy. A neurotic and isolated individual, Moeller had escaped in 1902 to Paris to avoid conscription into the army; in the French capital he came under the influence of the Russian Merezhkovsky. He earned his living until 1914 as an editor and translator of modern literature, including the collected works of Dostoevsky who was to be another great formative influence in his irrationalist outlook. In his works *The Germans: our mental history in 8 volumes* (1904–10) and *The Prussian State* (1916) he defined history as an essentially irrational process concerned with struggle, effort and combat; he envisaged Germany's destiny as the creation of a new

man. His travels in Europe and particularly in Italy inclined him towards the medieval period, the golden age before Renaissance and Enlightenment. Life in Wilhelmine Germany he characterized as 'revolting', a quagmire of statism and crude economism.

Moeller served at the Front in 1914 and then transferred to the Army press department. The war reinforced his metaphysical contention that Germany had a rendezvous with destiny and that a new authoritarian Reich would rise out of the ruins of the old. In 1919 he wrote a plea to Woodrow Wilson entitled the *Rights of the Young Nations*, referring to the status of Germany as an exploited 'proletarian' nation; like most Germans he was disappointed by the outcome of the Versailles Peace Treaty, which he called the Un-Peace of Versailles. In reaction, he founded with Heinrich von Gleichen (1882–1959), the June Club, a circle around the journal *Das Gewissen* which had been launched in April 1919. Supported by industrialists like Stinnes, Thyssen and Kirdorf (*q.v.*) and attended by, among others, Oswald Spengler (*q.v.*), Otto Strasser (*q.v.*) and Hans Grimm (*q.v.*), the Club acted as a forum for the issues that taxed the most 'advanced' conservative thinkers in the Weimar Republic, opposed as they all were to parliamentarism, liberalism and Marxism. Moeller was also close to the Anti-Bolshevik League.

The variety of conservatism that Moeller espoused, as Klemperer has pointed out, was that based on myth rather than on tradition; with his major work of 1923 *Das Dritte Reich* (The Third Reich), originally to have been entitled the Third Party, Moeller was to become an important myth-maker. He postulated a third or middle way for Germany to replace the 'government of party', a reconciliation between left and right in a new unity. A visionary and messianic concept, the new polity would be based on a new form of corporatism inspired by Prussian socialism under the guidance of an equally new nationalist, Christian leadership.

Moeller later fell out with von Gleichen over his insistence on an *Ostideologie* in which the East stood for renewal, youth and creativity, while the West stood for all that was geriatric, hide-bound and materialistic; Germany, which contained the seeds of East and West, must come down on the side of the young nations. It was this side of Moeller's ideology that influenced the National Bolsheviks who sought a reconciliation with the Soviet Union. In his search for a *Volksführer*, Moeller was briefly attracted by Adolf Hitler, whom he first met in 1922, but even at the time he declared: 'That fellow will never grasp it.' Later he was to say: 'Hitler was wrecked by his

proletarian primitivism' and later still: 'I would rather commit suicide than see such a man in office.' Nevertheless, Moeller was an admirer of Mussolini and his Italian fascism and there is little doubt that the republication of *The Third Reich*, with what Szasz has called 'its synthesis between culture and politics in a conservative framework', in 1931, had a potent influence on many of the new nationalists, as can be adduced from the testimony of Nazis like Speer and Frick.

In spite of the many contradictions and vagaries of his works, Moeller did foresee the decline of western hegemony and the increasing importance of the Third World or as he expressed it: 'the shadow of Africa falls across Europe'. In 1925 Moeller suffered a nervous breakdown and on 30 May 1925 in Berlin took his own life.

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MOLIN, Adrian Leopold (1880–1942)

Swedish politician of the extreme right.

Born on 5 March 1880 in Varberg, the son of a customs officer, Molin attended Gothenburg University. He became a regular correspondent of *Göteborgs Aftonblad*, a conservative newspaper. He was an early opponent of socialist internationalism, believed in a strong defence policy against the Russians and advocated limited democracy based on group and occupational voting. However, he saw the need for state intervention and social reform if the working classes were to be integrated into the Swedish national consensus. He campaigned against the exploitation of Swedish resources by foreign capital.

In 1906 he moved to Stockholm where he became an editorial writer for *Svenska Dagbladet* until December 1907. He had launched *Det Nye Sverige* in January 1907 (which he was to edit until 1918), and

was one of the co-founders of the National-föreningen mot Emigrationen (National Society against Emigration) in the same year; he was also a member of the Young Conservatives (Unghögern). His influences at this time were the Swedish founder of geopolitics, Kjellen (*q.v.*), the anti-Semite Oscar Norén and Vitalis Norström (1856–1916). He developed an intense interest in strengthening Swedish agriculture, and in rural life and at the same time a sympathy for Germany, which was especially manifested during the First World War. He became the secretary of the movement for small farms and promoted the ideal of secure home ownership in the countryside. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s his *Blut und Boden* ideas and his continuing disgust with democracy made him a committed supporter of German National Socialism although he dismissed the native imitation of Hitlerism as 'the Furugård (*q.v.*) parody'. His philosophy was summed up in *Landskapskynnen* (The Temperaments of the Provinces) published in 1930.

Molin was on the extreme right of the Sveriges Nationella Ungdomsförbund, the unofficial conservative youth movement. He later opposed some of the excesses of the Nazi regime but he clung tenaciously to his rural romanticism, to his view of the Jew as the exploiter of a sick society, to his abhorrence of urbanism, and to his veneration for a hierarchical society presided over by an aristocracy superior in intellect and culture, in an invulnerable, united Sweden/Norway. Molin died in Lidingö on 10 August 1942.

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MONSARAZ, Alberto de, Conde (1889–1959)

Co-leader of the Portuguese national syndicalists, journalist, politician and poet.

Born on 28 February 1889 in Lisbon, the son of the first Conde de Monsaraz, Alberto worked for the journal *Patria Nova* in Coimbra in 1907 while he was studying for his law degree which in the end took him until 1915, largely as a result of his enthusiastic activities on behalf of the monarchist cause, for which he took part in the incursions from Galicia under Paiva Couceiro in May 1911; he was exiled to Paris. He was

a contemporary in his final year of Salazar (*q.v.*). In 1908 Monsaraz had been a member of the executive committee of the Centro Academico Monarquico and in January 1914 the first director of the journal *Nação Portuguesa*, representing 'pure' integralism, traditionalist, anti-Spanish, monarchist, whose first issue appeared in April. In Belgium in May 1913 Monsaraz and Almeida Braga (*q.v.*) had founded *Alma Portuguesa*, the organ of Lusitanian Integralism, a movement that was to include Sardinha (*q.v.*), Raposo (*q.v.*) and Pequito Rebelo (*q.v.*) among others. In 1915 the wealthy young monarchist financed the journal *Ideia Nacional* (1915/16) inspired by Italian nationalism and in February 1917 he became the director of the Integralist daily *A Monarquia*.

In the monarchist uprising in the north which was finally put down in February 1919, Monsaraz lost a kidney serving in the artillery, an injury which was to affect his health for the rest of his life. He was later amnestied and returned to Portugal as a member of the Junta Central of the Integralist movement; in 1922 differences in the movement over the monarchical succession caused a rift, and Monsaraz left the Junta until 1925. At this time he discovered the ideas of Sorel (*q.v.*) and his follower Valois (*q.v.*). It was these influences, boosted by the paradox inherent in his support of organic monarchical ideas without a suitable monarch to follow, which led him towards the National Syndicalism of Rolão Preto (*q.v.*); he merely transferred his allegiance to a 'President-King'. He served as secretary-general of the blue-shirted NS in 1933 and contributed frequently to the movement's journal *A Revolução*.

He considered Salazar's *Estado Novo* illogical and his opposition led to his forced exile in Spain in 1934; he was amnestied in 1936. Preto considered him a loyal and principled colleague. As a National Syndicalist he developed a strong partiality for Adolf Hitler, who became his idol. In the issue of *A Revolução* of 31 May 1932 he wrote: 'Down with Bruning: viva Hitler!' His experiences of this period and later were described in *Altura Solar* (1945), *Ceus* (1951) and *No Centenario de Lourdes* (1958). After 1936 he became disenchanted with National Syndicalism and returned to the Integralist mainstream, at the same time adopting a curiously ambivalent attitude to Salazarism (his books were at first banned under the *Estado Novo*). He seldom referred to Salazar by name but rather tended to employ circumlocutions like 'the orator of Sala do Risco'.

Monsaraz took no part in the oppositional candidature of General Delgado in 1958 and demonstrated little sympathy for him. He died on 23 January 1959 in Lisbon.

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MORÈS, Antoine Amadée Marie Vincent Manca, Marquis de Vallambrosa (1858–96)

French explorer, adventure and anti-Semitic politician.

Born on 14 June 1858 in the Hôtel des Cars in Paris, an aristocrat of Spanish descent, Morès attended college in Poitiers and then a Jesuit institution in Paris. At Saint-Cyr military college, where he was accepted in 1877, he struck up a friendship with the future marshal Pétain. After his graduation in 1881, his dissipated life-style in Paris put severe pressure on the family fortune a situation eased in 1882 when he contracted a marriage to a wealthy German-American banker's daughter. He resigned from the Army, emigrated in 1883 to America, where he was involved in various unsuccessful ventures, including a large-scale ranch and a consumer cooperative in the badlands of N. Dakota set up to supply New Yorkers with meat. He was equally unsuccessful with his railway promotion schemes in Tonkin in Indo-China. On his return to France in 1889, he discovered Drumont's (*q.v.*) *La France Juive* and found to his satisfaction the cause of his persistent failures – the Jews. In September 1889 he founded, with Drumont, the Ligue Nationale Anti-Sémitique, with the aim of combating 'the pernicious influence of the Jewish-Financial oligarchy'. Morès himself provided most of the funds for the INA.

In March 1890 Morès founded a Comité de la Rue Saint-Anne, a bizarre collection of anti-Semites, Boulangists, anarchists and workers, and ran as an anti-Semite candidate in the Paris municipal elections in which he received only 980 votes in the Épinettes ward. A *bon vivant*, adventurer, duellist and athlete, Morès once coined a suitable epitaph when he said: 'Life is valuable only through action; so much the worse if the action is mortal.' For his doctrine of anti-Semitic 'socialism' he actually used the words '*doctrine du faisceau*' in 1894, perhaps the first use of the equivalent of 'fascism'. His socialism was, in fact, closer to the social Catholicism of De Mun and La Tour du Pin. Jesuits funded the movement

and much of his elite support came from Catholic aristocrats. It was the anti-Jewish campaign, however, that excited his keenest interest; his purpose was 'to rid France of the phylloxera known as the kike'.

Morès was arrested on 28 April 1890 and tried on 9 June; he spent three months in prison but continued his activities in March 1891 among the lower middle classes and workers, especially the slaughtermen of the La Villette area who were susceptible to appeals to anti-Semitism. Morès opened bistros to give workers free drinks, gave food subsidies and introduced credit schemes to win over supporters who were then dressed in uniforms consisting of purple cowboy shirts and sombreros. Known as Morès et ses Amis, his organization survived his death until 1899. In 1892 he was active in the coachmen's strike. A year later he broke with Drumont with whom he had cooperated in the Ligue Radicale Antisémitique. Shortly after standing unsuccessfully in the municipal elections in the Épinettes district of Paris in 1894. Morès left France for Algeria and was killed by Touaregs on 9 June 1896 near El Aoutia in Tunisia attempting to cross the Sahara. He was much admired as a pioneer of 'French national socialism' by Barrès (*q.v.*) and later nationalists.

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MOSELEY, George Van Horn (1874–1960)

American major-general seen by many on the extreme right in the United States in the late 1930s as the man on horseback.

Born in Evanston (Illinois), on 28 September 1874, Moseley graduated from the US Military Academy in 1899 as a cavalry officer. After promotion to major-general in 1930, he became deputy chief of staff of the army under General MacArthur. From 1934 until his retirement from active service in 1938 he was commanding general of the US Fourth Corps area in the South East based on Atlanta. He was a friend and colleague of both MacArthur and of Eisenhower who, serving with him in the early

1930s, considered him a brilliant and 'dynamic' officer. Moseley served with the American expeditionary force in France after a period as an instructor in Fort Leavenworth.

During the Bonus Expeditionary Force march in 1932, Moseley promoted the idea of arresting the leaders and putting them in a concentration camp in Hawaii where they could 'stew in their own filth' and he seriously believed in the imminence of an armed communist uprising in America which could be forestalled by 'returning aliens and radicals' to the USSR. His primitive economic 'views' and his fear of 'mongrelization' by the 'flood of cripples and syphilitics' pouring into America led him to sympathize with almost every manifestation of the extreme right, including the Klan, Pelley's (*q.v.*) Silver Shirts, the German-American Bund and Gerald L.K. Smith (*q.v.*). He was considered by many of these as their candidate for a possible coup. 'Democracy, hell!', he was reported to have said, 'it's nothing but communism. We don't want the mob rule of democracy.'

His predilection for apocalyptic solutions, including the 'sterilization of refugees entering America', led to an appearance before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities and he was eventually silenced only by a threat to remove his pension rights.

After the war he worked for Judge George W. Armstrong, the Texas millionaire originally from Natchez, founder of the Texas Educational Association, which was set up in 1951 ostensibly for charitable purposes; under cover of providing money for educational institutions, Armstrong and Moseley published a number of anti-Semitic and white supremacist tracts and pamphlets. In 1949 he had spoken at G.L.K. Smith's convention in St Louis. Moseley died in Atlanta on 7 November 1960.

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MOSLEY, Sir Oswald Ernald (1896–1980)

British fascist leader who was first a Conservative and then a Labour Member of Parliament.

Mosley was born in London on 16 November 1896,

the eldest son of a baronet, into an ancient landed Staffordshire family with a parliamentary tradition and Manchester connections. He was brought up near Market Drayton, Shropshire, and in Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire in a 'hierarchical but classless' atmosphere; from September 1909 he attended Winchester School. In January 1914 at the age of 17, he entered Sandhurst military school only to be expelled in June for a riotous act of retaliation against another student. In the First World War he served briefly with the 16th Queen's Light Dragoons (Lancers) but then joined the Royal Flying Corps. Following an aircraft accident he returned to the Lancers. Invalided out with an injured leg, he spent the end of the war in the Ministry of Munitions and in the Foreign Office.

Mosley won the parliamentary seat of Harrow, as a Conservative in December 1918: it was clear that he meant to represent the war generation without a rigid observance of party colours. In August 1920 'Tom' Mosley married Lady Cynthia Curzon, daughter of the Foreign Secretary, and the two came to be the centre of a coterie of politicians and fully participating members of an international 'smart set'. His disillusion with 'the extraneous adventures and commitments' and the lack of social drive of the Coalition government, the influence of Lord Robert Cecil and his disgust at Black and Tan excesses in Ireland led him first to an independent stance, to a period of close cooperation with the Liberals, and then, on 27 March 1924, into the Labour Party and shortly after into the Independent Labour Party. Beatrice Webb in her *Diaries* made her famous and prophetic comment: 'We have made the acquaintance of the most brilliant man in the House of Commons – Oswald Mosley . . . Is there some weak spot which will be revealed in time of stress . . . by letting you or your cause down or sweeping it out of the way?'

Mosley failed by a whisker to win Birmingham Ladywood from Neville Chamberlain in October 1924, but the defeat provided a time for reflection which resulted in a series of economic programmes beginning with the *Birmingham Proposals* embodied in *Revolution by Reason* (written with John Strachey, who at Oxford had been a High Tory), and ending with the radical *Mosley Memorandum* of 1930. Heavily influenced by the Liberal economist John Maynard Keynes, the proposals stressed the need to create new wealth rather than redistribute that existing (and the expansion of purchasing power by the working classes), the primacy of the control of credit in the process, and even introduced the notion of 'national corporations'. The *Mosley Memorandum*

aimed no less than to eradicate unemployment. Mosley was returned to parliament for Smethwick in 1929 with a 6,500 majority. He was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Labour government, but resigned in May 1930 after clashing with J.H. Thomas, the embodiment of orthodoxy, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Snowden. The *Mosley Memorandum* proposals were narrowly defeated at the party conference in October 1930. After his resignation, Mosley built up a group of supporters in the Labour Party, known as the Mosley Group, which added the support of several Liberals and Conservatives. On 1 March 1931, with the support of four Labour MPs and a single recruit from the Conservatives, he launched the New Party on the basis of the *Mosley Memorandum*, which called for a small cabinet of five to rule by order, subject to the ultimate veto of the House of Commons, with the aim of establishing 'a national consensus to secure action'.

Not yet fascist, the New Party prescription, rejecting the nostrums of the 'Old Gang' and putting its faith in urgent 'action' by a limited and strong executive power only indirectly accountable to parliament, was comparable to similar developments in France and Belgium, where Déat (*q.v.*) and the neo-socialists and De Man's (*q.v.*) group within the Belgian Workers' Party were later to come to remarkably parallel conclusions. The electoral performance of the party was to prove disastrous and after a visit to Italy in January 1932 Mosley announced on 1 October 1932 the foundation of the British Union of Fascists in a climate in which, in Mosley's perception, an international economic crisis was imminent. In the same year Mosley's *The Greater Britain* was published. Following an initial period of successful recruitment and the support of establishment figures like Lord Rothermere, proprietor of the *Daily Mail*, the issues of violence and public order were to become paramount and a violent meeting in June 1934 in Olympia was to prove a watershed.

Much of the controversy surrounding Mosley has been concerned with his 'descent' into street politics and his adoption of anti-Semitism. In 1936 the organization became the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists, reflecting its increasing identification with German National Socialism (although Mosley always claimed that British fascism 'contradicted the continental approach to the same subject'). The so-called 'Battle of Cable Street' in October 1936, when the BUF attempted to march through East London as part of its local election campaign, proved the extent to which Mosley had

failed to penetrate the mass working-class consciousness. Mosley had put his faith in a corporate form of government more attuned to the twentieth century than the existing and obsolete system of parliamentary government; much of the programme was an authoritarian rehash of the *Mosley Memorandum* proposals though now more emphasis was put on the easily exploited issues of an 'insulated Empire', on the undercutting of British workers by the import of cheap foreign goods and the machinations of international finance in this process.

Following the imposition of the Public Order Act from January 1937, the relative failure of the BUF in the London County Council elections of March 1937, and a host of defections and internal problems, not the least of which was the shortage of funds, the movement went into a serious decline. As war approached Mosley's concern shifted from the construction of 'the immense majesty of fascist peace' to the urgent need for a settlement with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy on the basis of 'satisfaction' of their demands, allowing Hitler a free hand in Eastern Europe. He increasingly blamed the deepening crisis on the 'Jewish masters of usury'. In May 1940 he was interned under Defence Regulation 18B but released in November 1943 (in spite of much criticism from the left) on the grounds of his ill health.

Mosley returned to active politics in February 1948, after the publication of *The Alternative* (1947), with the foundation of the Union Movement. Advocating a Union of Europe which would exploit the great natural resources of Africa and a strong executive power to keep demand and supply, production and consumption, and wages and prices in equilibrium, he sought a synthesis between the old fascism and democracy in a more voluntarist form of neo-corporatism, that he was to call 'European Socialism'. With the increase in non-white immigration into Britain, Mosley believed he had found the issue which would return him to parliament and, in moments of wilder speculation, bring him to power but, following the Notting Hill race riots in the late 1950s, he stood for the constituency in the 1959 general election and lost his deposit with only 8 per cent of the vote. In 1962, having been resident from the early 1950s in Orsay near Paris, he attempted to found a National Party of Europe with von Thadden (*q.v.*), Thiriart (*q.v.*) and the Italian MSI: he spent much of his time in neo-fascist circles. He gave up the leadership of the Union Movement in 1966 after a further electoral failure, this time in Shoreditch (when he won 4.6 per cent of the vote). His self-justificatory *My Life* appeared in 1968. Mosley died at his home in Orsay on 3 December 1980.

His son Nicholas, in an insight of great perception, summed up his father's life when he wrote: 'I see clearly that while the right hand dealt with grandiose ideas and glory, the left hand let the rat out of the sewer.' The great service performed by his leading biographer, Robert Skidelsky, has been to move the argument on from the 'inherent character defects' to seeing Mosley as an 'authoritarian modernizer', a 'challenger in a political society which had settled down to a middle-aged consensus'. (Skidelsky does admit that 'he was professional in everything except in the winning of power'.) In an earlier article Skidelsky noticed Mosley's 'intense loyalty and compassion to members of his own group, community or culture coupled with a relative indifference to the fate of outsiders', a characteristic that Le Pen (*q.v.*) has elevated to a Gallic if not a universal virtue. As I have written elsewhere: 'it is tempting to see Mosley as a British parallel of Déat in France or De Man in Belgium, striving for a non-sectarian authoritarian solution to the problems of stagnating, advanced capitalist states but whose ultimate failure was the cognitive one of having selected an inappropriate model, the ideology reflecting the delayed industrialisation of Italy.'

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MOȚA, Ion (1902–36)

Romanian Iron Guard activist killed in the Spanish Civil War and second most important leader after Codreanu (q.v.)

Moța was the son of a nationalist priest who edited the journal *Liberty*. He was born on 5 July 1902 in Orăștie (Transylvania). As a student in the University of Cluj, he founded a nationalist group of Maurrasian inspiration called Acțiunea Românească (Romanian Action) and was the editor of the journal of the same name. In 1925 this organization fused with Cuza's

(*q.v.*) League of National Christian Defence. Elected the head of the student union, *Petre Maior*, he was expelled from the university for his intransigence. Before he returned to Cluj he was to study briefly at the University of Paris where he came into contact with Action Française.

He first became acquainted with the inspirer and founder of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, Codreanu (*q.v.*), then president of the students' union in Iași, in August 1923 at a meeting of anti-Semitic students in Câmpulung (Bucovina). According to Zevedei Barbu, Moța and Codreanu were involved in a *folie à deux*. Moța had very early in his life developed symptoms of anti-Semitism and was the translator of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into Romanian. Motivated by this anti-Semitism and by their Christian zeal and a hatred of 'traitor' politicians, the two men hatched a plot to kill leading liberal politicians, Jewish bankers and rabbis. Arrested on 8 October 1923, Moța and Codreanu were sent to Văcărești prison. At the subsequent trial in March 1924, all were acquitted, but Moța, on his release, shot the 'traitor' Vernichesco, considered to have betrayed the conspiracy. After spending two months in Galata prison in Iași, he was acquitted and released on 29 September 1924. Codreanu made him leader of a mystical organization called the Frația de Cruce (Brothers of the Cross). On 24 June 1927 the Legion of the Archangel Michael was founded. In the meantime Moța had continued his fanatical and anti-Semitic agitation, having attended the World Anti-Semitic Congress in Budapest, organized by Gömbös (*q.v.*) in September 1925. He saw Jews as both the murderers of God and a danger to the Romanian state.

On the foundation of the Legion, Moța became deputy captain and continued to take an interest in student affairs through the National Union of Students and as president of the Association known as 'Generation of the Student Movement of 1922'. So important was Moța's inspiration in the propaganda activities of the Legion that Barbu has declared: 'the existence of the Iron Guard is intrinsically bound up with that of Ion Moța.' He was imprisoned again in 1933 for his violent behaviour but released on 29 December of that year. In 1934 he represented the Legion in Montreaux at the Fascist International meeting.

It was, however, on the symbolic and psychological level that his importance was most evident. He was the epitome of the legionary belief, arising from self-alienation, in the mystique of death and the cult of heroism. Moța imagined that he had led two different lives and did much to foster and encourage

the attitude summarized by an article in *Dacia* in December 1940: 'the first aspect of legionary life is death', an attitude that was reinforced by the paraphernalia of songs, secret initiations, the cult of the skull and a knightly seeking after heroic deeds. Moța's economic and social ideas were vague and unconvincing.

Shortly before his call to Spain in 1936, he had been appointed vice-president of the All for the Fatherland Party (the Legion under another name). He was killed with his friend Marin (*q.v.*) on the Madrid Front at Majadahonda on 13 January 1937. His funeral held on 13 February was a triumph, attended by ministers from Spain, Italy, Germany and representatives from Portugal, Japan and of Polish youth.

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MÜLLER, Heinrich (1900–45)

German SS-Gruppenführer and head of the Gestapo section IV in the RSHA.

Born on 28 April 1900 in Munich, Müller served in the First World War as a sercant-pilot on the Western Front. After the war he worked from 1919 as a detective in the political section of the Bavarian police. Dealing particularly with the communist movement and its illegal activities, Müller was known 'to disregard the legal rules and regulations' in his zealotry against the radical left. His own political views were somewhere between the conservative DNVP and the Bavarian People's Party. He married the daughter of the publisher of a BPP newspaper. He had referred to Hitler as 'an Austrian draft-dodger'.

Müller, who did not become a member of the NSDAP until 1939, was selected by Heydrich (*q.v.*) as a criminal inspector in the *Sicherheitsdienst* of the SS in early 1934 largely because of his technical knowledge of Soviet secret police organization. His brutality and unscrupulousness and his unconditional loyalty to Heydrich ensured him a meteoric rise

within the SS; by 1937 he was an *SS-Standartenführer*, in 1940 *SS-Brigadeführer* and in November 1941 *SS-Gruppenführer*, in spite of the part he had played in 1933 when Müller attempted to resist the occupation of police headquarters in Munich after the Nazi *Machtergreifung* in Bavaria by Adolf Wagner (*q.v.*), Röhm (*q.v.*) and Himmler (*q.v.*).

Appointed chief of Section IV (Gestapo) of the RSHA in 1939, the coarse church-going Catholic, whom Schellenberg (*q.v.*) described as dry, laconic, boorish, with a crude Bavarian accent, with whom any conversation became an interrogation, took full executive measures against 'opponents hostile to the state'. Browder calls him a 'radical enforcer' who was feared by other SD men. He played a key part in the deportations and in the murders of Jews, beginning in 1939 as *Geschäftsführer* and deputy in charge of administrative detail in the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, a post he relinquished in October 1939. He was present at the Wannsee Conference of January 1942 which initiated the systematic Final Solution and thereafter was kept fully informed about the work of the *Einsatzgruppen* in the East. Even after Himmler had ordered the end of the liquidations, Müller tried to sabotage his order. 'Gestapo-Müller' was also instrumental in the destruction of a number of resistance groups.

Towards the end of the war he began to have grave doubts about a German victory and from the end of 1943 had already established contacts with the Russian secret service. Last seen on 29 April 1945 and reputed to have been buried in the bunker under the Reich Chancellery, he may have survived and later worked for East German or Albanian intelligence. Schellenberg claims he had been seen in 1948 working behind the Iron Curtain but had died shortly after.

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MUÑOZ GRANDES, Agustín (1896–1970)

Spanish general, known as the 'Falangist General', who became Franco's vice-president.

Muñoz was born of peasant origin on 27 January 1896 in Carabanchel Bajo (Madrid). He was a military cadet in Toledo before becoming a professional

soldier who fought in Morocco and the Riff War of 1926. During his military career he was wounded a number of times. In 1931 he demonstrated republican sympathies and was certainly never a monarchist. In the same year he was put in charge of the republican Guardia de Asalto. As chaos increased, Muñoz Grandes gradually turned against the Republic although he remained loyal to it on the outbreak of the Civil War when he was assigned to take charge of Moroccan troops as a colonel. He resigned only after pressure from the conspirators and found himself incarcerated in the Cárcel Modelo in Madrid and later sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. Serrano (*q.v.*), in his memoirs, describes his odd behaviour in prison when he sat alone in a corner, unshaven and naked except for a pair of sandals. He was transferred to a hospital and eventually found his way to the nationalist zone. In April 1937 a republican court absolved him of any anti-republican activities.

During the war he fought with a Navarrese brigade on the Santander/Asturian Front and, promoted to general, took part in the final assault on Catalonia. He was appointed secretary-general of the National Movement in November 1939 and director of the Falange militia. In the former post he showed little organizational ability. From the regime's point of view his main success was to tame the wilder elements within the Sindicato Español Universitario. In his day-to-day activities as secretary, he found that actual control lay in the hands of the Minister of the Interior, Serrano. In June 1941 Muñoz became commander of the Division Azul that fought on the Eastern Front. In April 1942 he was decorated by Hitler with the Iron Cross, which he later insisted on wearing when he met Eisenhower and other world leaders. He stayed on in Germany until December 1942.

There can be no doubt about Muñoz' ambition to reach high political office, but he was handicapped by his distaste for intrigue. In many ways he shared the values of a plain soldier, a respect for law and order, and a certain Spartan austerity. In March 1943 he became head of Franco's (*q.v.*) personal military staff and in 1951 Army Minister in charge of the reorganization of the Spanish army. In 1958 he was appointed chief of the central general staff. On 11 July 1962 he attained the pinnacle of his personal power when Franco made him vice-president and Franco's temporary successor. He was replaced by Carrero Blanco on 22 July 1967 owing to his ill-health but became president of the Council of the Realm. He had been more a sympathizer than an active member of the Falange. Muñoz died on 11 July 1970 in Madrid.

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MUSSERT, Anton Adriaan (1894–1946)

Leader of the Dutch Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging.

Born in Werkendam on 11 May 1894 into a middle-class family of liberal inclinations, his father was a head-teacher. Mussert lost his parents at an early age. He attended the Technical High School in Delft, but in 1914 his education was broken off in order to join the army but he left for health reasons in 1915 after spending a year as a corporal in the garrison artillery. He received his diploma in civil engineering in 1918. In May 1920 he worked as an engineer for the provincial waterboard in Utrecht.

At first a political liberal and, like his father, a member of the Vrijheidsbond, he took an active role in 1925 in opposing the treaty with Belgium which provided for a large canal to be constructed; this was perceived by Mussert as contrary to vital Dutch interests. As secretary of the national committee of action against the treaty, he came into contact with a number of authoritarian figures who preferred extra-parliamentary action, notably Geelkerken (*q.v.*) who was already an experienced fascist and was almost the complete antithesis of the introverted, humourless and dour Mussert. Mussert had already been one of the co-founders of the Nationale Unie and under these various influences came to believe in a sort of national solidarism, hierarchical and ordered, serving national rather than group or individual interests.

On 14 December 1931 Mussert and Geelkerken with ten others set up the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Utrecht which, despite its name, was at first far more inspired by Italian fascism than by German National Socialism. In the provincial elections of 1935, the movement received 7.94 per cent of the vote. Early in 1934 Mussert resigned from his post with the Utrecht works department, where he had been chief engineer, in anticipation of his inevitable dismissal, under the law forbidding NSB membership to public employees. From May he was able to devote all his time to the NSB.

Staid and mediocre, Mussert was an unlikely leader of a fascist movement but made some headway opposing the system of *verzuiling* which had

segmented Dutch political life into three major groups: Protestants, Catholics and Social Democrats. In November 1936 Mussert met Hitler and came under the more direct influence of the Nazis. At this time membership had reached some 50,000. In September 1938 Jews were banned from the party.

On the eve of the German invasion in May 1940, Mussert was sympathetic to the Germans though nominally neutral. Following the invasion he saw the Netherlands at part of a New Order of Nordic nations held together by federation, an idea he put forward in a famous letter to Hitler on 27 August 1940. On 31 December 1941 the NSB was declared the only permitted party but the Germans were less than enthusiastic about the nonentity Mussert, rejecting his plans submitted to Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) in 1940 which proposed his elevation to Dutch leader. Although Hitler promised him in December 1942 that he would make him 'leader of the Dutch people' and in fact, allowed him to set up a kind of 'shadow cabinet', the Germans, in particular Himmler (*q.v.*) and Rauter, the SS chief responsible for security, used the fiasco in Norway as an excuse to deny Mussert his wishes. These two favoured the more radical and pro-Nazi Rost van Tonningen (*q.v.*) as leader.

For the final two years of occupation Mussert was a plaything of the Germans, intrigued against by his former close colleagues Rost and Geelkerken, and with Hitler remaining adamant that Mussert would play no very significant role. Arrested on 7 May 1945 in the Hague, he was tried in November and sentenced to death for treason. He was executed in Scheveningen prison in the Hague on 7 May 1946. He has been aptly described as 'a spiritual and moral vacuum'.

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MUSSOLINI, Benito Amilcare Andrea (1883–1945)

Italian fascist dictator, whom Mezzasoma called 'the most

complicated and contradictory man I have ever known', and originator of fascism.

Mussolini was born on 29 July 1883 in Dovia, outside the village of Predappio, near Forlì, in the Romagna, the son of a revolutionary anti-clerical blacksmith. In 1902 he became a supply teacher in Gualtieri Emilia and the secretary of a socialist group there. Mussolini moved to Switzerland in July 1902 and spent two months studying at Lausanne University. Describing himself at first as an 'authoritarian communist', he lived something of a Bohemian life. The ambitious young socialist returned to Italy after a general amnesty to serve his 18 months' obligatory military service in November 1904. From September 1906 he taught near the Austrian border and in 1908 in Oneglia on the Riviera. His earliest influences were Marx, Nietzsche, Sorel (*q.v.*) and Gustave Le Bon, a major influence on his attempt to make himself a Caesar and, particularly, on his oratorical style. He was later influenced by the elitist theories of Robert Michels and Pareto, which recognized the need for both material, 'economic' interests and ideological, 'sentimental' factors to be taken into account in political motivation; it is clear, however, that Mussolini later exaggerated the extent and depth of his reading.

In 1909 Mussolini moved to the Austrian province of Trentino, where for a few months he became editor of the weekly socialist *L'Avvenire del Lavoratore*. On his expulsion he returned to Forlì as a political organizer in the local socialist federation and as editor of the journal, *La Lotta di Classe*. His anti-national views of the time were encapsulated in his echoing of Gustave Hervé's statement that 'the national flag is for us a rag to plant on a dunghill'. Arrested for opposing the Libyan War in 1911, he spent five months in prison. At this time he was at the height of his career in the councils of the Socialist Party (PSI), as a member of the party directorate, a town councillor in Milan, a highly successful agitator and a talented journalist (in 1913 he edited the bi-weekly, *Utopia*) and until 26 October 1914 as editor of the journal *Avanti!*. Influenced by the nationalist journals, *La Voce* and *Leonardo*, Mussolini was to undergo a process of conversion that on the eve of the outbreak of war led him through a period of belief in 'active and working neutrality' to full-blown interventionism. He displayed a tendency towards dithering and irresolution that was to remain with him all through his career.

He launched a new paper called *Il Popolo d'Italia* in November 1914 and was expelled from the party shortly after for interventionism. He believed, like the revolutionary syndicalists Filippo Corridoni and

Michele Bianchi (*q.v.*), that war would be the prelude to social revolution, a crucible in which revolution could occur and the inertia of the masses be overcome. This is odd in view of the overwhelming opposition of workers and peasants to interventionism. The sheer activism and voluntarism of his new socialism was captured in his description of it as 'a little Bergson mixed with a lot of Blanqui'. As a corporal and later a sergeant in the war, his service was unimpressive and he was invalided out when a grenade launcher blew up in training in June 1917. As early as 1916 he had talked about a *trincerocrazia* (rule by the men of the trenches) and the comprehensive defeat at Caporetto was a decisive reinforcement on his road to nationalism. He was now beginning to see himself as a Napoleon-figure who could fill the vacuum in Italian political life, exploiting the fear of Bolshevism and the widespread belief that the war had been a 'mutilated victory'.

On 23 March 1919 the Fasci di Combattimento was founded at a meeting in the Piazza San Sepolcro, Milan. Gregor has argued that he had put together by November 1918 a coherent ideological system, a national syndicalism or productivism and, indeed, *Popolo d'Italia* did change its subtitle to 'the newspaper of combatants and producers'; in this view fascism was a heresy of classical Marxism, which Mussolini perceived as 'a heap of ruins', and a leftist modernizing force. This view tends to ignore the fact that Mussolini was not a great intellectual, nor was he consistent. Mack Smith has preferred to see him as an insincere, cultural *poseur*, interested only in tactical considerations, and fascism as the theoretical outcome of his improvisations. There was a sense in which De Ambris was right to describe the fascist movement as 'bayonets in search of an idea'. At first a libertarian, 'leftist', anti-monarchist and anti-clerical movement, opposed to the socialist establishment, heavily influenced by the Futurist style, the movement undertook a decisive turn to the right in 1920 after the massive electoral failure of 1919. De Felice portrays Mussolini as a man of the left until 1920, though others argue that his position was close to that of the Nationalists some time before.

Characterized by Mussolini's cooperation with the Liberal prime minister, Giolitti, the junking of the leftist programme, and the increasingly violent tendency of the movement under the magnetic attraction of his potential rival D'Annunzio's (*q.v.*) example in his successful use of force in Fiume, the turn coincided with the quasi-independent growth of reactionary, rural agrarian fascism with its terroristic *squadismo*. Mussolini's political 'genius' was, by a judicious use of the threat of revolution and com-

promise, to become acceptable to much of the liberal establishment and the upper bourgeoisie who believed they could tame and use fascism. In 1921 Mussolini entered parliament, a year in which he signed the Pact of Pacification with the socialists (in November 1921 the movement became a political party) and on 30 October 1922 he was appointed prime minister at the head of a coalition government, the youngest in Italian history, following the March on Rome in October 1922. Almost toppled by the Matteotti crisis, when the eponymous socialist deputy was murdered, most likely on Mussolini's direct if ambiguous order, although his moral guilt is scarcely in doubt, Mussolini was able to turn the affair to his advantage and in his speech of 3 January 1925 declared his responsibility for the Matteotti fiasco, the solution to which was his own personal dictatorship. Mussolini had now achieved absolute power over party and state, had secured his parliamentary position, and now proceeded to set up his authoritarian, corporate state, assisted by the ill-conceived Aventine secession of opposition MPs in June 1924.

After 1929 there followed what de Felice has controversially described as the years of consensus up to 1936. Melograni has argued: 'In Italy it was Mussolinianism, not fascism, that won allegiance.' In this period the 1929 Concordat with the Vatican and the Ethiopian War, marking his new ability to pursue the 'great imperial destiny' of Italy he had earlier discovered, were his two most popular actions. So powerful had he become that he was not only prime minister but had charge of eight ministries, although, in practice, he often signed ministry documents contradicting each other and in arbitrating disputes tended to agree with the most recent speaker. Much of his success was due to the manipulation of news and a large propaganda apparatus, mainly through the press, but after 1934 also through film and radio. In the economic field Italian national growth was not as startling as has sometimes been claimed. Developments on both economic and political fronts were not helped by the creation of a gigantic bureaucratic machine which created universal inertia. The mid- to late 1930s were the years of Starace (*q.v.*), who as party secretary tried to 'Prussianize' the Italian people and to create a cult of Il Duce (there were signs of this as early as 1926), of '*Mussolini ha sempre ragione*' (Mussolini is always right), of anti-Semitic decrees (adopted after his visit to Germany in 1937 as an act of solidarity with the Nazis), the, albeit frustrated, attempt to impose totalitarianism and a process of myth-making with its talk of the new *uomo fascista* and the search for the 'new civilization' of fascism. On the foreign front,

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apart from his search for status and a colonial empire and his pursuit of Italy's 'mission' as a great power, particularly in the Mediterranean, he attempted to keep the international pot boiling while performing a balancing act between Germany on one side, and Britain and France on the other. His vanity led him to dispense with an interpreter in his dealings with Hitler which allowed the German Führer to get the better of him.

Despite his signature of the Pact of Steel with Hitler's Germany in May 1939, he still hoped to avoid war for three or four years. In August 1939 he used the excuse of 'non-belligerency' to allow him to postpone intervention until he thought the Allies were defeated. The fear of missing out on the spoils of war and the need to harden the Italian character and to remake his countrymen as a master race induced him finally to enter the war in June 1940. The war was, in fact, initially greeted with much more enthusiasm among the ordinary people than has been allowed for, but the disasters that followed in Greece and North Africa threw him on Hitler's mercy. Mussolini saw a 'parallel' war as essential to satisfy his aims in making Italy the dominant power in *Il Mare Nostro* and gaining territory in the Balkans and North Africa, a necessary preliminary for creating a *spazio vitale* in the Middle East. During the war Mussolini put on display his huge inferiority complex by refusing to argue with his inept and defensively-minded generals. This was not the first time that the contrast was apparent between his public posturing and his genuine uncertainty. By late 1942, the consensus had already shown signs of fatal weakness and on 25 July 1943, after the Allies had landed in Sicily, Mussolini was arrested and replaced by Marshal Badoglio after the vote on Grandi's (*q.v.*) motion had gone against him at the Grand Council meeting of 24–25 July. Sent to Ponza, to La Maddalena and then to a hotel in Gran Sasso in the Apennines, he was rescued in a daring raid by a small glider-borne commando force led by Otto Skorzeny (*q.v.*) and spirited away to Germany.

At the end of September 1943 he was set up by the Germans, after their occupation of northern Italy, in the Italian Social Republic based on Salò. Restored to power, the ailing dictator did not reform his ways as he promised in the Verona manifesto: the Salò regime was as much of a police state as before, but this time with a veneer of 'socialization' and a forlorn attempt by the wraith-like dictator to return to the early years of fascist idealism. Ill and in pain, divorced from reality, a shadow of his former self, he had five leading fascists, including his son-in-law Ciano (*q.v.*), condemned to death by the Verona

Tribunal and shot. In September 1944, plagued by partisan resistance, he was already prepared for a last-ditch stand in Switzerland and on 18 April 1945 with the Allies at the gates of Bologna, he abandoned Lake Garda for Milan where he was involved in a futile attempt to negotiate with the partisans. He left Como, where he had fled from Milan, and joined a group of Germans heading for Austria. At Dongo he was discovered by communist partisans and, on 28 April 1945, shot at the village of Giulino di Mezzegra. His body was hung alongside that of his mistress, Clara Petacci, in the Piazzale Loreto, Milan.

Mussolini was a complex personality who was forced to compromise between the great institutions of Church, large agrarian and industrial interests, the bureaucracy and the monarchy, a practical activity that left little space and time for the ideological projects that he would have liked to pursue.

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MUTI, Ettore (1902–43)

Italian fascist man of action, later briefly party secretary.

Born in Ravenna on 22 May 1902 into a humble household, Muti was the son of a very poor employee of the Ravenna commune which perhaps accounts for his later interest in expensive Bugatis. Muti studied in an industrial institute. As a young volunteer in the Arditi he proved a brave fighter and in June 1918 took part in the Battle of Piave. At the age of 16 he already showed the tendencies which were to prompt Ciano (*q.v.*) to call him a 'Renaissance warrior'. Tall and well-built, he became a

squadrista in Ravenna, having joined the PNF on 12 September 1919. As a follower of D'Annunzio (*q.v.*) he campaigned with the Fiumean volunteers. Muti was seriously wounded in a violent squad action on 13 September 1922 by the communist Lorenzo Masseroli, later in the same year took part in the March on Rome, joined the fascist militia, and on 1 February 1923 became commander of the 81st Legion in Ravenna.

As a typical fascist man of action he was interested in motor sports, served as a bomber pilot in Ethiopia where he became a lieutenant, and in Spain where he served from the outbreak of the Civil War. He returned to Rome in the spring of 1939 as a lieutenant-colonel; his war medals earned him the title of 'the most beautiful bosom in Italy'. When Mussolini gave way to Ciano's persuasive arguments to designate Muti as secretary of the PNF on 31 October 1939, he had virtually no experience of political administration. He proved to be quite uninterested in the detailed workings of the bureaucracy, the necessary political manoeuvrings, or the overdue process of reform. Muti created a climate of total ineptitude and corruption. At

a time when the first priority should have been to reinspire the party and improve morale, Muti was completely inadequate to the task.

In June 1940 he took command of a bomber group and in October the secretaryship passed to Adelchi Serena (b. 1895). In early 1943 he was assigned to the information service of the Air Force. Muti remained totally loyal to Mussolini and plotted against the Badoglio government installed in his place. Arrested and placed in the Regina Coeli prison, he was assassinated by Badoglio's police in mysterious circumstances, shot somewhere between the seaside resort of Fregene and Rome while 'resisting arrest' on 24 August 1943. His simple activism and his unconditional faithfulness to Mussolini made him a hero of the Italian Social Republic where his name inspired the Ettore Muti Black Brigade Legion and the Brigate Nere in general.

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N

NEBE, Arthur (1894–1945)

German National Socialist head of KRIPO, the criminal police and member of the anti-Hitler resistance.

Born on 13 November 1894 in Berlin, the son of a school teacher, Nebe served in the First World War as a lieutenant of engineers after completing his school-leaving certificate. He joined the Berlin criminal police in 1920 where he worked as a detective often in the Berlin underworld. In 1923 he was appointed Commissioner and made responsible for the drugs and theft departments. His experiences left him with a poor view of democracy, and in 1931 he joined the NSDAP and the SA. In the following year he founded the NS Civil Service Society in the criminal police department. Transferring to the SS, he became head of Abteilung III, recommended by Daluge (*q.v.*), in April 1933. As executive head of the Geheime Staatspolizeiamt (Gestapo) he showed great organizational ability. In 1936 he became head of KRIPO, the criminal police, and in July 1937 the Reich Criminal Director. When KRIPO was absorbed into the all-embracing RSHA in 1939, Nebe became chief of Department V of the Reich Main Security Department (RSHA) and was promoted to *SS-Gruppenführer*.

It may have been as early as 1933, when he was asked to assassinate Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*), that he first turned against the party, but by 1938 he was working with the anti-Hitler group of Ludwig Beck (1880–1944). Nebe was one of the very few who volunteered as a leader of one of the *Einsatzgruppen* whose task was ‘to secure and pacify the Russian zone’. As leader of *Einsatzgruppe B*, attached to Army Group Centre, of which he was reluctantly persuaded to remain leader by Beck and Hans Oster (1888–1945) in order to help the resistance, he was responsible for the liquidation of as many as 45,500 Jews. According to Balfour, ‘he did evil in order to prevent worse’. Be this as it may, he was to some extent an opportunist and a cynic, and according to Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*), ‘a two-faced character with an unhealthy degree of ambition’ who was fond of behaving in the spirit of his own dictum: ‘There are no such things as principles only circumstances.’

Whatever the truth, he was undoubtedly involved with the 20 July 1944 plot against Hitler, much in the face of his belief that the conspirators were amateurs; it was his particular task to kill Himmler (*q.v.*). Nebe disappeared on 27 July under the mistaken belief that the Gestapo were on to him. He evaded capture at first but was betrayed by a jealous woman and arrested in November; he was imprisoned in January 1945. A People’s Court sentenced him to death on 2 March 1945 and he was hanged on 4 March in Plötzensee (Berlin).

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NEUBACHER, Hermann (1893–1960)

Austrian National Socialist.

Born in Wels on 24 June 1893, Neubacher was the son of a school director in Gmunden (Upper Austria). He attended the Benedictine Gymnasium in Kremsmünster and in 1912 enrolled in the Agricultural College in Vienna where he was a member of the Pan-German fraternity. In the First World War he served in Italy as an *Oberleutnant*. In 1920 he received his doctorate in agriculture and from 1924 to 1934 was the general director of Gesiba, a corporation formed by Vienna city authorities to finance housing projects. At this early stage of his career, he made friends with leading Social Democrats and visited Moscow, although he was deeply imbued with the Pan-German ideology. He founded a Pan German society in 1925, the *Österreich-Deutsch Volksbund*. During the 1920s he was a friend of both Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) and the future Chancellor Dollfuss. They were all members of a secret fraternity, the

Deutsche Gemeinschaft. Dollfuss, in fact, was to offer him a post in his government as Undersecretary for Labour, an appointment he refused.

As a passionate supporter of Anschluss, Neubacher gradually passed from the more moderate position to that of the extreme right, seeing the National Socialists as the vehicle through which union with the Reich could be achieved. Within the Austrian party, however, he belonged to the more reasonable wing, identifying more with Reinthaller (*q.v.*) than with Habicht (*q.v.*) and was prepared to compromise to secure a reconciliation between the NSDAP and the Fatherland Front. In 1934 he was arrested for suspected involvement in the Nazi *putsch* but was released and became Leopold's (*q.v.*) assistant before his appointment, very briefly, as *Landesleiter* of the Austrian NSDAP at the beginning of 1935 after Reinthaller gave way to him. His function was both to seek wide support for Anschluss and to restructure the now banned NSDAP. On 21 June 1935 he was imprisoned for just over a year for distributing illegal material. He was to play no part in the drive towards Anschluss but instead took a post with the manufacturer I.G. Farben. After the Anschluss he took on the responsibility of Mayor of Vienna on 13 March 1938 but, largely because of the success of his rapprochement with former Social Democrats and, it has been said, his readiness to assist Jews, he incurred the disfavour of both Bürckel (*q.v.*) and Hitler and he was reduced to being Bürckel's 'general representative'.

During the war he served the Reich in the Balkans as economic adviser in Bucharest, then as ambassador also in Romania and later in Athens. In 1943 he became military commanding officer in Serbia. Neubacher was sentenced on 16 May 1951 by a Yugoslav military court to 20 years in prison but was later released. He died on 1 July 1960 in Vienna.

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NIEKISCH, Ernst (1889–1967)

German National Bolshevik leader, whom Buchheim has

called the 'most prominent and the most original representative of German National Bolshevism'.

Niekisch was born in Trebnitz (Silesia) on 23 May 1889, the son of an independent artisan who owned a tool-repair shop. Brought up in Nördlingen (Bavaria), he eventually enrolled in a teacher training college in Altdorf. As a young primary school teacher in Augsburg from 1912, he greeted the opening of hostilities in 1914 with enthusiasm; ironically, due to myopia he did not serve in it himself. In October 1917 he joined the Social Democrats and in 1918 was elected as head of the Augsburg Workers and Soldiers Council which gave him *de facto* dictatorial powers. After signing the decree proclaiming the Munich Soviet Republic, he then resigned from the central council in order to allow himself room for manoeuvre to arbitrate between the opposing forces, he later claimed. When the Hoffmann government took over after the destruction of the Soviet Republic, Niekisch joined the Independent Socialists, the USPD. Serving two years in prison for his revolutionary activities, he was released in August 1921 and took the seat he had won on the USPD ticket in the Bavarian provincial parliament. On his return to the SPD, having been director of the youth group of the Textile Workers' Union (1923–6), he strove to turn the party in a nationalist direction. He contributed not only to the leftist *Die Weltbühne* but also to the moderate socialist *Die Glocke*. From 1924 he was connected with the young socialist Hofgeismar circle who were vehemently opposed to the Versailles Treaty and looked to a reconciliation with the Soviet Union. He denounced the Dawes Plan, reparations in general, opposed the pacifism of the SPD and rejected Marxist suspicions of German nationalism. Expelled from the young socialists after attacking the Locarno Pact and failing to make himself the 'national conscience' of the SPD, he was expelled from the party in 1926. He not only joined the Old Socialist Party of Saxony, which he hoped to transform into the vehicle for the fusion of nationalism and socialist socio-economic reform he envisaged, but also launched his own journal *Widerstand* (Opposition).

With the Jünger brothers (*q.v.*), Reventlow (*q.v.*), Heinz, von Salomon (*q.v.*), Winnig (*q.v.*) and others to whom the paramilitary nationalist groups like the Stahlhelm were completely lacking in any revolutionary social dimension, Niekisch formed the 'National Bolsheviks' with the slogan Sparta-Potsdam-Moscow; they rejected the West and particularly the values emanating from Paris and they saw Russian communism as a continuation of the old Prussian state and a form of Russian nationalism.

After his failure to win over the more traditional rightist movements like the Jungdeutsche Orden and Wehrwolf, he was left with little more than his resistance circle founded in 1928 with Dr Joseph Drexel and Dr Karl Tröger after his repudiation of the Old Socialist Party. He supported the Landvolk movement in Schleswig but rejected the Nazis as lacking in real socialism. He referred to Hitler as 'king of the mob' and a 'trickster', although he was anti-Semitic and advocated a totalitarian state. In 1931 he had close links with the Communist Party during its brief 'nationalist' phase. Suppressed by the Nazis in December 1934, the Widerstandskreis went underground and in March 1937 Niekisch was arrested with 71 of his followers. He was sentenced to life imprisonment for 'literary high treason' in January 1939 by the People's Court. He emerged from various prisons in 1945 blind and in poor health, no longer the 'prosperous rabbit' that Friedrich Jünger had earlier described. In the post-war years he became an orthodox Marxist, lectured in sociology in Humboldt University in East Germany (1948–52), and then, disillusioned by the suppression of the workers' rising of 1953, returned to West Berlin where he died on 23 May 1967. Lebovics has called him 'an ideological gambler'.

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NOTHOMB, Pierre (1887–1966)

Belgian nationalist founder of Action Nationale.

Born in Tournai on 28 March 1887, Nothomb was educated in the University of Louvain from where he emerged with a doctorate in politics in 1910. Finding his inspiration in Barrèsian republican nationalism rather than in the Action Française which he called 'a matter of theologians and professors', he was at first, with Daye (*q.v.*), a supporter

of Paul Crockaert's *L'Action Démocratique*. In 1919 he was the inspiration behind the Comité de Politique Nationale which was expansionist in nature and advocated the annexation of Luxemburg and the Dutch province of Limburg. After a number of metamorphoses, the organization emerged in 1924 as L'Action Nationale with a programme of corporatist economics and opposition to 'destructive' internal elements such as communists, and a distinctly anti-Semitic undertone. A Catholic authoritarian who called the Italian Nationalist, Corradini, 'our intellectual master', Nothomb founded the Fédération d'Action Nationale to unite the newly burgeoning nationalist groups like his own and Hoornaert's (*q.v.*) Légion Nationale. For a time Nothomb rejected the Légion and opted for the Catholic Party, but by the end of 1925 the AN and the Légion were again cooperating in street brawls with socialists, usually carried out by the Jeunesses Nationales, some 3,000 members who were to earn Nothomb the nickname the '*Napoléon de la Marmaille*' (the Napoleon of the Brats).

He met Mussolini in Rome in July 1925 and took away with him a deep admiration. His fascist reputation was a severe impediment to his ambitions to find a seat in parliament. Although he was not on the Catholic Party's list of candidates from 1925, in June 1936 he was elected by the Provincial Council of the province of Luxembourg as provincial Senator. He served (with a short break in 1939) until 1965. His senatorial ambitions led to much soul-searching on the part of the AN stalwarts who found it difficult to reconcile Nothomb's anti-parliamentary sentiments with his clear relish for his new role. In 1931 he joined the reactionary L'Autorité group and during the 1930s contributed occasionally to the publications of the Rex movement. This non-sectarian attitude allowed his friendship with the Verdinaso leader Van Severen (*q.v.*).

After the war Nothomb stayed true to the idea of a Greater Belgium, but embraced the idea of European integration as a framework. He continued to attend the Senate as Senator for Arlon from 1949 and joined the Christian Social Party. He died in Habay-la-Neuve on 29 December 1966.

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O

O'DUFFY, Eoin (1892–1944)

Irish general, leader of the National Guard (Blueshirts) and the National Corporate Party.

Born in Castleblayney (Monaghan) on 30 October 1892, O'Duffy began as an engineer in Monaghan; in 1919 he moved into the world of auctioneering. He had been associated with the IRA, becoming its chief of staff in 1922, after serving as GOC South-Western Command during the Civil War. In September of the same year he was appointed first commissioner of the Garda Sochana in the infant Free State. He had been a close colleague of Michael Collins and was well-known in athletic circles.

It was in July 1933 that he first came to national prominence as a politician when he was appointed leader of the non-political ex-servicemen's organization, the Army Comrades Association, founded in February 1932, in the climate of distrust that remained ten years after the end of the Civil War and which was to be exacerbated by the formation of De Valera's first government. O'Duffy was relieved of his duties as police chief by De Valera and offered an alternative post, which he refused. Although an efficient organizer, O'Duffy was, as Elizabeth Cullingford has said, 'not overburdened with intellect' or as Yeats was to call him following his disenchantment with the general, 'an uneducated lunatic'.

Encouraged by the conservative Cumann na nGaedheal leaders like Professor Michael Tierney and Ernest Blythe, O'Duffy changed the name of his organization to National Guard, planned to remodel the Dáil on anti-democratic lines and introduced blue uniforms and the Roman salute. O'Duffy himself was a great admirer of Mussolini and believed in a corporate form of occupational representation. Many conservatives believed that De Valera was, as the Cumann newspaper argued, 'leading the country straight into Bolshevik servitude' and the IRA had been campaigning under the slogan: 'No free speech for traitors.' The National Guard, after a series of vociferous meetings, was banned in August 1933 by the government and a new organization of Blueshirts, the Centre Party and the Cumann was formed as Fine Gael–United Ireland Party with O'Duffy as

president. The National Guard became the Young Ireland Association which was, in its turn, banned.

Representing the interests of the large farmers and the lower middle classes in the towns and with a Catholic social programme based on the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the movement has been exonerated by its historian, Maurice Manning, from the charge of being fascist. There is no doubt, however, that O'Duffy tried to move in that direction. He resigned suddenly as leader of the Fine Gael in September 1934 after pressure from the more respectable sections and by mid-1935 the movement had ceased to be of any importance. In June 1935 O'Duffy created the National Corporate Party, more obviously indebted to European fascism. He also recruited a brigade for service in Spain on the Nationalist side in a crusade against Bolshevism.

On his return from Spain in June 1937, he disappeared into obscurity. Yeats, who is often pilloried for his association with O'Duffy, in fact, 'dissociated himself from the Blueshirts at the height of their success and popularity' (Cullingford). O'Duffy died on 30 November 1944 and was given a state funeral.

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OEHLER, Hans (1888–1967)

Swiss journalist, editor of the Schweizerische Monatshefte, member of the Nationale Front and later connected with Nation Europa.

Oehler came from an upper-class family, German by origin on both sides. He was born on 18 December 1888 in Arrau. He studied philology at the University of Zürich and received his DPhil in 1913. He

gravitated towards journalism first with the pro-German *Freie Wort* and then in April 1921 founded and edited the *Schweizerische Monatshefte für Politik und Kultur* which carried on a campaign against Swiss membership of the League of Nations, was intensely pro-German and distinctly anti-Semitic. A month earlier in March 1921 Oehler had founded, with Dr Hektor Ammann, the *Volksbund für die Unabhängigkeit der Schweiz* (Popular League for the Independence of Switzerland). Oehler had met Hitler in 1923 on a visit to Switzerland and had already become an admirer of fascist Italy. He believed that the crisis of Swiss democracy had been reached and that the only solution was a strong corporate state on the lines of that proposed by the Austrian Othmar Spann (*q.v.*).

Oehler was one of a group of intellectuals in Zürich who met to discuss political problems, which came to be known as the 'Oehler Club'. When a group of similarly-minded students and academics, connected with the *Zürcher Studentengruppe*, founded the *Neue Front* in July 1930, Oehler eventually joined it in spring 1932 and converted the *SM* into a resolute supporter of the increasingly fascist *Front*. With the launching of the *Nationale Front* in May 1933, Oehler became the party spokesman on foreign policy and the editor of *Front*.

He was ousted from the *Monatshefte* but founded the *Nationale Hefte* in April 1934 in its place which he continued to publish after he left the *Front* until September 1945. He broke with the NF in 1938 and in March with Henne (*q.v.*) established the *Bund Treuer Eidgenossen Nationalsozialistischer Weltanschauung* for Swiss Nazi zealots. In 1940 he moved to the *Nationale Bewegung der Schweiz*. In 1957 he was convicted of treason by a Swiss federal court for his presence in Munich in October 1940 at a meeting of the leaders of Swiss pro-Nazi organizations. He was sentenced to two years in prison. His fascist activities did not cease, however, as he became one of the leading members of the *Volkspartei der Schweiz* (Swiss People's Party). He was also in charge of the editorial office in Switzerland of the neo-Nazi journal *Nation Europa*. Under the name Hans Rudolf he translated into German Maurice Bardèche's (*q.v.*) book *Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise*. He died on 7 January 1967 in Dielsdorf.

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OHLENDORF, Otto (1908–51)

German National Socialist SD official and leader of an Einsatzgruppe murder squad.

Born on 4 February 1907 in Hoheneggelsen near Hildesheim, Ohlendorf was the son of a farmer of National Liberal opinions. He studied law and economics at the Universities of Leipzig and Göttingen from 1931 to 1933. In 1925 at the age of 18 he joined the SA, later in the year the NSDAP, and in 1926 became No. 880 in the SS. There is evidence to suggest that he did not fit easily into the organization and 'therefore', as he later wrote, 'from 1926 to 1933 I did not work within the official party.' As an assistant at the Institute for World Economics in Kiel University from October 1933 to 1935, he was a constant thorn in the flesh of the local Kiel party officials, accusing them of having National Bolshevik tendencies. He transferred to the Institute of Applied Economics in Berlin in late 1935. He was never, after this experience, wholly convinced that the NSDAP was the right vehicle for his beliefs, but nevertheless, in 1936, through the pull of his old boss in Kiel, Jens Peter Jessen, he joined the Central Division II/2 of the SD; one of his tasks was to build up an economic information network but he soon found himself in conflict again, this time with Darré (*q.v.*) and Göring (*q.v.*), whose emphasis in the Four Year Plan on gigantism and on the suppression of private initiative outraged Ohlendorf's individualist instincts.

The intelligent and highly educated Ohlendorf, who had a real knowledge of fascist economic organization in Italy, briefly left the SD in 1938 to become managing director of the *Reichsgruppe Handel* in the Ministry of Economics but returned to the SD in 1939 where he became later in the year head of *Amt III (SD-Lebensgebiete)* of the newly-created RSHA, responsible for the creation of an intelligence service that would as objectively and factually as possible provide the information necessary for a measure of 'social engineering', but *Amt III*, with its vast knowledge of public opinion, became an unofficial channel through which criticism of the system could filter up to the highest levels of policy-making.

Having fallen foul of Himmler (*q.v.*), whom Ohlendorf was later to accuse of 'dualism' and of being a 'parasite', he was transferred to command *Einsatzgruppe D* of the Security Police and the SD. In the southern Ukraine Ohlendorf was responsible for the murder of some 90,000 Ukrainians and Jews up to June 1942. Though he claimed reluctance to take part and later pleaded the 'moral strain' on his execution squads, he proved himself to be, as

Reitlinger argued, 'the Grand Inquisitor . . . with a pedantic mania for regarding everything as an object of scientific analysis', an 'academic gangster' who defended the killings on grounds that in the war against Bolshevism, any act, however, ruthless, was justified.

In 1943 he became minister director of the Reich Economics Ministry and leader of the Department for General Economic Policy; he was to continue as head of Amt III until the end of the war. In November 1944 he was promoted to *SS-Gruppenführer*, having refused to have any part in the German resistance. Until the end, under the Dönitz (*q.v.*) regime, he was involved in trying to salvage Amt III. Ohlendorf was condemned to death in April 1948 by an American military court, and was hanged in Landsberg prison on 8 June 1951.

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OLIVETTI, Angelo Oliviero (1874–1931)

Italian syndicalist, later a fascist ideologist.

Born in Ravenna on 21 June 1874 into a land-owning, Jewish family from the Romagna, his father was a colonel in the Italian army. Olivetti studied law at the University of Bologna and having joined the Socialist Party, found his place on the revolutionary wing. In October 1899 he was condemned *in absentia* to three years in prison for the publication of a subversive pamphlet but was amnestied in 1900. As a syndicalist after 1905 he founded in Lugano, where he had fled to escape prosecution for his role in the 1898 riots in Bologna, with Labriola (1873–1959) and Orano (*q.v.*), the journal *Pagine Libre* (1906–11, 1914–15, 1920–2), and in 1907 worked for *Lotta di Classe*. *Pagine Libre* was as nationalist as it was syndicalist. Olivetti came under the influence of the Sorelian prescription for direct violent action. Expelled from Switzerland in 1912 for articles attacking German influence in that country, he supported close relations between syndicalists and the

Italian nationalists which became progressively more cordial during the Libyan War and coalesced in their mutual support for intervention in the First World War. Olivetti had long been an enemy of 'international utopias' and a subscriber to the notion of a motivated revolutionary elite to guide 'the inert body of the anonymous masses'.

Pagine Libre became the journal of the Fascio Rivoluzionario d'Azione Internazionale and Olivetti was a signatory of the Fascio's first manifesto of October 1914. In 1918 he collaborated with De Ambris and Rossoni (*q.v.*) on the weekly, *L'Italia Nostra*, organ of the Unione Sindicale Milanese. In October 1922 *La Patria del Popolo* was launched in Milan, a weekly described as 'sindicalista-dannunziano' which endorsed the principles enunciated in the Carta del Carnaro. Olivetti, as a Sorelian and a long-time despiser of parliamentary democracy and of a regime of parties, weighed in the balance a nation of producers against a corrupt political establishment, a set of convictions which was later to cohere in an 'integral syndicalism' and lead to his adoption as an expert on fascist corporatism. He joined the fascists during the Matteotti crisis of 1924 and became a member of the Commission of Fifteen (later of Eighteen) which created the constitutional reforms of 1925.

Olivetti served the regime, still seeking a 'post-liberal order', on the National Council of Corporations, as a contributor to *Il Popolo d'Italia* and as a member of Panunzio's (*q.v.*) fascist faculty at the University of Perugia. By the time of his death on 17 November 1931 in Spoleto, he had become thoroughly embittered by fascist practice and a strong critic of the bureaucratic control from above of the corporations and their lack of real autonomy.

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OLTRAMARE, Georges (Geo) (1896–1960)

Swiss author, leader of the Union Nationale (Geneva) and collaborator in occupied France.

Oltramare was born on 17 April 1896 in Geneva, the scion of a well-known family; his father was a university professor. He obtained his *demi-licence* in the faculty of law in Geneva in October 1919, having

already begun his literary career. He won the Fondation Schiller prize for his *Don Juan ou la Solitude* in 1927. There were early signs of an anti-Semitism that was to become an obsession in his articles in *La Suisse*. In 1923 the political and satirical *Le Pilon* was established in Geneva (it became weekly in 1934 and survived until the spring of 1940). Widely circulated in the Suisse Romande, it specialized in attacking Jewish companies and chain stores.

In 1931 Oltramare, who was notorious for having little inclination for hard work and was known as an indifferent speaker, founded the Ordre Politique Nationale, which, a year later, amalgamated with the Union de Défense Economique to form the Geneva-based fascist Union Nationale. From 1932 until 1940 Oltramare was the leader. After the German occupation of France, he moved to Paris where he began a journalistic collaboration with the occupiers under the pseudonym Charles Dieudonné. On 30 June 1940 the first issue of the German-subsidized paper *La France au Travail* appeared, of which Oltramare became director; at its height it reached a circulation of 260,000. It was aimed at trade unionists and the working classes with a specific attempt to win over former communists. Oltramare, who developed in these years something of a reputation for both unpunctuality and for womanizing, also broadcast on Radio Paris and wrote for journals like *L'Appel* and *Revivre*. He survived an attempted assassination in the Champs-Élysée.

In August 1944 he fled to Sigmaringen in Germany before the victorious Allied armies. He was arrested on his return to Switzerland on 21 April 1945 and charged with an attack on Switzerland's security and independence. He was held in detention for a year, freed in April 1946, and reimprisoned in February 1947. In November 1946 Oltramare was deprived of his right to publish a journal by a Swiss court and to complete his discomfiture, he was condemned to death by a French court in January 1950. However, he actually served a comparatively short sentence and after 1952 spent much of his time between Spain and Nasser's Egypt, where he worked in the anti-Semitic propaganda division. He was allowed to revive *Le Pilon* in which he pedalled a mixture of Poujadism and anti-Semitism. From 1958 he was involved with the journal *L'Europe Réelle*. In his memoirs he justified his anti-Semitism in the following way: '*Les persecutions sont odieuses; les mesures de prophylaxie nécessaires.*' Oltramare died in Paris on 16 August 1960.

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eva, 1956; Georges Oltramare, *L'Homme qui Demain . . .*, Geneva, 1937; R. Joseph, *L'Union Nationale*, 1932–39, Neuchâtel, 1975.

ORANO, Paolo (1875–1945)

Italian syndicalist and later fascist and anti-Semitic writer. Born on 15 June 1875, the son of a criminology professor in the University of Rome, Orano studied in that university and received his degree in letters. In his formative years as a writer he took a noticeably positivist attitude to cultural and political questions. In the early years of the twentieth century he joined the Unione Socialista Romana and was a part of the editorial team of *Avanti!* from 1903. As an active syndicalist he left the Socialist Party and ceased, about the same time, to write for *Avanti!*. He then moved to Ferrara and to Parma as a labour organizer and collaborated on many of the leading syndicalist journals, including the youth periodical *Gioventù Socialista* (Rome) of which he was director, *Pagine Libere* (Lugano) of which he was co-director with Olivetti (*q.v.*) from 1907–8 and which took a national syndicalist line, *Divenire Sociale*, a journal associated with the particular views of Georges Sorel (*q.v.*), *Lotta Proletaria*, the anti-militarist journal, and from 1907, the Milan weekly *Lotta di Classe* with Labriola and De Ambris. He was on the editorial committee of *Avanguardia Sindicalista* (Palermo) from 1910. Orano supported himself at this time by working as a philosophy teacher in various secondary schools.

In October 1910 in Florence Orano founded his syndicalist weekly *La Lupa* to which many nationalists contributed. He demonstrated his approval of the new accommodation of his mentor Sorel with Maurras (*q.v.*) and the Action Française, temporary though this accord was to prove. Orano abandoned his earlier anti-militarism and became an enthusiast for the Libyan War of 1911, believing it would fan the flames of class warfare and lead to revolution. During the First World War, he worked as a press agent and in 1919 was active in Sardinia where his family origins lay. Elected as a deputy for Cagliari as a member of the Partito Sardo d'Azione, he was re-elected in 1921, having in the meantime written for Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia* and joined the Fasci di Combattimento in Milan; he had been an associate of Mussolini since 1915 in the interventionist Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria.

By the end of the war, Orano had struggled towards a belief in the supreme necessity for increasing

national productivity through the cooperation of all elements of society with no special role assigned to the proletariat. He became one of the so-called *sansepolcristi*, the founders of fascism. In 1920 he re-founded *Pagine Libere* with Olivetti, now a supporter of the Unione Italiana del Lavoro. In 1922 Orano officially left the Partito Sardo d'Azione for the PNF and began to contribute to the journal *Gerarchia*. He was a member of the Commission of the Chamber, which introduced the Acerbo (*q.v.*) Law aiding the fascist takeover in 1923. In 1925 he was appointed director of the Rome edition of *Popolo d'Italia*.

Concentrating on his writing and his academic work after 1928, he wrote a hagiography of the Duce entitled *Mussolini da Vicino*, and in 1930 was appointed Rector of Perugia University. In his last years he became an associate of Graziani (*q.v.*) and relished Italy's attempts at empire-building. He also developed an admiration for German National Socialism and particularly for its anti-Semitism.

From 1937, encouraged by his mentor Mussolini, he returned to his obsession with the Jewish cultural threat to Catholicism, expressed in his *Il Problema del Cristianismo* (1895). His *Gli Ebrei in Italia* was perhaps the most significant work to come out of the anti-Semitic campaign of the late 1930s, a campaign which he continued until 1943 with his attacks on 'unpatriotic' Italian Jews and on their alleged Zionist tendencies. Created a senator in April 1939, he was captured by the Allies and died in Padula internment camp in 1945.

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P

PABST, Waldemar (1880–1970)

German Free Corps activist, involved in the deaths of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and organizing spirit of the Austrian Heimwehr.

Born on 24 December 1880 in Hamburg, the son of a museum director, Pabst ended his First World War service as a captain of the *Gardekavallerie-Schutzendivision* (Horse Guards) and was the chief of staff of the same division when, in the pacification of Berlin after the Spartacist revolt of January 1919, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were killed. He later, unconvincingly, defended the killings in the *Deutscher Studenten-Anzeiger* and in *Der Spiegel*; in 1962 the West German government press office supported his version of events by claiming that they were executions legally carried out in accordance with martial law. In 1919 Pabst organized a *Nationale Vereinigung* and was a leading participant in the Kapp (*q.v.*) putsch of 1920 in Berlin at the head of his creation, the *Gardekavallerie Frei Korps*. He fled the country after its failure and reached Austria via Hungary. In May 1922, in the Tyrol, he became the chief of staff to Steidle (*q.v.*), the local Heimwehr leader, and over the next few years built up an efficient paramilitary machine which was to earn him the nickname *Waldemar der Grosse* (Waldemar the Great). By 1928 he was a federal staff leader, having been a major influence since 1924 on the development of the national Heimwehr movement.

In Austria he kept in touch with contacts in Germany, acting as an unofficial intelligence gatherer for Stresemann, the Foreign Minister. He believed strongly that dictatorship was the best form of government for both Austria and Germany. Falling foul of the Minister of the Interior, Schumy, who objected to Pabst's 'ruthless and uncompromising methods', he was expelled by Chancellor Schober (1874–1932) in June 1930 and fled to Italy, but returned in November by the good offices of the new Minister Starhemberg (*q.v.*). Pabst returned to Germany in 1932 and used all his skills as an intermediary to liaise between the Heimwehr, National Socialists like Funk (*q.v.*) and the Reichswehr.

Meanwhile, the Heimwehr, deprived of his organizational talents and his ability at intrigue, did not prosper.

During the Second World War, Pabst worked for the German steel company Rheinmetall Bossig in Berlin. It has been said that he had contacts with Canaris and the German anti-Hitler resistance and he certainly left Germany before the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. He went to Switzerland where he worked for the Swiss armaments firm Oerlikon, and was involved in the international manoeuvrings of the neo-Nazi *Bruderschaft*. He transferred to Düsseldorf in 1955. He appears to have been involved in the extreme right German Union. Pabst died on 29 May 1970 in Düsseldorf.

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PALACIO, Ernesto (1900–79)

Argentinian academic, politician and nacionalista of the Nueva República group.

Palacio was born on 4 January 1900 in San Martín (Buenos Aires) and educated in the University of Buenos Aires. He received his legal qualification in 1929. From an early anarchism and then syndicalism, he moved, under the influence of traditional Catholic thought (he was a Catholic convert) and of counter-revolutionary European thinkers like Spengler (*q.v.*), to a belief in Christian democracy in the tradition of Pope Leo XIII. The impact on his thought of Maetzku (*q.v.*), who visited Buenos Aires in 1928, was particularly marked; this moved him in a more corporatist and authoritarian direction. In his books *La Historia Falsificada* (1939) and *Historia de la Argentina* (1954), he identified the birth of this

'feeling of reaction against disorder' as being in the year 1925. With the Irazusta brothers (*q.v.*) he was co-founder of the new right-wing journal *La Nueva República* (1928–31), which brought together an often-disparate group of radicals, conservatives, extreme nationalists, pro- and anti-Maurrasians (Palacio himself was of the antis) in a common belief in a hierarchical republican nationalism, authoritarian but based on a solid foundation of respect for individual liberties and the law and an underpinning of popular support, a 'functional democracy' based on a corporatist form of representation. Opposed equally to the self-perpetuating oligarchy who controlled political life and to the uninhibited passions of the masses, they sought an Argentinian form of government which would serve the function that fascism did in Italy.

In his professional life he became Minister of the Interior and Public Education in the province of San Juan from 1930 to 1931. From 1931 to 1938 he held the chair of ancient and Argentine history in the Escuela Comercial de Mujeres and in 1942 was appointed professor of geography in Justo José de Urquiza College. As director of the journal *Juan Manuel de Rosas* to 1940, he helped to spread the cult of the nineteenth-century dictator who was much admired for his stand against foreign intervention. As editor of *Nueva Orden* (1942–3) and a leader of the Partido Libertador, he fought against British influence on Argentina's economic life which extended to control over trains, trolley-buses and other sectors of the economy. He was also concerned with the Falklands/Malvinas issue. He wrote for many of the organs of the extreme right including *Criterio*, *Número*, *La Voz del Plata* and, above all, *Nueva Política*, which he founded in 1940.

Palacio became a convert to Peronism which he served as a deputy for the federal capital from 1946 to 1952. He saw in Peronism the necessary authoritarian government based on firm popular support. His articles, often characterized by a satirical style, appeared on occasion under the pseudonym Hector Castillo. Palacio died in Buenos Aires on 3 January 1979.

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PÁLFFY, Fidél, Count (1895–1946)

Hungarian National Socialist.

Born in Szentgyörgy on 6 May 1895, Pálffy was an impoverished count from the Zala country of western Hungary. In 1919 he was the liaison officer between the counter-revolutionary Szeged government and the French occupation army. After his demobilization in 1920, he moved first to an estate in Czechoslovakia and then returned to Hungary and bought a new estate. The depression left him bankrupt.

His first foray into National Socialist politics was at the head of the Magyar Nemzeti Szocialista Párt (Hungarian National Socialist Party), a direct imitation of the German NSDAP, whose groups in the Zala area were suppressed by Gömbös (*q.v.*). In January 1934 in an attempt to unite the ultra right, Pálffy formed a united 'directorate' with Meskó (*q.v.*) and Festetics (*q.v.*). They adopted the arrow cross as an emblem. Within a year the party had dissolved after Festetics was expelled. Pálffy and Meskó persevered in the National Socialist Party of Hungary until Meskó was removed in September 1935. There followed a period of decline when he lost many of his followers to Gömbös; he turned to the Germans by way of compensation. For a time he was an agent of the RSHA and so abjectly pro-German that even Szálasi (*q.v.*) found it excessive.

In 1937 an attempt at unity on the extreme right was made with the United Hungarian National Socialist Party but Pálffy was not to remain long a member of the ill-fated movement. Nor was he part of the Hungarian National Socialist Party-Hungarist Movement founded by Hubay and Festetics in August 1938. At this time Pálffy enjoyed the confidence of the Germans rather than Szálasi, who was to obtain power belatedly in October 1944. In July 1940 Pálffy formed a group with Baky (*q.v.*) again closely tied to the German RSHA. He joined Szálasi in September 1940; then in September 1941 he launched once again with Baky the hardly originally titled Hungarian National Socialist Party. The newspaper giving it support, *Magyarság*, was subsidized by the Germans. Its policy was conservative compared with the radical ideology of Szálasi's Arrow Cross Party. After the German invasion of March 1944, the Pálffy/Baky party was one of the few allowed to operate. When Szálasi seized power in October, Pálffy, who had supported the *putsch* despite reservations about Szálasi's populist tendencies, became the Minister of Agriculture. He joined the movement in November when he said that his 'course of life' had led him in that direction. Pálffy was hanged after the liberation on 2 March 1946 in Budapest.

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PANUNZIO, Sergio (1886–1944)

Italian fascist theorist, who began as a revolutionary syndicalist.

Born in Malfetta near Bari on 20 July 1886 into a prominent local family, Panunzio became active in syndicalist circles in 1902 while still in secondary school. As a contributor to *Avanguardia Socialista*, he believed that an elite socialist vanguard could shape and lead the inert masses. He obtained a degree from the University of Naples in 1908 in jurisprudence and in philosophy in 1911; he earned his living as a lawyer. As one of the most prominent followers of Sorel (q.v.), whose syndicalism he described after the First World War as 'the only authentic socialism', Panunzio worked on the editorial staff of *Avanti!* in 1906 and then of Leone's *Azione*. He abandoned the Socialist Party in 1908 and as early as 1909 foreshadowed, in his thesis *La Persistenza del Diritto*, the basic ideas of fascist syndicalism when he referred to 'social groups entering into law-governed coordination with other groups . . . enforced by domination and control'. As a nationalist syndicalist he contributed to *Divenire Sociale* and to *Pagine Libre*, and in 1911 supported the war against the Turks. He was a fervent interventionist and a member of the Fasci d'Azione Rivoluzionaria and wrote for *Il Popolo d'Italia* during the war.

In the last years of the war, from 1917 to 1919, Panunzio synthesized his earlier ideas to approve a strong authoritarian state backed by a new legal order, nor did he balk at the need for violence to shatter the old complacent and fossilized regime so that a revived class of producers could emerge. Eventually he came to accept that fascism was a legitimate successor to national syndicalism. The new 'socialism' would be in the spirit of Francesco Severio Merlino (1856–1930), the revisionist Marxist, who in the 1890s proposed that 'socialism is not the victory of one class over the others, but the triumph of the general interest over particular interests'. In 1920 Panunzio was offered the chair of philosophy in the University of Ferrara and in 1924

was elected as a member of the Chamber. He was also appointed to the directorate of the PNF.

As a theorist of the corporate state, Panunzio served from 1924 to 1925 as Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Corporations and was also a member of the National Council of Corporations. His main contribution to fascism was as a lecturer, theoretician and writer. He wrote for many fascist journals, including *Critica Fascista* and *Ottobre*. In 1925 he moved to Perugia as Rector of the University, and in 1927 took over the chair of 'State Doctrine' in the Faculty of Political Science in Rome. His inaugural lecture of 1928 was, at the time and since, considered to be one of the most important statements of fascist doctrine. After 1928, as head of the Fascist Faculty of Political Science in Perugia, he gathered together a galaxy of syndicalists-turned-fascists. In 1938 he opposed the anti-Semitic campaign but a year later was still referring to Mussolini as 'the great builder of fascism'. Panunzio died on 8 October 1944 in Rome.

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PAPEN, Franz von (1879–1969)

German Reich Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor to Hitler (q.v.) until 1934.

Born into an old Westphalian family, the son of a retired cavalry officer, in Werl on 29 October 1879, Franz von Papen began his military career with the 5th Westphalian Lancers in Düsseldorf. As a second lieutenant in 1907 he entered the Berlin War Academy, and by March 1913 had been promoted to a captain on the General Staff. During the First World War he served as a military attaché in Mexico, and then in Washington from where he was expelled in December 1915 for his conspiratorial activities. Later in the war, after operating on the Western Front as a Battalion Commander with the 4th Guards Infantry Division, he was transferred to Mesopotamia as the head of the Operations Department of Army Group Falkenhayn, and in 1918 served as chief of the general staff of the 4th Turkish Army in Palestine.

Joining the Catholic Centre Party in 1920, Papen was elected to the Prussian state parliament, at first representing the interests of the Westphalian Farmers' Association (he survived until 1932). On the right-wing of the party, he represented not only Catholic agrarian interests and the most reactionary monarchist elements but also, through the ultra-conservative Berlin Herrenklub, cultivated good relations with the business community. The marriage of his daughter to a leading Saarland porcelain manufacturer also helped this end. In 1924 Papen bought a majority shareholding in German newspaper, the publishers of the Catholic Party organ. He persistently but vainly strove to push the personnel and editorial policies of the group in a direction favourable to the authoritarian right.

Papen's appointment as Chancellor on 1 June 1932 with the support of President von Hindenburg who called upon him to form a government of 'national concentration' came as a shock not only to his Centre Party who expelled him but also to those in political circles who viewed the rise from obscurity of the frivolous, pompous, politically lightweight and administratively inexperienced Papen with incredulity. The 'cabinet of barons' under Papen began, with their 'New State', the process of undermining parliamentary democracy that the National Socialists completed after 1933. He lifted the ban on the SA imposed by his predecessor Brüning, and gave way to Nazi demands for the dissolution of the Reichstag in anticipation of new elections in July. His aim, which has been described as 'that of carrying over to politics the outlook of a riding gentleman', was no less than to undermine the Weimar coalition, to fulfil the goals he had pursued through the 1920s, to restore the authoritarian military tradition of the Wilhelmine period, to unite the Christian right against the communist threat, and to introduce socially reactionary measures like the reduction in unemployment benefit.

Papen, increasingly isolated by his lack of support in both the Reichstag and in the country at large, was finally defeated by 512 votes to 42 and tendered his resignation on 17 November 1932. He failed to get the support of the new Chancellor, General von Schleicher, and sought an alliance with Hitler who was beginning to doubt that he could ever come to power. An opportunist, an expert in deviousness and Florentine conspiracy, Papen had secret talks with Hitler and Hindenburg in the home of a Cologne banker, Kurt von Schröder, in January 1933. Papen believed the Nazis could be controlled by 'economically reliable bourgeois elements'. He was promised the Vice-Chancellorship, a post he took up on 30

January 1933 until his resignation in July 1934. By this time he had taken fright at the 'Marxist excesses' of the regime (said in a speech to Marburg students). By his collaboration with and his exploitation by the Nazis, he 'gave an honourable veneer to a murderous enterprise', an interpretation of events his self-righteous memoirs never even hint at. Instead, he blamed his fellow countrymen for their 'intellectual laziness' in not rejecting Hitler. During the Blood Purge of 30 June 1934, Papen was kept under house arrest while his aides, including the author of his famous Marburg speech, Edgar Jung, were murdered. In the autumn of 1934 Papen continued to serve the regime (he argued that his allegiance was to the 'German Fatherland' and not to the Nazis) as ambassador to Austria where he promoted Anschluss (officially Minister Extraordinary from 1934 to 1936). A year after the 'March of the Flowers' in Austria, he was appointed ambassador to Turkey, where he remained until August 1944 in an effort to ensure that country's neutrality.

Arrested by the Americans in April 1945, he was found not guilty on all counts at Nuremberg on 1 October 1946. However, he was sentenced to eight years in a labour camp by a German *Spruchkammer* on 4 February 1947. Dispatched to a labour camp hospital in Fürth and then to Garmisch and Langwasser, he was released on 29 January 1949. He died on 2 May 1969 at the age of 89 in Obersasbach (Baden). At his trial in Nuremberg he had referred to himself as 'the spokesman of the other Germany'.

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PAPINI, Giovanni (1881–1956)

Florentine novelist, critic, poet and essayist; later a fascist supporter.

'Gianfalco' was born on 9 January 1881 in Florence, the son of a furniture salesman and Mazzinian artist, 'with the malady of greatness' as he later wrote. Papini was a voracious reader and something of an autodidact although he did attend university. He made his reputation after an early interest in Poe and Jules Verne, Pareto and Nietzsche, as editor, with

Prezzolini (*q.v.*) whom he had first met in 1899, of the Florentine journal *Leonardo* (1903–7). Contributors to the journal included Borgese, Soffici (*q.v.*), Amendola and D'Annunzio (*q.v.*). The journal's relentless programme of anti-positivism sought the 'internal liberation, ideal, radical, of all men'. Self-assertive and iconoclastic, the young pagans and individualists of *Leonardo*, under the influence of William James' pragmatism (James said of Papini: 'Papini is a jewel . . . to think of that little dago putting himself ahead of everyone of us . . . at a single stride'), of Blondel's philosophy of action and Stirner's egotistic anarchism, sought to overturn the academicism and ossification of Italian culture and undertook the fervent search for a new philosophy. His book *Il Crepuscolo dei Filosofi* (1906), a precocious rhetorical outburst rather than a work of rigorous philosophy, declared the demise of the old philosophy. Invited by Corradini to be chief editor of his journal *Il Regno*, founded on 29 November 1903, Papini accepted and then in February 1904 embraced the programme of the Nationalist Party. Papini called himself the 'first evangelist of Nationalism' and a righteous enemy of 'ignoble socialism' and of the prevailing climate of liberalism.

Papini and Prezzolini played an important role in the dissemination of the new nationalism. In 1905 Papini left for Paris where he met Sorel (*q.v.*), Péguy, Picasso and others and where his attitude to religion underwent a sea-change although his conversion to Catholicism had to wait a few years (he suffered a further crisis of scepticism in 1911). From 1908 to 1916 he continued his collaboration with Prezzolini on *La Voce*, a journal which called for the replacement of the old decadent political class. He eventually left it in 1913 to found, with Soffici, a proponent of Futurist violence, the strictly literary *Lacerba*. In a notorious article in 1913, the journal called for 'a bath of blood'. Papini's Futurist *soirées* in the same year, if not succeeding in 'breaking the windows and testicles of the bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats, and the academicians', certainly provoked them into hostility. The power of Papini's writing is testified to by Mircea Eliade in his memoirs: 'Papini's prose – frantic and stormy yet sharp and caustic – helped me for many years in my struggle with melancholia.'

An interventionist in 1914, he was rejected for military service because of his myopia. After the war his delectable rebelliousness, which the nationalist Coppola (*q.v.*) had claimed stemmed from 'a fatuous and futile literary vanity', gave way to a new-found Catholic traditionalism. In 1921 his idiosyncratic biography of Christ, *La Storia de Cristo*, appeared; it is arguably his most popular book. By the 1930s his

new orthodoxy had warmed him to Mussolini after an initial period of suspicion. His admiration increased following his appointment to the Royal Academy of Italy in 1937. In August 1929 he had edited the nationalist, literary and Catholic *Il Frontespizio*. He refused the chair of literature in the University of Florence offered by Bottai (*q.v.*) in regard for his Jewish predecessor Momigliano; but, paradoxically, he was to be an enthusiastic propagandist on behalf of the race laws of 1938. He took the chair of literature in the University of Bologna in 1935 but was forced to resign because of his failing sight.

In his *Italia Mia* (1939), a history of the 'Italian genius', he pleaded for Italian intervention in the Second World War; 'Fascism has restored the principles on which were laid our ancient aristocratic republics and our dominions, the authority of the state, and unity of command.' His fiercely anti-British and imperialist views were conspicuous early in the war but, although he took part in the Congress of European Writers held in Weimar in 1942, he later refused to have any part in Mussolini's Salò Republic; instead, he chose to live in disillusioned privacy in Florence and Bulciano. This did not preclude a certain bitterness against the Allies and references to partisans as 'rebel bands', though he was careful not to accept the presidency of the Italian Academy. When Papini died on 8 July 1956, still a prolific author, he had become part of the literary establishment, occasionally attacking the spirit of modernism. The 'adventurer of the spirit', suffering a progressive paralysis, devoted himself finally to his last synthesis contained in *Il Giudizio Universale* (1957).

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PAVELIĆ, Ante (1889–1959)

Founder of the Croatian Ustaša movement and Poglavnik (leader) of the Independent Croatian State (1941–5).

Pavelić was born in Bradina (Herzegovina) on 14

July 1889, the son of a construction foreman on the state railway. He had an irregular schooling as a result of his father's peripatetic existence. He studied law at Zagreb University, having had to earn his living as a railway worker in Bosnia. He joined the Young Croatian student movement and in 1912 was arrested for nationalist activities. He received his doctorate of law in 1915 and began work as a lawyer. He became a member of the Croatian Rights Party founded in 1861 by Ante Starčević (1823–96) and by 1918 was already secretary of the party. It advocated an independent Greater Croatia, on the basis of a moral and constitutional right to statehood going back 1,000 years. It was one of the first parties to advocate anti-Jewish legislation.

Pavelić was elected a municipal councillor in Zagreb in 1922 and in 1927 a member of the Yugoslav parliament (Skupština) as a member of the Frankist group of Croatian nationalists. He campaigned vigorously for a Croatia independent of the Yugoslav parent state. On 6 January 1929 when King Alexander suspended parliament and assumed authoritarian powers, Pavelić fled to Vienna and then to fascist Italy, where he developed contacts with the Macedonian terrorist organization IMRO, and founded the Ustaše (Insurgents) movement, which called for the violent overthrow of the Yugoslav state through armed revolution and terrorism. Pavelić became *Poglavnik* of the Ustaša-Croatian Revolutionary Organization (Ustaša Hrvatska Revolucionarna Organizacija). He was tried for his terroristic activities *in absentia* and sentenced to death.

On 9 October 1934 King Alexander was assassinated together with the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou, and Pavelić was wanted for questioning for complicity in the murder. He had been in Marseilles a few days before the incident. The Italian government refused to hand him over to the French with the result that Pavelić continued his pampered existence in a luxury Siennese villa with his family until the advent in 1941 of the puppet Croatian state. Pavelić returned from exile with the German attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941, and the so-called Independent Croatian State or NDH was established on 12 April with Pavelić as *Poglavnik*.

All his ruthlessness and ambition were unleashed and in three and a half years some 600,000 Serbs, Jews and others were massacred, and thousands of Serbs expelled or forcibly converted to Catholicism. 'Thus our new Croatia will get rid of all Serbs in our midst in order to become one hundred per cent Catholic within ten years,' declared the Minister of Education, Dr Mile Budak. The creation of the

NDH was declared a major war crime by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal and the part played by Catholic priests, by the Catholic hierarchy and by the Vatican, which immediately exchanged diplomatic representatives with the new state, in giving it moral and physical support has never been fully and objectively investigated (the most notorious of the concentration camps at Jasenovac was run by the Franciscan Miroslav Filipović).

After the war Pavelić fled to Austria and then was taken to Argentina in a German submarine. For a time he advised the Paraguayan secret police and lived in the same block of flats in Buenos Aires as Mussolini's son, Vittorio. A failed assassination attempt in April 1957 caused him to move to Spain (Perón had up to that point refused extradition but this was no longer guaranteed), where he died in a German hospital in Madrid on 28 December 1959. He had been condemned to death *in absentia* by three different countries.

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PAVOLINI, Alessandro (1903–45)

Fanatical Florentine fascist squadrista, Minister of Popular Culture and secretary of the Republican Fascist Party under the Salò regime.

Pavolini was born in Florence on 27 September 1903 into a family who originated from Livorno. He was the son of a professor of Sanskrit in the University of Florence who had translated the Finnish Kalevala into Italian. Pavolini studied law in Florence and political science in Rome, completing his studies in 1929 with doctorates in both. He had literary ambitions and completed a number of short stories. He joined the Florence *fascio* in October 1920. He later declared that '*squadrisimo* was the spring of our life'. As vice-secretary of the Florentine *fascio* he belonged to the aristocratic/conservative faction represented by Perrone Compagni (*q.v.*). Pavolini served as a sublieutenant in the Bersaglieri, was a provincial delegate of the Opera Nazionale Balilla youth organization, and a member of the directorate of the Gruppi Universitari Fascisti.

As federal secretary of the Florence movement, he restored some of the violent populist elements to Florentine fascism. His protector within the party was Augusto Turati (*q.v.*). In the 1930s he founded the journal *Il Bargello* and gained a reputation for intelligent journalism, although as a fascist activist he was known as a ruthless fanatic. He also worked in the 1930s for the fascist international organization, CAUR. There were two sides to Pavolini's character – one intelligent, cultured, serious and rational, but if his most precious ideas or schemes were threatened he could become wild and violent. He was ambitious and something of a *cicisbeo* (lady-killer).

In 1932 he had been appointed to the national directorate of the party, in March 1934 was elected to the Chamber, and in October became a member of the National Council of Corporations. He also served as president of the Confederation of Professionals and Artists. During the Ethiopian War he was a war reporter for *Corriere della Sera* and in 1937 he published his 'collected war reports' under the name *Disperata*, the name of Ciano's (*q.v.*) squadron; the book was a great popular success. A fanatical admirer of Mussolini, he was appointed Minister of Popular Culture on 31 October 1939. More cultured than Alfieri (*q.v.*), he strove for more centralization and control of the media and more integration of the various propaganda and cultural organizations. In February 1943 he was dismissed, along with his friend Ciano, and took over the Rome paper *Il Messaggero*.

After the events of July 1943 Pavolini escaped to Munich where he teamed up with Vittorio Mussolini and made a radio appeal to Benito Mussolini to form a new republic. In the Salò Republic he became one of the Duce's inner circle and a leading political figure. As secretary of the Republican Fascist Party, he had to create a new party organization because the old one had collapsed under Badoglio. Pavolini took over the old party headquarters in the Palazzo Wedekind. He confronted the more moderate elements who called for the reconciliation of hostile factions in a national front. Farinacci (*q.v.*) referred to him as 'a fanatic who understands nothing of politics'. He took a major part in the Congress of Verona which decided the shape of RSI fascism but his most notorious creation was the revived action squads known as the *Brigate Nere* (Black Brigades), of which Pavolini was the inspiration and the architect after the Decima MAS and the Republican Guard had failed to deal with the partisan problem. Pavolini was, to the Germans, 'an operetta official' in his thick black sweater with a zip up to his neck and a pistol constantly on

his left side. However, there can be no doubt of his courage, and on 13 August 1944 he was wounded leading one of the Brigades. Right to the end he advocated a last-ditch stand in an Alpine redoubt. He was shot by communist partisans with Mezzasoma (*q.v.*) and others in Dongo on 28 April 1945.

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PELLEY, William Dudley (1890–1965)

Leader of the native American fascist Silver Shirt Legion. Born on 12 March 1890 in Lynn (Massachusetts) the son of a Methodist minister, Pelley began his journalistic career in 1911 on the *Springfield Homestead* and then on the *Boston Globe*. In the latter half of 1918 he visited Russia, an experience which was to make him profoundly anti-communist. Abandoning his career as a popular fiction writer, he turned to Hollywood script-writing in the 1920s; he was friendly with such stars as Lon Chaney. By 1928 he had become disenchanted with the film world and had developed a taste for occultism, spiritualism and racial explanations for political phenomena. In May 1928 he suffered a shattering conversion experience which he was to characterize as 'seven minutes in eternity'. During this rebirth experience he was instructed by an oracle to project his organization when a former house-painter assumed the Chancellorship of Germany. In May 1930 he began to publish the *New Liberator* (which later appeared as *Liberation*), an occult journal claiming to deal with the 'higher verities'. In 1932 he launched the League for the Liberation after moving to Asheville, North Carolina, where he had established the Galahad Press in 1930.

On 30 January 1933 Pelley founded the Silver Legion of America (widely known as the Silver Shirts), this date being, not coincidentally, the date of Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. With some 15,000 members, many of them ex-Klansmen, clad in blue-corduroy trousers, gold stockings and silver shirts, the organization survived until 1940, when it was disbanded. The House Un-American Activities Committee described it as 'probably the largest, best-financed and certainly the best publicized of the [extreme right-wing] groups'. Pelley, slight, with a Van Dyke beard and wearing pince-nez, was not the most convincing of presidential candidates when he stood in 1936 on the Christian Party of America

ticket; he appeared on the ballot in Washington only where he received 1,600 votes. His economic ideas were similar to other share-the-wealth, social credit and 'funny money' notions current on the extreme right fringe. Each adult, he believed, should be given 1,000 dollars credit, his share in the Christian Commonwealth common stock. The ideology was more apocalyptic and millenarian than Nazi, although Pelley referred to himself as the American Hitler. The paste that held the movement together was a thoroughgoing if bizarre anti-Semitism.

In April 1942 Pelley was arrested for subversion and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment by an Indiana jury; he was also included in the 30 'subversive elements' indicted for mass sedition in 1944. Although a mis-trial in the latter case was declared, Pelley was held until 15 February 1950 in the Federal penitentiary in Indiana. On his release after serving a third of his sentence, he went into semi-retirement and died in Noblesville, Indiana on 1 July 1965. In December 1938 he had declared: 'Christ will be law and nobody else's opinions will count in the slightest' – a declaration that demonstrated his link with more contemporary evangelical interventions in American politics.

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PEQUITO REBELO, José Adriano (1892–1983)

Portuguese Integralist writer, economist and politician and vehement supporter of Portuguese colonialism.

Pequito was born in Gavião on 21 May 1892, the son of a monarchist deputy, and educated in the Jesuit Colégio de Campolide. He graduated in law from Coimbra University, where he was a contemporary of Dr Salazar (*q.v.*), in 1910. He was not involved in the monarchist troubles of 1911/12 but he did spend some years in exile in Paris after 1910 where he saw Action Française and its leading spirit Charles Maurras (*q.v.*) in action at close quarters. He was one of the few Integralists to serve in the Portuguese Expeditionary Force in the First World War. In 1914 he had been one of the founding

fathers of Integralismo Lusitano and a member of its Junta Central in 1916. He contributed frequently to the journals *A Monarquia* and *Nação Portuguesa* in whose columns he displayed an ideological distinctness, particularly in economic matters with his anti-urban prejudices, a field in which he came to be accepted as the Integralists' specialist.

He was involved in the Monsanto monarchical rising in the north in 1919, and was seriously wounded, but at his subsequent trial was absolved by the War Council. In 1921 he was an unsuccessful candidate in the legislative elections. He found a post as tutor to the young Legitimist Pretender D. Duarte Nuño de Bragança. Always solidly and fanatically anti-communist, he was one of that group who, influenced by the national syndicalist theories of Georges Valois (*q.v.*), the French disciple of Sorel (*q.v.*), came to write for the syndicalistically inclined journal *Política*, but far from moving into the camp of the Portuguese National Syndicalists of Preto (*q.v.*), he became a loyal Salazarist.

He fought as an aviator for the nationalist cause in the Spanish Civil War and wrote in 1937 the blazing attack on the Spanish 'reds' contained in *Anti-Marx*. He served in the Portuguese military mission to Spain. After representing the regime on bodies like the International Institute of Agriculture and as a delegate to the London Economic Conference in 1933, he discovered the cause that was to occupy much of his later career, his belief in Portugal's mission as a colonial power. At the age of 69 in 1961 he volunteered his services as an experienced pilot to combat the anti-colonial forces in Angola. In the mid-1970s he was still writing polemical pamphlets including *O Problema da Constituição* (1977). Medina describes him as 'pompous, pedantic, maledictory, and apocalyptic'. Preto believed that he was 'cold' like Salazar. Pequito died on 22 January 1983.

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PERRONE COMPAGNI, Dino, Marchese (1897–1950)

Leading Florentine fascist and squad chief.

Born in Florence on 22 October 1879 into an aristocratic family, Perrone Compagni went to school in Livorno and was then in the cavalry for one year (1898–9). Joining the artillery in May 1915 he was demoted for incompetence from lieutenant to private and spent only 54 days in the war zone, facts he later tried to conceal. He joined the PNF on 1 November 1920 and became political secretary of the Florentine party and a leading figure among the young fascists in Tuscany. He had earlier been a Liberal in the Association Italia e Vittorio Emanuele. Known as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Perrone represented the conservative fascism of both large agricultural interests and industrial magnates in contrast to the other Florentine tendency, the proletarian fascism of Tullio Tamburini (*q.v.*). In 1921 he was one of the four commandant-generals of the squads and after commanding a column during the March on Rome, he became the first inspector of squads in Tuscany and then in 1924 *federale* of Florence and a consul in the militia. In 1923 he resigned but re-entered the PNF in the following year. He became well-known as the author of a letter to the mayor of the small Tuscan town of Roccastrada, threatening that if he did not resign he would have to suffer the consequences.

While virtual supreme leader of Tuscan fascism, he was severely wounded in an ambush by anti-fascists in Perugia. On 16 December 1926 he was appointed prefect of the Reggio Emilia, an appointment he held until January 1930. From 25 January 1930 he worked for the Ministry of the Interior. In August 1932 he was made Minister of State, and in April 1934 a Senator. One of his last important activities before disappearing into obscurity was to get Scorza (*q.v.*) expelled from the Senate in 1938. Perrone Compagni survived the war and died on 5 January 1950 in Florence.

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PFRIMER, Walter (1881–1968)

Austrian Heimwehr leader.

Pfrimer was born on 22 December 1881 in Marburg on Drava (Styria); his father was a wine merchant.

He studied law in Graz University from 1901 to 1905 and was active in the nationalist society, Verband Deutscher Hochschüler in Untersteiermark. He received his doctorate in 1906 and set up as a lawyer in Graz, after being employed in a legal capacity for the Governor of Graz. He was based later in Klagenfurt and from 1913 in Judenburg, where he remained until his death. In 1917 he was elected chairman of the Deutscher Volksrat für Obersteiermark (German People's Council for Upper Styria). In 1922 he founded the Selbstschutzverband Steiermark which was to become the Steirische Heimatschutz. Pfrimer was not only a violent anti-socialist but also a rabid anti-Semite and loathed parliamentary democracy which he considered un-German. He was active in the often violent campaign against the Social Democrats, culminating in the business strike of July 1927 when Pfrimer's Heimatschutz was in the van of the successful attempt to confine the strikers to their homes. In the climate of civil conflict which followed, Pfrimer was one of the more radical advocates of a March on Vienna who were constrained by lack of government support.

At a conference in Innsbruck on 17 July 1928, Pfrimer was elected as second federal leader of the nationwide Heimwehr and then on 2 May 1931, as leader in succession to Starhemberg (*q.v.*) who took leave of absence. In 1929 the Heimwehr had adopted the corporatist doctrine of Spann (*q.v.*), formalized with the Korneuburg Oath of May 1930. Pfrimer, however, was prepared to go further, and on 18 May 1930, the day the Oath was announced, declared: 'On all sides the conviction was evident that here in Austria only fascism could save us now.' The Styrian Heimatschutz, who wanted a complete break with all other political parties, had become increasingly influenced by radical nationalist and National Socialist ideas. Fired by this new radicalism, Pfrimer, who was something of a hot-head, planned a *putsch* for 13 September 1931. The coup collapsed within 24 hours after resolute government action. Pfrimer himself fled to Yugoslavia but later returned and faced a treason trial at which surprisingly he was acquitted. He resigned from the Heimatschutz on 8 May 1932 to take over as leader of a small Deutsche Heimatschutzverband which eventually became absorbed by the SA of the NSDAP. Pfrimer officially joined the NSDAP on 24 February 1933 but already in April 1931 he had entered a pact with the Nazi hierarchy on the basis of his acceptance of Hitler's leadership.

The former Heimatschutz leader returned to his legal practice and became a member of the Reichstag

after the Anschluss for which he had fanatically struggled. He was in many ways an unlikely leader, passionate but uncomplicated, lacking in any oratorical skills, bald, plump, deaf and devoid of any apparent charismatic qualities. He was detained for a year by the British in Wolfsberg after the Second World War and then resumed his legal practice in Judenburg where he died on 30 May 1968.

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PIASECKI, Boleslaw (1915–79)

Polish Falanga (ONR) leader, who later headed the Pax Catholic organization in communist Poland.

Born on 18 February 1915 in Łódź, according to official records (his biographer, Blit, gives his birth details as 19 February 1914, near Radom), Piasecki attended the Zamojski Gymnasium and then studied law at the University of Warsaw. At this early age he was already close to the Stronnictwo Narodowe, the Nationalist Party, the successor to Dmowski's (*q.v.*) National Democrats. Piasecki was one of the young radical students who flocked to Dmowski's anti-Pilsudski umbrella organization, the OWP (Greater Poland Camp); this organization considered itself a youthful antidote to the geriatric leadership of the Nationalist Party. In April 1934 many of these students, including Piasecki, went on to form the ONR (Obóz Narodowe-Radykalni, National Radical Camp), which broke with the Nationalist Party and with OWP, which had been banned in March 1933. ONR represented the fascist and authoritarian elements who wanted a Greater Poland, a purge of Jews and a corporatist economy. The Pilsudski supporters considered Piasecki with his incitement of ONR militants to physical assaults on Jews and socialists and rowdy street violence as a 'cold-blooded gangster'. Piasecki was arrested in the summer of 1934 and sent to Bereza concentration camp for three months without charge. A few weeks after his release, ONR split and Piasecki became leader in September 1934 of the more extreme faction known as ONR-Falanga. This organization be-

lieved in a Polish national revolution on the lines of those in Italy and Germany through the most violent and terroristic methods, including bombings and murder.

Piasecki, shrewd, intelligent and something of a dandy, believed he was protected by a special destiny. From 1937 ONR, following the decision of Colonel Adam Koc, the Camp of National Unity (OZN) leader, to amalgamate all state organizations and parties into one unified state party, tried to curry favour with the government. With the softened and less revolutionary 'green' programme ONR tried to infiltrate the government in order to turn it in a radical rightist direction. A *coup* planned for 25 October 1937 which would have led to a blood-bath of prominent politicians was nipped in the bud and Piasecki, far from being arrested, was protected by supporters in high places. However, ONR men who had infiltrated the state youth movement, the Union of Young Poland (particularly under its leader, ONR member Jerzy Rutkowski), were expelled.

In September 1939 Piasecki fought in defence of Warsaw against the German invasion and was captured by the Gestapo in October. His release from a Nazi prison was arranged by the good offices of Luciana Frassati-Gavronska, wife of the last Polish ambassador in Vienna, through her influence on Mussolini. ONR was able to retain its separate identity within the resistance movement as the Konfederacja Narodu, active particularly in Warsaw and Wilno; it fought against 'reds' as enthusiastically as against Nazis. In 1944 Piasecki fell into the hands of the Soviet NKVD near Jozefow and was imprisoned in Lublin. It seems that the ex-Falanga leader, in a meeting with operational chief General Ivan Serov, was persuaded to play what later became a leading role in bringing Catholic Poland into the communist camp. He escaped execution only because Polish communists needed all the allies they could get.

As chairman of the Pax organization, Piasecki lived an ostentatious life-style with luxury houses, good suits, many women and the only Jaguar car in Poland. Pax, with its huge commercial and industrial interests (the largest private enterprise organization in the Eastern Bloc), became a state within a state in its quest to win Catholic Poland to the communists and to form a buffer between the 'progressive' Catholics and the Church. Gomulka, whom incidentally Piasecki had opposed in favour of the Stalinist Natolin faction, was particularly successful after 1956 in employing Pax to divide the various Catholic factions. Many ex-Falangists like Jerzy Rutkowski and Jerzy Hagmajer played leading roles

in Pax and Piasecki's expertise on the 'Jewish question' was to prove extremely useful in the Polish 'anti-Zionist' campaign of 1968. Piasecki was a member of both the State Council and a parliamentary deputy. He died on 1 January 1979.

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PIÑAR LOPÉZ, Blas (1918–)

Leader of the Spanish Fuerza Nueva and from 1986 of the Frente Nacional.

Born on 22 November 1918 in Toledo, Piñar studied law in the University of Madrid and later practised as a lawyer. He began his political career in religious politics as director of the Federation of Catholic Students of Alicante and vice-president of the Acción Católica youth movement of Valencia, becoming national vice-president of this organization. His interest in cultural and religious politics (he was to be director of the Institut de Cultura Hispanica) led him to launch the journal *Fuerza Nueva* in 1967. Piñar was the first president of the Junta de Fundadores del Seminario 'Fuerza Nueva', at first a cultural organization, which grew up around the journal and which eventually in 1976 was registered as a political party, although it had held its first party congress in July 1971.

Piñar believed that *franquista* Spain was suffering from a 'crisis of identity' and needed to reaffirm its fundamental purposes and to regalanize its followers. In 1968, to this end, he worked with Hedilla (*q.v.*) in his Frente Nacional de Alianza Libre. In the journal *Arriba* he had, in February 1967, written of clinging 'to the old banners which others in their folly and cowardice have abandoned'. In October 1971 he was a national councillor of the National Movement. He was also a member of the Cortes. As the Franco regime drifted to its end, Blas Piñar worked with the most intransigent elements, being sympathetic even to the direct action squads like the Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey. His violent and apoplectic appearance and his line in apocalyptic

polemic (he once referred to the cosmic, spiritual battle in which there could be no neutrals) brought to his banner some 35,000 *immobilistas*. He campaigned against the reforms of Arias Navarro in 1974 and, under the slogan 'Franco would have voted no', opposed the Law of Political Association in 1976 which opened the way for the legal operation of political parties. In 1974 he made the famous reference to the 'pigmies of the regime' who he alleged had undermined the body politic.

As part of an extreme right-wing coalition in 1979, including his *Fuerza Nueva*, the FE de las JONS, and the *Circulos Doctrinales* José Antonio, Piñar won a seat in parliament; the alliance gained 370,470 votes. He lost his seat in 1982, claiming that he had been betrayed by the pillars of society, the Church, the Army and the business community. He was arrested on 2 October 1980 in connection with Tejero's *coup* but no charges were brought. One of the conspirators had been his close friend, Muñoz Gutierrez, and he had long been known as a believer in the Army's political role (in 1966 he had written: 'the Army is the only framework in which it is possible to sustain a social organism'). On 20 November 1982 the *Fuerza Nueva* was dissolved, and in 1986 Piñar announced the formation of the Frente Nacional.

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PINI, Giorgio (1899–1987)

Italian fascist journalist and admirer of Mussolini.

Born in Bologna on 1 February 1899, Pini attended the University of Bologna where he obtained a law degree. A veteran of the First World War, he was a 'fascist of the first hour' after joining the Bologna *fascio* in 1920. He was involved with Ferretti (*q.v.*) and Interlandi (*q.v.*) in the fascist syndicate for journalists and was on the Council of the National Federation of the Press of which he was director. He believed, as he expressed in the journal *Assolto* (Bologna) in December 1925, that the abolition of the opposition press had been a mistake. From 1928 to 1930 Pini was editor of *Resto del Carlino* and from September 1936 of *Il Gazzettino* of Venice. In these years he also directed *Il Giornale di Genova* and *Giornale di Venezia*. In December 1936 he was asked by

Mussolini to succeed Sandro Giuliani as editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia* (until 1943). Pini was also on the editorial staff of periodicals like *Gerarchia* and *Nuova Antologia*. He became respected as an honest and sincere journalist.

Under the Salò regime to which he subscribed, Pini was appointed editor of *Resto del Carlino* after September 1943. Pini, like Concetto Pettinato, was one of the moderates of the regime who opposed violence and the police state as well as excessive servility to the Germans. He supported a certain openness to diverse currents of thought. As the founder of the modernist journal *La Settimana*, he encouraged non-party activities outside the Fascist Republican Party. However, he combined this approach with a fierce personal loyalty to the Duce, who appointed him an Undersecretary of the Interior in October 1944, a post in which he tried to mitigate the worst excesses of the extremist Pavolini (*q.v.*) and the repugnant Buffarini-Guidi (*q.v.*). Pini had already written a best-selling hagiography of Mussolini which was in its 15th edition in 1940. After the war he was to write with Diulio Susmel a four-volume biography of the dictator. 'Fascism', he wrote, 'was the perfect meeting of a man with a generation.' His book *Itinerario Tragica, 1943/44* (1950) is an excellent source for the history of these years.

After 1946 Pini became one of the stalwarts of the 'left' tendency in the neo-fascist MSI. He was president of the Salò ex-servicemen's organization the Federazione Nazionale Combattenti Repubblicani Sociale Italiani. In *La Legione* he attacked the MSI's stance to the right of the Christian Democrats as part of the system and favoured a return to the 'socialism' of the Charter of Verona. He resigned from the party in January 1952 with the words: 'The MSI is now a reactionary party without a future.' With other die-hard Salò fascists he formed a Social Republican Party with the Turin-based organ *La Prima Fiamma*. In 1950 his book *Filo Diretto con Palazzo Venezia* was dedicated to his mother and father who 'made him Italian'. In the 1970s he condemned the collusion of the Italian extreme right with the Greek and Portuguese dictatorships and with the South African regime. He showed a certain partisanship for the anti-colonial movements in Algeria and South-East Asia. Pini died on 30 March 1987.

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PIROW, Oswald (1890–1959)

South African KC and advocate, founder of the National Socialist New Order.

Born in Aberdeen (C.P.) on 14 August 1890, the grandson of a German missionary and son of a doctor, Pirow studied law in Potchefstroom, Germany and London, and then practised as an advocate in Pretoria. He made several unsuccessful attempts to enter parliament and finally in 1924 was elected for Zoutpansberg. Smuts defeated him in 1929 in Standerton but he returned to parliament and in the same year was appointed Minister of Justice in Hertzog's cabinet. As Justice Minister he passed the first anti-communist legislation in South Africa. In 1933 he was appointed Minister of Railways and Harbours, and from 1933 to 1939 was Minister of Defence. In this post he set up the first special service battalions.

In 1936 Pirow attended the Olympic Games in National Socialist Germany and in 1938 again visited Europe, including Spain, Portugal and Germany. These visits confirmed his admiration for authoritarian rule in Europe and, in particular, for National Socialism. He was in favour of Germany being allowed to have colonies in Africa. He gave his support in 1939 to Hertzog's neutrality policy and, resigning on the outbreak of war as a minister, followed his prime minister into the Reunited Nationalist Party. In December 1940 he wrote a pamphlet entitled *New Order for South Africa* and shortly after launched the New Order group which from 1941 became a pressure group within the parliamentary caucus of the HNP. It proposed the abolition of democracy and a Christian, white, National Socialist republic based on strong state power and public discipline. In 1942 Pirow, with seventeen others, withdrew from the Nationalist Party and founded the New Order Group as an independent faction. It won no seats in 1943 and was disbanded in 1948. The influence of Dr Malan ensured his virtual disappearance from the political scene.

In the late 1940s Pirow became friendly with Sir Oswald Mosley (*q.v.*) and the two men proposed a scheme for reversing the policy of 'keeping the Negro within white territory' as 'sweated labour' in favour of a division of Africa into exclusively white and black areas. Pirow retired to his farm to write boys' adventure stories and books on wildlife. He had earlier been a champion javelin thrower, a keen boxer, wrestler, fencer, sprinter, swimmer, horseman, pilot and big game hunter. He died in Pretoria on 11 October 1959.

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POUJADE, Pierre Marie Raymond
(1920–)

French stationer from Saint-Céré who rose to almost overnight fame in 1953 with his Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans and added a new 'ism' to the political vocabulary.

Born in Saint-Céré (Lot) on 1 December 1920, the seventh child of an architect who was a member of Action Française, Poujade, who had a taste for sport during his youth, became a typographer but also worked as a tar-sprayer, docker and a grape-picker. Brought up in an anti-democratic household, Poujade received his earliest political experience as a member of the youth section of Doriot's (q.v.) PPF in 1936 after leaving the religious college in Aurillac.

Briefly a member of the Pétainist Compagnons de France (he later wrote that the Marshal should be recognized for his role in sparing France the worst), he left for Algiers in November 1942 after the German invasion of Vichy and then moved, by way of Spain (where he was briefly imprisoned), to Britain. He served in a squadron of the RAF. After the war he became a sales representative in books and opened his own newsagent and stationery store in Saint-Céré. In 1952 he was elected as municipal councillor for the RPF on a radical list. He put forward the idea of a Groupement d'Action Sociale et de Défense Commerciale to defend the interests of small business and commercial concerns. Already an opponent of the 'system', he was involved on 23 July 1953 in a fracas with tax inspectors in Saint-Céré in which the inspectors were physically restrained from making their official audits. This small act of rebellion was to have significant national consequences. In November 1953 Poujade launched the Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans, which drew its inspiration from both the nationalist tradition of Vichy and from the protest tradition of the Résistance. By October 1954 the revolt against 'le fisc' or the 'Gestapo fiscale' had spread to 30 départements.

The peak of the UDCA's influence, with its organ *Fraternité Française* (from January 1955), was achieved in February 1956 with 2½ million votes, 11.6 per cent of the total, and the election of 52 deputies. Appealing to the self-employed, small shopkeepers and the rural *petit bourgeoisie*, Poujade peddled simplistic solutions in his opposition to high taxes, state direction, bureaucratic excesses, political corruption, trusts and department stores, but paradoxically favoured a stronger executive and at times flirted with corporatist remedies. There were sweeping attacks on immigration and demands for the continuation of an *Algérie Française*. Many of Poujade's speeches and writings were larded with anti-Semitic barbs, the most calumnious of which were directed at the prime minister, Mendès-France. To his opponents he was Poujadolf and, indeed, he was joined as principal editors of *Fraternité Française* by a number of former collaborators, including Camille Fégy, ex-editor of *La Gerbe*, and Claude Jeantet (q.v.). Mitterrand may not have been mistaken when he referred to the movement as one of a 'fascisme d'arrière-boutique'. As the Union et Fraternité Française, whose main dynamic was in the role of an 'anti-movement', the movement collapsed as a major electoral force under Gaullist pressures almost as spectacularly as it had risen. Poujade was badly beaten in a by-election in Paris in January 1957.

Poujade continued to campaign for a French Algeria and was connected with Georges Sauge's Centre d'Études Supérieures de Psychologie Sociale. He later became a supporter of the liberal Lecanuet in 1965, and after that an unofficial adviser on small business to Georges Pompidou. On 23 July 1978 he attempted to form a new union of various groups to fight the European elections. In September 1978 he launched the Union de Défense Interprofessionnelle, with himself as general secretary, dedicated to opposing the trend towards technocratic *dirigisme* and to combating Marxism. Subsequently, he transferred his interest to a group calling itself the Association Nationale pour l'Utilisation des Ressources Énergétiques Françaises which existed to examine the production of energy from vegetable waste. In 1979 he announced a list in opposition to the *Eurodroite* and to the alternative force on the far right, the CNIP (Centre National des Indépendants et Paysans). He advised his supporters in 1981 to vote for Mitterrand.

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POULET, Robert (1893–)

Belgian writer, journalist and consistent supporter of extreme right-wing causes, brother of Georges Poulet.

Poulet, one of the most famous Belgian writers of the century, was born in Luik on 4 September 1893. On the eve of the First World War he was an anarchist and anti-militarist but he took part in one of the first actions in the war at Sant Tilmont. At the time he had an almost physical repugnance for the Germans and was long an enemy of German thought. He came under the early influence of surrealism. In 1931 he wrote the novel which made his name, *Handji*.

He had by this time moved towards the idea of a corporate monarchy and in 1932 launched the *Revue Réactionnaire*. From 1935 to 1940 this journal was known as the *Revue de l'Ordre Corporatif*, which was to become one of the major organs of collaboration during the war. His attack on all forms of liberalism and moderation, *La Révolution est à Droite*, appeared in 1934. His corporatist monarchist beliefs found a home in 1933 in the *Réaction*, group whose *raison d'être* was to combat parliamentary democracy. Although he was not a member of the Rex movement, his attitude was encapsulated in his declaration before the 1936 elections: 'Even if one is not a Rexist, one must vote Rex.' While *Revue Réactionnaire* had a limited and elitist appeal, its more popular counterpart was *La Nation Belge* for which Poulet acted as director and to which he was a frequent contributor.

Much of his writing was notable for its anti-humanist misanthropy and his later writing marred by a self-pitying, hysterically self-justificatory tone rather like that of his friend Céline (*q.v.*). It is, perhaps, not surprising that, at least in the first years of the occupation, Poulet formed a part of the literary collaboration and, for example, considered the Belgian volunteers fighting on the Eastern Front not as traitors but as idealistic *chevaliers* engaged in a chivalrous enterprise. He wrote for much of the collaborationist press but particularly for *Cassandre* (1934–44) and *Le Nouveau Journal* (1940–4). It is, however, to his credit that he left the latter paper when it supported Degrelle's (*q.v.*) extreme and submissive line towards Germany. It is quite clear that his attitude to Degrelle, whom he had in his rather conservative and elitist way considered '*un agitateur*

professionnel', moved even further towards a pole of disapproval. Between his anglophobia and his equal but opposite germanophobia, he found himself with nowhere to turn except to the country of his friend Céline where he settled after the war.

On October 1945 he was condemned to death for his collaboration but was finally pardoned after nearly three years in detention in Saint-Gilles, following the intervention of Victor Larock. At his trial he claimed that he had opposed the occupiers. He wrote book reviews for the neo-collaborationist journal *Rivarol*. His life after the war is described in *Ce n'est pas une vie* (1975). In *L'Enfer Ciel* (1948–53) and *La Conjecture* (1981) he defends his fascist beliefs. He was still alive at the age of 95 in 1988.

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POUND, Ezra (1885–1972)

Great American poet, found 'mentally incompetent' to face trial for treason after broadcasting from fascist Italy.

Pound was born on 30 October 1885 in Hailey (Idaho). His father ran a government land office for mining claims. Pound was brought up in a quiet Philadelphia suburb. He entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1900, received an MA in 1906 and spent some time in Hamilton College, New York. By the age of 20 he had already planned the great sequence of poems, the *Cantos*, which was to be the cornerstone of his achievement. Following a short period as an instructor in Wabash College, Indiana, he made Europe his permanent residence.

In England he became a supporter of the Social Credit movement, a contributor to A.R. Orage's *New Age*, a Guild Socialist journal, and eventually embraced the new fascist creed which had arisen in Italy. He came to it largely through his concern with monetary and economic reform. Pound equated interest and capital with the hated abstraction that he condemned in his literary work. Commodities were good because concrete, usury bad because abstract: the good society was one like Confucian China or Jeffersonian America which were, as he saw it, harmonious and static. The imprecision he condemned in language he also perceived in usury, an enemy of the immediate perception he advocated. Democracy he came to see as a mere front for the 'gombeen men', for the 'usurocracy'. He was increasingly

drawn to the financial nostrums of Major C.H. Douglas, the founder of Social Credit, and the anti-interest system of Silvio Gesell. He has been seen by some as the heir to the tradition of William Jennings Bryan and the Populists.

In February 1925 Pound moved to Rapallo and came to believe that fascism was the ideal system in a sound Italian tradition, an exemplar of 'Mediterranean sanity'. 'No man living has preserved the Peace of Europe as often as has Benito Mussolini,' he wrote in 1935. It seems that much of Pound's confrontation with Mussolini's actual performance was via the works of his friend, Odon Por; in fact, so idiosyncratic and 'off-beat' are Pound's views, not only to fascism but on what Hitler was doing in Germany, that it is difficult to take them seriously. It is significant that his favourite fascist was Rossoni (*q.v.*), the ex-revolutionary syndicalist class harmonizer. Much more serious was his persistent and obsessive anti-Semitism which led him to condemn 'the yidd influence' that 'has never been anything but a stinking curse to Europe from AD 1 to 1940.' He called Jews bed-bugs, rats, vermin, worms, plague and disease incarnate, to quote just a few of his favourite terms. He identified Jews with much of what he hated from psychoanalysis and usury to monotheism. Casillo has gone as far, perhaps too far, as to suggest that his anti-Semitism belongs not only within his whole metaphysical system but is 'inseparable from his linguistic strategies and personal psychology'. Kermodé has referred to his need to create myths which were designed only 'to know by'.

It is generally agreed that his anti-Semitism reached its apogee of calumny with his broadcasts on Rome Radio during the Second World War, twice a week from January 1941 to July 1943, broadcasts which were monitored by the Federal Communications Commission in the United States. In July 1943 he was indicted by a District of Columbia jury for treason. After the fall of fascism he was sent to a disciplinary training centre and held in a grilled security cage which he referred to as the 'gorilla cage' and later in a tent to await trial. At this time he composed what has been considered his best poetry, later to win the Bollingen Prize: the *Pisan Cantos*. Dispatched to Washington on 18 November 1945, he was charged with 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy'. A jury declared him 'of unsound mind' and he was sent to St Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington: he was to spend eleven years there in a windowless, lunatic cell. He later told the poet, Allen Ginsberg: 'But the worst mistake I made was that stupid, suburban prejudice of anti-Semitism.' Pound died on 1 November 1972 in Venice. Harry Levin has

written: 'the limbs of the mangled poet can still be the stuff of poetry'.

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PRAT ECHAUREN, Jorge (1918-71)

Chilean lawyer, extreme right-wing politician and founder of the nationalist journal Estanquero.

Born on 24 April 1918, Jorge Prat graduated as a lawyer from the Universidad Católica in 1941 and became president of the National Savings Bank (Caja Nacional de Ahorros) in 1952 (in the following year it became the Banco de Estado). In 1954 he was appointed Minister of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Ibañez, whose emotional anti-political nationalist tradition Prat was to exemplify and continue. Prat was a former *nacista* and in 1941 president of the Conservative Youth of Chile, the youth arm of the Partido Conservador; he left the Conservatives in 1947. From 1946 to 1954 Prat edited the influential, extreme right-wing review *Estanquero*, appealing to the same constituency as the earlier *nacista* press in the 1930s. Its outlook was Catholic, anti-American, profoundly anti-communist and it gave its support to a strong authoritarian state and a vertical representation of interest groups rather than of individuals. Prat, who was close to, if not a member of, the fascist-style Agrario Laborista party, continued to voice the concerns of the earlier Movimiento Nacional Socialista for social and welfare legislation and continued its struggle to nationalize the copper and nitrate industries. Many ex-nacistas found their way into the new party.

In 1964 Prat stood as the presidential candidate for the Acción Nacional, founded a year earlier. In his campaign he attacked the Congress for its prevention of the emergence of a strong executive power and advocated a strengthening of the armed forces for both external and internal use. After withdrawing from the presidential race before the election, he

stood, unsuccessfully, for the Senate as a representative for Santiago. The Acción Nacionalista was to disintegrate in 1966, leaving the field open to the Partido Nacionalista. Prat continued his efforts to build a solidly-based extreme right anti-democratic party and, with Arturo Olavarria, founded the violently anti-Marxist Unión Civica Democratica. Prat died in 1971 and his funeral was attended by many on the extreme right, including his fellow leader of Acción Nacional and perpetuator of his tradition, Onofre Jarpa, and the leader of the Partido Nacionalista, Mario Arnello.

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PRETO, Francisco Barcelos Rolão (1893–1977)

Portuguese Integralist and founder of the National Syndicalist Movement which opposed Salazar (q.v.) from a fascist direction.

Preto was born on 12 February 1893 in Gavião (Alentejo). He was one of the Integralist monarchist exiles in Belgium, following the disaster of the second monarchist incursion, who founded in May 1913 the journal *Alma Portuguesa* of which Preto was secretary; he was attending Louvain University at the time. In Toulouse he met Maurras and other leaders of Action Française. Preto was particularly impressed by the dynamic personality of Léon Daudet (q.v.). Back in Portugal he took over as editor of *Nação Portuguesa*. In 1920 he wrote *A Monarquia e a Restauração da Inteligência*. He came increasingly under the influence of Georges Sorel (q.v.) and Valois (q.v.) but always stressed the inspiration he had received from native sources, in particular, Oliveira Martins, Ramalho and Antonio Rodrigues Cavalheiros. On the refounding of *Nação Portuguesa* in July 1922, Preto became a contributor.

A short time after the military coup of 28 May 1926, Preto and João de Almeida, with the assistance of the newspaper *Revolução Nacional*, launched the May 28 League, one of whose objectives was 'to integrate the working classes with the spirit and aims of the dictatorship' after the example of the followers of Valois in France. These socio-economic aspects of the revolution were also prominently featured in the journal *Política*, organ of the Escolar de Lisboa do

Integralismo Lusitano, for which many of the later National Syndicalists wrote, including Preto himself. In 1932 Preto and others of a similar outlook launched the National Syndicalists or Camisas Azul (Blue-Shirts), marking the abandonment of conservative monarchism in favour of a more socially radical and often anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois movement. From the issue of 28 May 1932, Preto also became editor of the newspaper of the movement, *Revolução*. The synthesizing nature of the movement was symbolized by the simultaneous use of a cross-like device and the red flag as emblems.

It was clear to Preto by July 1932 that Salazar, who had earlier been a friend, did not share the ideals of the National Syndicalists and in his pamphlet *Salazar e sua Epoca* (1933) and in an article in *Revolução* of 6 January 1933, 'Salazar e a Questão Social', he set Salazar's vision of the Estado Novo against his own *Revolução Nacional*. The indeterminacy of Salazar's position, according to Preto, established him as a close political relative of De Valera, Seipel in Austria or Gil Robles in Spain. Preto increasingly saw the disciples of Salazar as so many bureaucratic and pragmatic time-servers. In June 1934, Preto was imprisoned, and on 29 July the Blueshirts were dissolved and the remnants united with Salazar's União Nacional.

Exiled to Spain from July 1934 to February 1935, when he was allowed to return, Preto kept in touch with colleagues like Monsaraz (q.v.) and sympathizers like Pequito Rebelo (q.v.). In September 1935 an attempted coup by a motley collection of National Syndicalists and anarchists was easily quashed by the government. Preto always denied, rather unconvincingly, any part in it. Although Preto had called Italian fascism and German Nazism cruel, mechanistic and materialistic, and contrasted them with the Catholic tradition and the attempt of his own movement to harmonize national interests with individual moral dignity, he nevertheless applauded the rise of Nazism and, on one occasion, stated that all three movements were 'obviously a product of the same troubled contemporary times, the same social anxieties, the same collective necessities'. In his *A Traição Burguesa* (1945) he alluded to Mussolini's 'absurd but beautiful dream'. Even as late as 1942 he believed in the victory of 'socialist and popular Germany' against 'capitalist and feudal Britain'.

In October 1945 Preto gave his support to the short-lived coordinated opposition group Movimento de Unidade Democrática, and in 1958 to General Delgado's ill-fated candidacy against Salazar's presidential choice. In 1974 he reverted to

pure monarchism and joined the Partido Popular Monarquico. He lived to see the end of the Estado Novo with quiet satisfaction and died on 18 December 1977 in Lisbon.

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PREZIOSI, Giovanni (1881–1945)

Italian ex-priest who was, according to Michaelis, the 'dean of Italian Jew-baiters'.

Preziosi was born on 24 October 1881 in Torella dei Lombardi (Avellino) into a Catholic bourgeois family. At a young age he entered a seminary to train for the priesthood but by 1912 had renounced his vocation for that of journalism. His earliest political leanings were Christian Democratic and his earliest intellectual interests in the problems of emigration. A period spent in America after 1905 seems to have first stimulated his anti-Semitism which at first was based more on the Catholic idea of 'decide guilt' rather than a systematic or coherent doctrine. As a member of the Italian Nationalist Association, Preziosi supported Italian entry into the First World War, claiming in an article and in *La Germania alla Conquista della Italia* to have uncovered the huge extent of German economic penetration of his homeland.

In January 1913 Preziosi had launched a journal *La Vita Italiana all'Estero* under the inspiration of the nationalist economist Maffeo Pantaleoni (1857–1924). He claimed to have discovered certain 'occult forces', Jews and freemasons, who were behind German financial control of Italy. Preziosi was a member of the Fasci Parlamentare di Difesa Nazionale, founded after the catastrophic defeat of Caporetto in 1917. Converted to fascism in May 1920, Preziosi began to assert his full-blooded anti-Semitism from August 1920. He translated the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into Italian in 1920, and in 1922 had contacts with the Bavarian anti-Semites, but it was mainly in his role as associate editor of *La Vita Italiana* that he operated as a vociferous Jew-baiter on the fringes of

the party, hated by Mussolini who believed he had the 'evil eye', and unknown to the public at large.

From 1923 to 1929 he was editor of the Neapolitan *Il Mezzogiorno*, appointed with the good will of the leading city textile manufacturers. It was only Farinacci (*q.v.*) of the fascist *gerarchi* who took Preziosi seriously; he was to become his protector. Preziosi was to find himself in 1937/8, after Mussolini's conversion to racialism and anti-Semitism, no longer a voice crying in the wilderness. He even criticized Paulo Orano (*q.v.*) for his 'softness' on the Jewish Question in Orano's *Gli Ebrei in Italia*.

After the events of July 1943 when Badoglio took over as head of state, he escaped to Germany and, broadcasting on Radio Munich, urged Italians to resist the 'invading' allies. Hitler regarded Preziosi as a man in whom he could place his confidence. On his return to Italy, Preziosi continued to denounce the 'Jew-lovers' he found flourishing in Mussolini's inner circle. More to control him than to reward him, Mussolini appointed Preziosi Inspector-General of Race in March 1944. Although he never went as far as calling for the physical liquidation of Jews (he had referred rhetorically to their 'total elimination'), he was instrumental in drawing up a racial code similar to the Nazi Nuremberg Laws which, however, was rejected by both the Minister of the Interior, Buffarini-Guidi (*q.v.*) and Mussolini. Moellhausen, deputy to the German ambassador Rahn, described Preziosi as 'evil, vindictive, petty' and 'the true incarnation of odium, paranoid and fanatical'. Preziosi and his wife committed suicide by throwing themselves out of an upper storey window in Milan on 26 April 1945.

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PREZZOLINI, Giuseppe (1882–1982)

Italian essayist, journalist and critic, who accepted Mussolini and fascism.

Born in Perugia on 27 January 1882, Prezzolini was an autodidact. With his lifelong friend Papini (*q.v.*), whom he first met in 1899 and whom he accompanied to Paris in 1902, Prezzolini was the most modernizing influence in Italian culture in the early

years of the century. Inspired by Henri Bergson and the pragmatic thinkers Hume and William James, the two pioneers founded the cultural and political journal *Leonardo* in January 1903. In this journal Prezzolini elevated subjectivism to a new principle to counteract the pervading positivism. He collaborated with Corradini (*q.v.*) on the journal *Il Regno*, whose unifying feature was its systematic nationalist critique of liberalism in all its manifestations. The sociological theories of Pareto and Mosca taught Prezzolini a belief in the necessity of elites, in democracy as a false expression of the popular will which merely masked selfish particular interests, and confirmed his hostility to socialism and to Giolittian materialism.

In 1909 he wrote *La Teoria Sindicalista* embodying his new discovery of Sorel's (*q.v.*) elitist syndicalism, but it was to be in his journal *La Voce*, founded with Papini, which he edited from 1908 to 1914, that his most sustained attempt to modernize Italian culture occurred. A disciple of Croce (in 1909 he wrote the essay, *Benedetto Croce*) and his Hegelian idealism, Prezzolini opened the columns of *La Voce* to writers of many different perspectives including the socialist Salvemini; what they all had in common was a suspicion of liberalism and parliamentarism. Prezzolini broke with the orthodox nationalist movement of Corradini despite their common belief in the creation of a new ruling elite to replace the Italian bourgeoisie which was 'sick unto death'.

Before the First World War in which he served, Prezzolini was a contributor to Mussolini's *Il Popolo d'Italia* and echoed his campaign for Italian intervention. His views on war were not as apocalyptic or as dogmatic as those of D'Annunzio (*q.v.*) or the Futurists, but he was to consider the defeat at Caporetto as a necessary demonstration of Italy's dire lack of strength.

In the 1920s and 1930s he accepted fascism as an inevitable historical outcome and one to be welcomed as the destroyer of the liberal establishment: 'socialism will march forward under the Blackshirts,' he declared. After the Second World War he claimed in various spirited defences of his position that he had steered a judicious course between fascism and anti-fascism. Between 1925 and 1929 he was employed at the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations in Paris and in 1930 he accepted the directorship of the Casa Italiana at Columbia University, New York, as he had the chair of Italian Literature a year earlier. According to Diggins, it 'functioned as something of an overseas branch of Italy's Ministry of Culture and Propaganda'. He resigned as director in December 1940

although he remained on the board for longer. Prezzolini spent over thirty years in the United States and by 1962 became a US citizen. He returned to Italy, but in 1968 settled in Lugano, Switzerland asserting that he returned to Italy only to buy vegetables. In 1954 he wrote a book in defence of his hero Machiavelli, *Machiavelli Anticristo*, and by the time of his death on 14 July 1982 at the age of 100, was considered the Grand Old Man of Italian literature.

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PRIESTER, Karl-Heinz (1913–60)

German neo-Nazi head of the German Social Movement. In 1932 Priester took over the press training section of the Hitler Youth 'regiment' in Hesse-Nassau South, and in the following year was chief of the press section of the Oberjüngbann 1. From 1935 to 1939 he was executive director of the Nazi communal leisure and entertainment organization Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy). Rejected by the SS in 1939, he became a war correspondent for the Luftwaffe and then a first lieutenant in the Wehrmacht. By the end of the war, in which he was badly wounded, he was a liaison officer in the Waffen-SS.

Interned in 1946 by the Americans, he was freed in 1948 and joined Heinrich Leuchtgens' National Democratic Party as propaganda organizer; he was the architect of the NDP's considerable local success in the elections for the Wiesbaden local parliament. He was the leader of its radical nationalist wing until the split in December 1949. The Hesse group of the NDP left to form the Nationaldemokratische Reichs-Partei, together with Karl Freitenhansl's (b. 1922) Vaterländische Union but in due course Priester's dictatorial tendencies caused him to be expelled on 23 August 1950. For a brief period between January and July 1950 Priester's NDRP formed the Hesse local group of the Sozialistische Reichs-Partei but talks with Fritz Dorls of the SRP to amalgamate the two groups broke down in July. In March 1951 the Deutsche Soziale Bewegung (German Social Movement), with Priester as chairman, was founded.

Turning his attention to the international scene, Priester was a leading organizer of the conference held on 22–5 October 1950 in Rome, which tried to found a new international fascist movement including Engdahl's (*q.v.*) New Swedish Movement, the Italian MSI and Priester's movement. One of the leaders of the resulting European Social Movement, he was actually not present at the Malmö meeting which set up the organization, denied a visa by the Swedish government. He was to be an associate of Arthur Ehrhardt (*q.v.*) in the launch of the journal *Nation Europa* in 1951 and an associate of René Binet (*q.v.*) on his journal *La Sentinelle*. Priester wanted to have the Italian MSI expelled from the ESM because of its willingness to cooperate with the hated democratic system.

In 1952 the GSM joined August Haussleiter's Deutsche Gemeinschaft which in 1953 became subsumed in a Nationale Sammlung. Concentrating thereafter on his publishing and propaganda activities, he made one final unsuccessful effort to unite the extreme right at a meeting in Wiesbaden. He died on 16 April 1960.

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PRIMO DE RIVERA Y SAENZ DE HEREDIA, José Antonio (1903–36)

Charismatic Spanish aristocrat and lawyer who founded and led the Falange Española.

Born in Madrid on 24 April 1903 into a large aristocratic Andalusian family, the son of the dictator of Spain, Miguel Primo de Rivera (1870–1930), José Antonio inherited the title of Marques de Estella when his father died. Educated in law at the University of Madrid from 1917, he obtained his degree in 1923 and continued his studies in literature and politics. He read widely and eclectically during the 1920s, not only Spengler (*q.v.*), Ortega y Gasset and Maeztu (*q.v.*) but also Marx and Lorca. In April 1925 he was admitted to the College of Advocates and thus entered the legal profession. Exhibiting liberal tendencies as a student, he soon developed political sentiments more in keeping with his family tradition. He was not politically active until after the end of his father's dictatorship when, in May 1930, he accepted the post of vice-general secretary of the Unión Monárquica Nacional, a movement established to

vindicate the reputation of his late father and to carry the flag for the conversion of the new republican regime in an authoritarian, nationalist direction through a strengthened executive. Blaming his father's most conservative supporters for his failure, José Antonio was still prepared to go along with them in the interests of 'defending the memory of [his] father'.

In October 1931 he stood as a candidate for election to the Cortes in a by-election but was defeated. His scarcely formed political views underwent a profound and confused sea-change after his defeat; he moved away from his earlier concentration on the defence of nation, family and the traditional order towards the concept of a radical right revolution. He had inherited from his father a disdain for liberal politicians and a faith in an elite 'creative minority' who could carry out the revolution from above. José Antonio was stumbling towards a kind of Spanish fascism: 'a poetic movement was required, an anti-party of neither left nor right', but fuelled by authoritarian nationalism and similar to that envisaged by his later colleague Ruiz de Alda (*q.v.*) 'a national movement of a totalitarian and deeply popular nature'. José Antonio contributed two articles as d'E. (Marques d'Estella) to the single issue of *El Fascio* which appeared in March 1933, produced by a small group of like-minded enthusiasts including José Antonio himself, Sánchez Mazas (*q.v.*) and Ledesma Ramos (*q.v.*), with Manuel Delgado Barreto as its editor. In early October 1933 José Antonio was accorded an interview with Mussolini but already had talked informally with Ledesma Ramos and his JONS movement, with Ruiz de Alda and with Alfonso García Valdecasas and his Frente Español.

After the demise of *El Fascio*, the Movimiento Español Sindicalista, the result of these manoeuvrings on the extreme right, also failed to make any impact, but on 29 October 1933 in an 'act of national affirmation' in the Teatro Comedia in Madrid, José Antonio announced, in a typically rhetorical speech, the formation of a new movement which five days later was named the Falange Española. Its programme was a combination of Castilian nationalism, traditionalist ideas with elements of an anti-materialist non-Marxist socialism, and an imperial ideal (José Antonio was a Kipling reader and an admirer of the British Empire); above all, it emphasized the unity of Spain and its deep Catholic roots.

Primo de Rivera was elected an 'independent' deputy for Cadiz in November but the movement only really got underway with the union of the FE with Ledesma's JONS movement in February 1934

and with the political agreement with Goicoechea's monarchists in August of the same year. In the spring the Falange leader had visited Germany but was not impressed; in many ways he was repelled by National Socialist racialism. In May 1935 he tried to establish relations with the Fascist International organized by the Italian CAUR. José Antonio, however, was always adamant that the FE was a native Spanish movement with its own roots and rationale, although recent research has shown the extent of his links with Nazi Germany. The programme of the movement as exhibited in the Twenty-Seven Points called for a Spanish national syndicalist state which repudiated capitalism while retaining the belief in private property. Acclaimed as the national chief of the movement in October 1934, Primo de Rivera found himself in conflict with the harder, more revolutionary ambitions of Ledesma over his 'liberal' methods and his espousal of elitist ideals; Ledesma was expelled from the FE in January 1935. There can be little doubt about the charisma and attractiveness of José Antonio's personality, which is best attested by the tribute of his friend, the poet Dionisio Ridruejo (*q.v.*), who, while admitting that many of his ideas were equivocal, contradictory and immature, also adduced his charm, courage, eloquence and intelligence. The other side of the coin was a strong snobbish streak which manifested itself, for example, in his dismissal of Calvo Sotelo as a good leader because of his less than expert horsemanship. However, according to Ridruejo, he was devoid of the acid of resentment which seethed in *petit-bourgeois* fascists like Ledesma. His attitude to violence has been the subject of great debate with, on one side, Southworth, Gibson, Weiss and others arguing that 'the exaltation of the passionate violence of Spanish Catholicism' was a vital and necessary ingredient of the FE's drive for power and citing José Antonio's remarks about the 'dialectic of fists and pistols', while, on the other side, nationalist historians have made more of his 'humanism', his religious faith and his attacks on totalitarianism. Gibson has gone as far as to describe his activities as 'close to the behaviour of a Chicago gangster'.

José Antonio spoke for the last time in public on 15 February 1936 in Medina del Campo before the disastrous election in which the FE obtained only 0.7 per cent of the vote and José Antonio himself 7,000 in Cadiz. The whole of the Junta Política, including the Falange leader, were detained on 14 March and imprisoned in Madrid. He had not been involved in the planning for the military rising planned for July and only learnt the details in prison. Though he had had good relations with the military, after the failed

coup, he was sceptical of their reactionary political ideas and from May 1936, when he contacted General Mola, he tried to lay down conditions for his participation in the rebellion. He was still hoping for a rebellion led by a 'highly prepared minority'.

In June 1936 he was removed, for security reasons, to Alicante. It is clear that he considered the Civil War a disaster and proposed a moderate compromise government of national unity. Despite attempts to rescue the Falange leader in Alicante, he was executed on 20 November 1936 after a hastily arranged travesty of a trial by a 'People's Court'. His death was to be the beginning of a cult of the lost leader, *El Ausente* (the Absent One), culminating in November 1939 in the passage of his body by torchlight across Spain from Alicante to the Escorial for interment. He is now buried with Franco in the *Valle de las Caídas* (Valley of the Fallen), near Madrid.

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PROKSCH, Alfred (1891– ?)

Austrian National Socialist, Landesleiter of the NSDAP.

Born in Larischau (Austrian Silesia) on 8 March 1891, Proksch was from a well-established Catholic farming family; his father was a tradesman. He attended school in Jägerndorf. In 1910 he became a one-year volunteer in Infantry Regiment Kaiser No. 1 and in 1912 attended the Railway Academy in Linz, thereafter working as an official on the state railways. During the First World War he served in Infantry Regiment No. 91 on the Russian/Polish Front and then in the railway service.

He had joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, the *völkisch* nationalist workers' movement, active in the German areas of what was to become Czechoslovakia, in 1912 and became a party worker in the Eastern Moravia/Silesia area. He served on the district economic advisory council in Eastern Moravia.

He rejoined the DNSAP, as the DAP became in 1918, and in March 1919 moved to within the borders of Austria proper to work once again on the railways; he became a leading manager on the Austrian state railway in the Linz area. After a personal meeting with Hitler, he founded and organized the Upper Austrian branch of the NSDAP. He served on the Linz City Council from 1923 to 1932 as a National Socialist. In 1923 he launched the important journal *Volksstimme* and later opened Nazi bookshops in Linz, Vienna and Salzburg, and founded the NSP-Verlag for publishing party literature.

Although he remained loyal to the moderate leader Karl Schulz until the latter's break with the party and retained good relations with Walter Riehl (*q.v.*) when he broke away to form his German Social Union, he moved with the radicals to form the NSDAP-Hitler Bewegung and, indeed, signed a special oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler. His loyalty had its rewards for he was promoted to *gauleiter* of Upper Austria in 1926 and in 1928 deputy *Landesleiter*. From 1931 until 1933 when he lost *de facto* power to Habicht (*q.v.*), who had been sent by Hitler to take over the Austrian party, he was the official *Landesleiter* (leader of the Austrian party) but was given only administrative, not political power; in August 1932 he was strictly speaking made leader of the Hauptabteilung V (*Landwirtschaft*) of the Landesleitung NSDAP/Österreich as a *Landesbauernschaffführer*. On 24 June 1933 he fled to Germany after the banning of the party. Even within his local party in Linz he was not without opposition, especially after the failures in the Federal elections of November 1930.

In spite of the fact that he was one of the small group who made the preparations for the ill-fated *putsch* of July 1934 along with Habicht, Frauenfeld (*q.v.*) and Reschny, he thereafter lost much of his influence in Austria. In 1936 he served in the Reichstag. After the Anschluss he returned as an *SS-Gruppenführer* and on 20 August 1940 was appointed president of the regional labour office for Vienna and Upper and Lower Danube and a *Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit* (State Executor for Labour). In these labour posts he often not only demonstrated an Austrian rather than a Reich-German approach to his duties, pledging to bring workers back to Austria (or the Ostmark as it was known) from the Reich, but also displayed considerable bureaucratic talents. In 1943 he reached his highest rank of *SA-Obergruppenführer*. In the end he was not a particularly charismatic or dynamic figure. He was believed to be still alive in 1978 in an old people's home in Linz.

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PRYTZ, Anton Frederick Winter Jakhelln (1878-1945)

One of Quisling's (q.v.) closest collaborators and founding member of the Norwegian Nasjonal Samling.

Prytz was born on 14 February 1878 in Oslo (Kristiania), the son of a pastor, and educated at Bergen Cathedral School and at a military school. He spent some years in Edinburgh during his youth. In 1899 he became a second-lieutenant in the artillery and by 1913 was a captain. He was finally removed from the army list in 1930. In Russia he went into private business, first with a whaling brokerage firm in Archangel and then created a Norwegian timber agency in 1913. In 1911 he was appointed Norwegian vice-consul in Archangel and then served as a commercial counsellor in the legation in St Petersburg, becoming *chargé d'affaires* in 1918. He not only met many Soviet leaders but became acquainted with Quisling, who was, in fact, an employee of Prytz. He was to remain close to Quisling until 1933 and, with a long interval, again from 1942 to his death.

After the First World War he founded in 1923 a new Russo-Norwegian Omega Wood Co. in the area of Lake Omega after his earlier Russian Forestry Industry Co. had been nationalized and, in time, he became extremely wealthy under Lenin's New Economic Policy. In spring 1928 he was forced to leave the Soviet Union, with fortune intact, after being involved in some questionable and illegal foreign exchange transactions. As one of Quisling's first colleagues he assisted him in the foundation of *Okonomisk Verneplikt* (Economic Defence) and then of the *Nordiske Folkereising* (Nordic Awakening) in 1931. Prytz found himself briefly leader of this latter organization after Quisling's resignation. It is certain that Prytz financially underwrote the organization which soon departed from the political scene. It is also likely that Prytz became a leading influence on Quisling after the death of Nansen, particularly ideologically. Prytz had in Russia adopted theories of Nordic racial superiority and he was a vital catalyst in the development of

Quisling's ideas and particularly on Quisling's book *Russia and Ourselves* (1930). The two men later claimed that the Nasjonal Samling programme was a product of their years in Petrograd.

The Nasjonal Samling was founded on 17 May 1933. Prytz and a businessman, Walter Fürst, were two of the most important begetters, both inspirationally and financially. In fact, Prytz carried membership card No. 1. He was the first to attempt the problem of organizing the party and of controlling its finances. He was one of those, disastrously as it turned out, who counselled participation in the election of 1933 by the untried, inexperienced new movement. In autumn 1933 Prytz retired to his estate in Sør-Trøndelag and by 1936 his friendship with Quisling had cooled. Nevertheless he took part in the NS conference of 7 April 1940 and in October 1940 was appointed *Fylkesmann* (County Prefect) for Sør-Trøndelag, having temporarily been a member of the State Council in September. On 1 February 1942, restored to favour, he was appointed Minister of Finance, a post in which he worked in a role of reconciliation between Quisling and his German master, Reich Commissioner Terboven (*q.v.*), but at the same time found himself in conflict with his own bureaucrats and with a government faction led by Hagelin (*q.v.*). He remained close enough to Quisling to deal very frankly with him and in late 1944 Prytz urged him to assume full powers as 'regent' in Norway and to assert Norway's full equality with her occupier as two sovereign National Socialist states. Quisling was genuinely upset when his old friend died on 19 February 1945 in Oslo.

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PUCHEU, Pierre Firmin (1899–1944)

French steel industrialist, member of Doriot's (q.v.) PPF and Vichy Minister of the Interior.

Born in Beaumont-sur-Oise (Val d'Oise) on 27 June 1899, the son of an artisan, Pucheu came from a humble background. Educated among other places at the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, he was mobilized in the First World War. In 1919 he taught

briefly in Mayence before proving a brilliant student at the École Normale Supérieure. He joined the Société de Pont-à-Mousson, and from 1926 to 1938 was in charge of exports at the Comptoir Sidérurgique de France, a metallurgical firm that was to be a source of finance for Doriot's Parti Populaire Français in 1938. Pucheu was also a member of the employers' organization, the Comité des Forges.

First, until July 1935, a member of de La Rocque's (*q.v.*) Croix de Feu where he formed a sub-group of true fascists with Bertrand de Maudhuy, Pucheu, a strong anti-communist, then joined the PPF and in March 1938 served on its political bureau. He was one of the PPF's technocratic recruits. He left the PPF when Germany took over the Sudetenland in protest against Doriot's pro-German foreign policy and disturbed by the mounting scandals in his leader's private life. He was a part of the great exodus from the party of January 1939, a group that included Fontenoy (*q.v.*), Arrighi, Drieu (*q.v.*) and others. He remained an enemy of the democratic process which he referred to as '*la democrassouille*'.

Under the Vichy regime he became associated with the young technocrats (including Marion (*q.v.*)) who produced the famous policy paper of February 1941 for a modernized and planned, Europe-wide economy. From February to July 1941 he was Minister of Industrial Production and from 18 July to April 1942, Minister of the Interior. He was responsible for banning the PPF in the southern zone and, as a mild germanophobe, tried to restrain recruitment to the anti-Bolshevik volunteers, the LVF. He had also clashed with the Germans over the question of sovereignty in relation to the selection of hostages. He was, in contrast, the creator of a special unit of police to deal with Jewish affairs and was the architect of a series of tough measures to root out the resistance.

After the Anglo-American landings in North Africa, Pucheu travelled to Morocco via Spain. In May 1943 he was put under house arrest and then imprisoned in Meknès. He was put on trial in Algiers by the Free French authorities in the first of the trials in the process of *l'Épuration*, indicted under a decree charging all Vichy ministers with treason, although he had earlier been given assurances by General Henri Giraud, the senior Free French official in North Africa after Darlan's assassination, that he would be welcome. In August 1943 the Conseil Nationale of the Résistance declared: 'Pucheu has been found guilty of complicity in murder and sentenced to death by the French people.' His crimes consisted of recruiting for the LVF and placing his police at the disposal of the Germans. He was

executed under the supervision of the Gaullist Algiers Committee on 20 March 1944 in Algiers.

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PUJO, Maurice (1872–1955)

Co-founder of the Action Française and leader of the Camelots du Roi squads.

Born in Lorrez-le-Bocage (Seine-et-Marne) on 26 January 1872, Pujo was the son of an advocate in the Cours de Paris. Educated at the lycée in Orléans where he was a contemporary of Charles Péguy and at the Sorbonne, he turned first to an interest in literature; his earliest intellectual influence was Wagner. Politically he began with unfocused anarchist views (on one occasion organizing a petition calling for a pardon for Auguste Vaillant, the bomber of the National Assembly). In 1892 he founded a left-bank art journal *L'Action Morale et la Vie*. He was persuaded to take a more weighty view of politics by Henri Vaugois (*q.v.*) with whom he joined the liberal and high-minded Union pour l'Action Morale; he parted company with it in 1898, after he had become secretary, when it opted for a pro-Dreyfus line. In April of the same year he founded, with Vaugois, the Comité d'Action Française to take part in the elections. In December he wrote an article in *L'Éclair* in which the words 'Action Française' figured prominently. In January 1899 he was a member of the committee of the new anti-Dreyfusard Ligue de la Partrie Française inspired by Barrès (*q.v.*) and founded by Maurras (*q.v.*) whom he first met in January 1899. As a rather unsuccessful café man of letters, he was one of the group, with Maurras, Bainville (*q.v.*), Daudet (*q.v.*) and others who met in the Café de Flore in Paris.

At first a convinced republican, Pujo was persuaded by Maurras in 1900 (according to Pujo, 'the year of the hegira for Action Française') to take up the cause of the monarchy. He took part in the foundation of the newspaper *L'Action Française* in March 1908 and from then until 1939 was to be the real power behind the Camelots du Roi, a body

which graduated from being vendors of *Action Française* to becoming fully-fledged action squads involved in rowdiness, street brawling and perpetrators of provocations of many imaginative kinds. To Pujo the Camelots became 'a body of fearless knights without reproach'. One of their early appearances was in the prolonged disruption of the lectures of Professor Thalamas, alleged to have insulted the memory of Joan of Arc. In January 1909, Pujo was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a 100-franc fine for his part in the affair.

In the First World War he served in the infantry and in 1922 returned to the editorial team of *L'Action Française*. It was Pujo who proved reluctant to attempt a full-blooded coup during the momentous events of 6 February 1934. He opposed the drift toward war in 1939 and after the institution of the Vichy regime, moved to Lyons where he resumed his newspaper. Imprisoned by the Germans in Fort Montluc in June 1944, having incurred the hostility of the Milice, he was rearrested after the Liberation in January 1945. Condemned to five years in prison, a 20,000-franc fine, and the loss of civil rights, he was finally released in 1949, and became director of the newly resurrected AF journal *Aspects de la France*. It is said that so careless was he of his appearance that he occasionally left his trousers unbuttoned in public. He died on 6 September 1955.

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PURISHKEVICH, Vladimir Mitrofanovich (1870–1920)

Russian leader of the Union of the Russian People, called by Lyubosh the first Russian fascist.

Born on 12 August 1870 in Kishinëv, the grandson of a Bessarabian village priest, Purishkevich was a wealthy landowner. He graduated from university with a thesis on oligarchic rebellions in ancient Greece. Before 1900 he was a local government official, landowner, novelist and patriotic versifier, a talent that he was to put to good use in the vilification of opponents at elections. He was a flamboyant, exotic and not unintelligent figure, short and

bald with a thick beard and pince-nez. He behaved in the Duma as a demagogue and rabble-rouser, making use of theatrical gestures, as when he appeared wearing a red flower in his trouser flies to demonstrate graphically his contempt for the left. He was reputed to have said: 'to the right of me there is only the wall.' Miliukov called him 'a tragic clown' because of his frequent interruptions in the Duma. He represented Kursk in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Dumas.

He began his right-wing career in the Russkoe Sobranie (Russian Assembly) and then became deputy of the directorate of the Union of Russian People. He was especially adept at raising money from official sources. The Union believed in the exclusion of Jews from the universities, the liberal professions, and from the army. Purishkevich took it further and demanded their deportation to the remote Kolyma area. He wanted the Duma abolished and the electoral laws changed in an authoritarian direction. However, he was no friend of reaction and excoriated the Russian elite classes for their decadence and their failure as a directing and ruling class. Nor was he averse to the raising of peasants' living standards if only to avoid social unrest.

In 1908 Purishkevich broke with the URP and formed the Union of the Archangel Michael which took a more pragmatic and conciliatory attitude to token democracy and supported Stolypin's agrarian

reforms. During the First World War he ran a hospital train and by 1916 had turned against the Tsarist regime. He joined the Grand Duke Dmitry and Prince Yusupov in the plot to kill Rasputin in St Petersburg; in fact, it was Purishkevich who killed Rasputin with a pistol after the poisoning attempt had failed. After the Revolution he joined Denikin, the White General. In 1919 he established the Narodno-Gosudarstvennaya Partiya (People's State Party) in Rostov. He was imprisoned by the Bolsheviks in the Fortress of St Peter and St Paul for his part in the attempt to save the Tsar and his family. He died in February 1920 of typhus in Novorossisk, at the time an enclave occupied by White Russians.

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Q

QUISLING, Vidkun (1887–1945)

Norwegian founder of Nasjonal Samling and leader of the wartime collaboration whose name became a synonym for treason.

Born on 18 July 1887 in Fyresdal (Telemark), the son of a Lutheran clergyman, Quisling attended the Krigsskolen (War College) from 1905 and graduated in 1911 from the Military Academy with the highest grade anyone had ever achieved. Then, after being appointed to the General Staff, he served as a general inspector in the field artillery in October 1917, and in the same year was promoted to the rank of captain. In May 1918 he functioned as military attaché in Petrograd and in late 1919 as an intelligence officer/secretary in the Norwegian legation in Helsinki. He then worked for Fridtjof Nansen's Russian Relief Committee which operated under the auspices of the League of Nations, administering famine relief. As a relief administrator Quisling was a success and won the OBE from Britain for his services in the Ukraine. He subsequently worked for the League in the Balkans and in Armenia and later, after his break with the General Staff, as a commercial agent attached to the Norwegian legation in Moscow.

Returning to Norway late in 1929, Quisling rejoined the army as a major. At home he was to suffer a change of heart about communism and he gravitated towards the anti-parliamentary radical conservatives with their ideal of national unity. He acted as a speaker for the Fatherland League and was close also to the Agrarian Party and the Independent Liberals. In autumn 1930 he founded a short-lived organization called Economic Defence and in March 1931 he took part in the Nordic People's Awakening (Nordiske Folkereisning) with his friend Prytz (*q.v.*) and Herman Harris Aall; this organization called for 'soviets without communism' and emphasized racial differences. Appointed Minister of Defence in the Agrarian Party government in May 1931, he alienated his cabinet colleagues by his forthright anti-socialist campaign as part of which he was accused of ordering troops to end a strike of Norsk Hydro workers in Menstad (in fact, he had taken a passive

role). He quarrelled with the prime minister, Jens Hundseid, whom Quisling hoped to follow as chairman of the Agrarian Party.

Failing in this ambition, Quisling founded, on 17 May 1933, a new party but one in line with his earlier abortive experiments, the Nasjonal Samling (National Union), based on his Nordiske Folkereisning and three small extreme nationalist and National Socialist societies in Oslo. The Agrarians, the Independent Liberals and the Fatherland League resisted his siren voice and only the small Bygdefolkets Krisehjelp (Farmers' Relief Association) joined him in an electoral alliance. In September 1933 the new party received only 2.2 per cent of the vote and by 1936 had declined further to 1.8 per cent following the economic recovery and the new compromise between Labour and the Agrarians. NS was in general in favour of a 'Norwegian socialism', national unity, a strong executive power, a theoretical racism and anti-Semitism, and a corporative system of government.

Quisling took over many of the accoutrements of foreign fascism, including the title of *Fører* (Leader), his own paramilitary formation, the *Hird*, set up in 1934, and the Roman salute. He could, however, claim with some justice that the roots of the movement lay in a continuation of the long-established radical conservative quest for national unity. Quisling, who was an admirer of Mussolini, was totally rigid, stubborn and inflexible, incapable of compromise, divorced from reality, a poor speaker, incompetent and dictatorial. His adoption of the *Führerprinzip* was to disgust his competent younger colleague Hjort (*q.v.*), who eventually turned his back on him. Quisling lived in a world of adolescent fantasies of a Greater Nordic Peace Union and a conflictless peasant society.

Having failed in his attempt to form a National Bloc in 1934 and deserted by many of his most dynamic followers, he had to rely on war and the Germans to enable him to enjoy a brief taste of power. He had for some time had contacts arranged for him through Aall and Prytz with Nazi circles around Rosenberg (*q.v.*) and Grand Admiral Erich Raeder. Rosenberg believed that Quisling 'considered it his

duty . . . to tie Norway's fate to that of Greater Germany.' In April 1940 Quisling visited Copenhagen in order to pass on information to Hans Pickenbrock, chief of the Abwehr's espionage division, to assist the disposition of German troops in the event that 'Hitler was forced to take action'. The exact extent of Quisling's treason is still a matter of controversy but Hayes may be right when he remarks of his treason trial in 1945: 'The most impartial tribunal in the world would probably have reached the same verdict as the court did.'

Quisling was to hold power for only one week, from 9 April 1940 after his 'coup' in the wake of German operation *Weserübung* (the invasion of Norway). According to his most authoritative biographer, Hoidal: 'for anyone who believed in the normal democratic rules . . . Quisling's action constituted a fundamental breach of established values. It was treason.' By September the regime had achieved the form in which it was to remain until the end of the war with a commissarial council set up to replace Quisling's ill-fated 'government' of April; although it contained nine Nasjonal Samling departmental heads, Reich Commissioner Terboven was at pains to insist that the council received its authority directly from the Führer. Terboven (*q.v.*) was perfectly aware of Quisling's unsuitability as Norwegian leader and remained the real power in Norway despite the NS leader's attempts to install himself as head of a collaborationist government. In February 1942 Quisling returned as Minister President, head of a

NS cabinet, but his tactless and dictatorial policies provoked fierce opposition and in September 1942 Hitler ordered that the experiment to fascistize the country be abandoned. Quisling, however, remained as Minister President.

After September 1942 Quisling, as Sverre Kjeldstadli has said, was 'reduced to being Terboven's errand boy' and, drawn ever closer to collaborating with the occupying power, he was a complete failure in his efforts to mobilize the population on behalf of the German war machine. Arrested at the end of the war, Quisling was tried, found guilty of various crimes including murder and civilian and military treason, and executed by firing squad in Akershus on 24 October 1945. In June 1959 the urn containing his ashes was buried in Gjerpen but the exact site was kept a secret.

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R

RÄIKKÖNEN, Erkki Aleksanteri (1900–61)

Finnish nationalist editor and founder of the Academic Karelia Society and later co-founder of the People's Patriotic Movement.

Born on 13 August 1900 in Pietari, the son of a cantor, Räikkönen was a master of arts from Helsinki University and a Swedish-speaker. He was one of the Finnish volunteers who crossed clandestinely into East Karelia for the last battle against the Russians in 1921/2 to try to secure Karelian independence. The whole campaign had finished in defeat by February 1922 but it resulted in the foundation of the Academic Karelia Society (Akateeminen Kirjala-Seura) by Räikkönen, Elias Simojoki (*q.v.*) and Reino Vähäkallio. Its aim was a Greater Finland, taking in Karelia, the Kola Peninsula, and in its most optimistic version establishing a Pan-Fennic Finland stretching to the Urals. He was secretary of the AKS for its first two years but left in 1924 to join the Independence League (Itsenäisyyden Liitto) for which he served as secretary from 1926 to 1928. He was chief editor of *Itsenäinen Suomi* from 1926 to 1932.

On 10 April 1932 he was one of the founders of the fascist IKL (Isänmaallinen Kansanliike, or People's Patriotic Movement). Räikkönen was a great admirer of the former President of Finland, Svinhufvud. He served as his secretary from 1927 to 1944. It was Svinhufvud who had founded the Independence League, who had crushed the fascist Lapua Movement, and who had initiated discussions in 1932 between Räikkönen and the former leaders of the now-banned Lapua. They strove to keep the nationalist spirit of Lapua alive with the IKL. Räikkönen, a believer in legal and constitutional methods, and Herman Gummerus (*q.v.*) were entrusted with the task of creating a programme for the new movement but were soon to leave because the IKL adopted the AKS's pure Finnish principles, which were anathema to the bilingual Swedish speakers. Räikkönen as a conservative disapproved also of the creeping (national) 'socialism' of the movement.

From 1932 to 1938 Räikkönen edited *Suomen Vapausseura* and was managing director of *Kustannus Oy Sanatar*. In October 1940 he was involved with the nationalist group Gustav Vaasa which was in discussion with the IKL about a possible joint programme. In 1945 he moved to Sweden where he died on 30 March 1961.

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RAINER, Friedrich (1903–47)

Austrian National Socialist.

Born into an upper-middle-class family on 28 July 1903 in Sankt Veit (Carinthia), Rainer was a volunteer for military service in 1919 and fought against the Yugoslavs in the *Abwehrkämpfe*. He studied politics and law in Graz and received his doctorate in 1926. He was the head of a gymnastic team in Carinthia in 1920. Immediately after the war he worked in Sankt Veit as a forestry worker and then as a bank clerk, before setting up as a lawyer in Eberstein. Rainer was a member of the first SA group in his home town after 1923 and until 1928 a member of the Carinthian Heimatschutz. He joined the NSDAP on 10 October 1930 and rose rapidly in the party, first as head of the athletic organization, the Gauturnwant, in Carinthia until July 1934 and then as a collaborator of the Carinthian leader Klausner (*q.v.*). He joined the SS at the end of 1933, worked in the small Austrian SD where he developed useful contacts with Heydrich (*q.v.*) and Himmler (*q.v.*), and was active in the *putsch* of July 1934. In August of the same year he took over the

Gau news, training, press and propaganda department, and in 1935 was chosen by Klausner to take charge of political affairs. He was sentenced on 20 August 1935 to a term of imprisonment for illegal Nazi activities but was released on 5 March 1936 because of ill health.

Rainer then resumed his work in the leadership of the Austrian NSDAP. He was one of the group of middle-class SS men based on the Carinthian trio of Klausner, Globocnik (*q.v.*) and Rainer himself, who, together with Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*), opposed the leadership of the proletarian SA man Leopold (*q.v.*). While Leopold was in prison from June 1935 to July 1936 Rainer became chairman of a temporary college of gauleiters. In September 1936 he was dismissed by Leopold. Rainer saw clearly that the only way for the Nazis to attain power was by the abandonment of violence, cooperation with the Schuschnigg government, the employment of sympathetic front men like Seyss, and the nazification of the nationalist population. He supported the efforts of Seyss in this direction but maintained the illegal organization intact in order to exploit gains made through respectable negotiations. In 1938 he was allowed to assist in the planning of the Anschluss. He found himself at the head of the political office of the Austrian leadership of the party in February 1938. In the following two months he served on Bürckel's (*q.v.*) staff in the organization of a plebiscite.

In March 1938 Rainer was promoted to SS-*Standartenführer* and was until May a state secretary. He also became the organizer of the NS-Reichsbund für Leibesübungen (NS League for Physical Culture), gauleiter of Gau Salzburg on 24 March 1938, and a member of the Reichstag. From 15 March 1940 to 27 November 1941 he was the *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Salzburg. On the latter date he was appointed gauleiter and *Reichsstatthalter* of Carinthia, a post he held until April 1945, and in June 1943 was promoted to *Obergruppenführer* and worked on Himmler's (*q.v.*) staff. In October of the same year he took the post of chief commissioner for the Adriatische Küstengebiet, in effect the chief of civil administration in the part of Yugoslavia bordering on the Adriatic. After the capitulation he was arrested by the Americans, interrogated and extradited to Yugoslavia, where he was tried and hanged on 18 August 1947.

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RAJNISS, Ferenc (earlier called Rheinisch) (1893–1946)

Hungarian Nationalist Socialist journalist of first an Imredist and then a Szalasian persuasion.

Born of Swabian origin on 24 July 1893 in Bartfa, Rajniss was a corrupt journalist of the Szeged fascist camp, an unscrupulous moral delinquent who made a comfortable existence for himself by deceiving wealthy old ladies and accepting German subsidies. He was one of the so-called 'Gömbös orphans', the radical supporters of that Hungarian prime minister. In 1931 he was a youth leader. Rajniss was the founder of the anti-Semitic weekly *Magyar Futár* (Hungarian Courier), one of a number of propaganda sheets supporting National Socialist Germany. In parliament from the early 1930s, Rajniss at first represented a small group called the National Front but in October 1937 he combined with Pálffy (*q.v.*) and Böszörmény (*q.v.*) to form the United Hungarian National Socialist Party. He later joined the government party as an Imrédy (*q.v.*) supporter in summer 1938 for whom he acted as an important spokesman. He was one of the eighteen deputies who seceded from the government party to form the Party of Hungarian Renewal (MMP) under Imrédy in October 1940. Until August 1944 he was editor of the Imredist *Esti Újság*. He worked closely with the German RSHA after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 and just before Szálasi's (*q.v.*) takeover in October formed the parliamentary group known as the Torvényhozók Nemzeti Szövetsége (Legislators' National Alliance), containing those fascist and National Socialist elements concerned to block any attempt by Regent Horthy to extract Hungary from the Axis and to ease the passage of power to Szálasi on as constitutional a basis as could be arranged. He took a leading part in Szálasi's coup in October 1944 and served on the Council of Regency, which acted for Horthy after his retirement.

In Szálasi's cabinet he was appointed Minister of Education, the only Imredist to enjoy this dubious favour. He resigned in March 1945 but this was not enough to save him from conviction on 7 December 1945 for war crimes and crimes against the people. He was executed in Budapest on 12 March 1946.

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RAPOSO, José Hipólito (1885–1953)

Portuguese Integralist.

Born on 13 February 1885 in S. Vicente da Beira, Raposo entered Coimbra University in 1906. He went into exile with Monsaraz (q.v.) to Paris in 1911 where he made contact with Action Française. One of the founders of Integralismo Lusitano in 1914, he contributed to the journal *Nação Portuguesa*, based in Coimbra. He opposed the regime of President Sidónio Pais which he saw as a perversion of monarchy and an impediment to the decentralizing and municipal traditionalism which the Integralists represented. In April 1916 he was appointed to the Junta Central of the Integralist Movement. Raposo was, in 1919, one of the large number of Integralists to be caught up in the abortive monarchist revolt in Monsanto. In August 1918 he had become the editor of the journal *A Monarquia*.

From 1921 Raposo was connected with the Cruzada Nun'Alvares, the first Portuguese movement to give its blessing to Mussolini and Italian fascism. One of its main aims was to foster sound, elitist government free from democratic and therefore, as they saw it, corrupt tendencies. After 1926 he was a contributor to the organ of this movement, *Reconquista*. The 1926 military coup left him confused, an attitude he carried over into Salazar's (q.v.) Estado Novo after 1933. Despite a certain admiration for the President of the Council of Ministers, he resented both his lack of hereditary authority and his personalized rule. Raposo, who has been called the most rational of the Integralists, was connected with the journal *Política* between 1929 and 1931; this was the organ of the syndically inclined Integralists. Raposo himself never made the transition to National Syndicalism as did Preto (q.v.) and Monsaraz. In 1929 he published *Dois Nacionalismos*, a work pervaded by the spirit of anti-Semitism, although paradoxically he was never a racist and accepted the equality of Africans and Portuguese in Angola.

In 1932 Raposo launched, with Almeida Braga (q.v.), the journal *Integralismo Lusitano* which at-

tempted to redefine Integralism as an unrepentantly monarchist movement in the age of Salazar. In the 1930s he advocated an International of the Right as a counterweight to the Comintern. He was to become thoroughly disenchanted by 1940 with the Salazar regime. In *Amar e Servir* (Oporto, 1940) he referred to a 'regime of constraint which oppresses the spiritual life of Portugal' and to 'a remote republic of courts', criticisms which resulted in his forced exile to the Azores. Raposo died on 26 August 1953 in Lisbon.

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RAUTI, Giuseppe Umberto (known as Pino) (1926–)

Italian member of the MSI and creator of the Ordine Nuovo.

Born in Cardinale (Caranzaro) on 19 November 1926, Rauti volunteered in 1943 for the republican militia in Mussolini's Salò Republic. Captured in 1944 he succeeded in escaping to Spanish Morocco where he joined the Falangist-dominated Foreign Legion, *El Tercio*. He was arrested in 1946 by the British but released at the end of the year in Taranto.

In 1948 he joined the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano and in 1951 the group founded by Almirante (q.v.) and Mielville, the Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionario. In the same year he was arrested and gaoled for ten months for terrorist activity. In the MSI he became a provincial youth leader and then a member of the central committee. He attended the MSI conference at Viareggio in 1954 at which Almirante said: 'Democracy is an infection of the mind.' He had begun work a year earlier on *Il Tempo* and at this time, as one of the more Evolian (q.v.) members of the MSI, he formed the Centro Studi 'Ordine Nuovo'. The Ordine Nuovo movement which stemmed from it became autonomous in 1956 when Rauti left the MSI. ON represented the more extreme neo-Nazi elements with some 10,000 supporters mainly in Veneto, Campania and Sicily. In the 1960s ON carried out a virulent pro-OAS campaign and Rauti, who often wrote under the pseudonym Flavio Messalla, made numerous international contacts with groups like the New European Order. In 1964 he was also a member of Delle

Chiaie's (*q.v.*) Avanguardia Nazionale, later to become the Nuova Caravella e Avanguardia Europea.

On the eve of the bombing outrage at the Banca del Agricoltura on the Piazza Fontana, Milan, on 12 December 1969, Rauti rejoined the MSI-DN with the majority of the ON after Almirante had become its leader. In 1972 he was detained in prison during a judicial investigation into the bombing, suspected of being linked with the extremist NAR group of Franco Freda but was released and in May of the same year elected to the Chamber on the MSI-DN ticket. He was re-elected in 1976, June 1979 and June 1983. As the leader of the Linea Futura tendency within the MSI, he launched the journal *Linea* in 1980. He also became the national vice-secretary of MSI-DN. From 1973 he was managing director of the journal *Civiltà*.

On 18 January 1977 at the trial of Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura for the Piazza Fontana bombing, Rauti was accused of being one of the organizers but was freed on judge's instructions. In his book *Le Idee che Mossero il Mondo* (The Idea that Moved the World) based very closely on Evola's *Revolt against the Modern World*, Rauti returns to the Holy Roman Empire as his model of the organic state. His youth movement rallies at what is seriously called Camp Hobbit make use of Tolkien's trilogy as what Sheehan has called 'a mythological prologomenon to *Mein Kampf*'. In 1984 Rauti was a member of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and in 1987 the leader of the Evolian 'spirituals', who had once declared, 'we must be wolves and make ourselves known as such', became deputy-secretary of the MSI. After Almirante's retirement, Rauti, who has a degree in law, was a contender for the leadership but was beaten by Gianfranco Fini.

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REBATET, Lucien (1903–72)

French novelist and journalist of the extreme right.

Born in Moras-en-Valloire (Drôme) on 15 Novem-

ber 1903, Rebatet was educated in the Collège de Saint-Chamond, a Catholic boarding school run by the Marist fathers and then in Lyons and Paris. His father was a lawyer. After studying for a licence in philosophy at the Sorbonne where he became an agnostic, he worked in insurance before taking up employment as a journalist on *L'Action Française* in 1929. Under the pseudonym François Vinneuil he wrote film criticism for the AF. By this time a confirmed anti-clerical, he had come under the twin influences of Wagner and Nietzsche. Politically he proved himself both anti-democratic and anti-bourgeois, at least in an aesthetic sense, for he respected the practical value of the middle classes. He presented a number of journals with the benefit of his cinematographic and musical knowledge, including *Radio-Magazine*, *Candide*, *Le Jour* and *Maurras* (*q.v.*) *La Revue Universelle*.

From April 1932 he was initiated into a small right-wing elite who were writers on the small fascist journal *Je Suis Partout*. Flecking his serious articles on politics, art and music were splashes of extreme xenophobia as exemplified in his article *L'Invasion* in February/March 1935 and of racism and anti-Semitism; ironically he had earlier been a drinking companion of the Italian-Jewish painter Modigliani. His fellow JSP contributor Brasillach (*q.v.*) called him 'the most stubborn and the most violent among us all'. His evolution from Action Française nationalism to full-blown fascism and support for National Socialist Germany is well attested in his book, half-novel and half-memoir, *Les Décombres* (The Ruins) of July 1942 published by Denöel. In 1934 he had spoken about the Röhm purges as 'the epic vengeance of the gods'. After *Les Décombres* it was said of him: 'He established around him a climate of catastrophe and revolt which nobody could resist.'

From January to July 1940 Rebatet had been mobilized although he opposed the war against Germany. During the phoney war he had reportedly been in the French secret service. After the fall of France he retreated to the Dordogne and worked for Vichy's *Journal de la Radio* but also continued his journalistic activities as dramatic critic of the *Cri du Peuple* and cinema columnist of the *Petit Parisien*. *Les Décombres*, reprinted and augmented as *Mémoires d'un Fasciste*, became a best-seller with its immense energy, its rage and invective, its flaying of French decadence in the 1930s, and its vivid portrait of the phoney war and the French collapse. It presents an interesting illustration of the process by which an AF loyalist came to reject Maurras and all his works; he castigated AF as *L'Inaction Française*, a denunciation that the old master of Royalism bitterly resented.

Victor Barthélemy (*q.v.*) has referred to Rebatet as the 'Don Quixote of the revolution', unstable, dissatisfied, temperamental, unsparing in his criticism of friend and foe alike. Rebatet continued to write for *Je Suis Partout* until 1944. It is not quite clear whether he actually joined Doriot's PPF or not but his political goal was quite explicit: 'I aspire to a dictatorship, a strict and aristocratic regime.' As late as July 1944 he was still writing: 'I admire Hitler. We admire Hitler.'

Arrested in Austria after the war, having fled from Paris in August 1944 for Sigmaringen, Rebatet was transferred to Fresnes prison. He was condemned to death on 23 November 1946 but the sentence was commuted and he was released on 16 July 1952. He had begun the novel which was to appear in February 1952 as *Les Deux Éstandards* in Sigmaringen with improvised ink made from pastilles and in solitary confinement under sentence of death he continued to fill reams of toilet paper with magnificent sentences. The result, smuggled out of his cell, has been called by George Steiner, 'the greatest novel written in French since Proust' which 'shows no obvious trace of [his] murderous politics'. His anti-Semitism, following his release, was in no way diluted; so much for the redemptive qualities of literature! (Or does that only apply to the consumer?)

He wrote a second novel, *Les Epis Murs* (1954), and in 1969 a *History of Music* which Bardèche (*q.v.*) has called a masterpiece. He contributed to *Écrits de Paris*, to François d'Orcival's *Valeurs Actuelles*, and was on the editorial staff of the neo-Vichyist *Rivarol*. In his last years he was forced to write pharmaceutical catalogues to make ends meet. He died on 24 August 1972 in Paris.

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REDONDO ORTEGA, Onésimo (1905–36)

Leading Spanish Falangist

Born in Quintanilla de Abajo (Valladolid) on 16 November 1905 into a peasant family, Redondo

received a Jesuit education and then obtained a doctorate in law from Salamanca University. At the end of the 1920s he spent some time in the Catholic University of Mannheim in Germany where he taught Spanish and saw National Socialism as a movement in action. He was inspired to read *Mein Kampf*. He was, however, also a fanatical and devout Catholic who was said to have read the Bible every evening. He worked for Catholic Action. On his return to Spain in 1930 he worked for a time in the Treasury Department in Valladolid and became secretary of the local sugarbeet growers' association.

On 13 June 1931 he launched a weekly in Valladolid entitled *Libertad* and through its columns called for national unity, discipline and social justice in 'a Spain truly free' and for a renewed imperial expansion. In August 1931 the Juntas Castellanas de Actuación Hispánica (Castilian Committees for Hispanic Action) was founded based on a traditionalist programme with a fascist flavouring and concerned, in particular, to promote the civilizing mission of Castille. In October/November the new organization threw in its lot with Ledesma's (*q.v.*) JONS movement. Redondo was one of the few Spanish fascists to place any great importance on anti-Semitism as a key issue and it is, perhaps, typical of his agrarian-based, anti-urban, fanatically Catholic fascism that he criticized Ledesma for not including the 'problem of Jewish usury' in his 1931 programme. In 1932 Redondo was forced to flee to Portugal after the failure of the Sanjurjo coup attempt.

When in 1934 the JONS movement joined the Falange Española, Redondo followed suit, remaining in the Falange even after Ledesma resigned. He continued, as one of the leaders of the Valladolid Falange, to advocate what has been called a combination of National Socialism and Jesuitism. He opposed coeducation as a 'ministerial crime against decent women', favoured strong protectionist measures for wheat, demanded the end of *latifundias*, and fair wages for agricultural workers. He was allegedly responsible for the Falange slogan *España, una, grande, y libre*. In Valladolid, Onésimo and his brother Andrés found themselves in conflict with the militia faction led by Girón (*q.v.*) and González Vicén (*q.v.*) but Onésimo was able to retain his influence although in the February 1936 election he was one of the unsuccessful Falange candidates.

Redondo was detained after the proscription of the Falange in March 1936 and on 25 June transferred to the prison in Avila. Released on 19 July 1936 he returned to Valladolid but on 24 July was caught by Republican militiamen and killed on the

spot near Labajos (Segovia). There have been uncorroborated rumours that he was killed by a rival Falange faction.

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REINTHALLER, Anton (1895–1959)

Austrian engineer, farmers' leader and Landesleiter of the Austrian NSDAP.

Born in Mettmach (Upper Austria) on 14 April 1895, Reinthaller attended secondary school in Linz. During the First World War he was captured on the Russian Front in June 1916 but exchanged in June 1918. After the war he attended the Agricultural College and worked at first as a water and forestry engineer in Lilienfeld, Attersee and Ennstal. He belonged to the Landbund (Agrarian League) and then in 1928 joined the National Socialists for whom he became a district leader, and in 1929 a community councillor in the Gemeinderat representing Attersee. In 1930 he was designated chief of the agricultural office of the Landesleitung and in early 1934 appointed state peasant leader but as a moderate opposed, for tactical reasons, to violence, he fell out with Habicht (*q.v.*), who tried to have him expelled in 1933, because he believed Reinthaller was in danger of forming a 'separate movement which aimed at detaching it [the Austrian Nazi movement] from the Reich'. His close relations with Hess (*q.v.*) and Darré (*q.v.*) protected him on this occasion and in the summer of 1933 he had begun to negotiate with the Dollfuss government. Habicht did eventually succeed in having Reinthaller removed from the party and as gauleiter of Upper Austria in 1934.

Reinthaller was surprised by the *putsch* of 25 July 1934 when he believed that agreement with Dollfuss was in sight. In May 1934 he had been released from Kaisersteinbrunn concentration camp where he had befriended Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*) who had confidence in Reinthaller despite his own radical orientation. After the failure of the *putsch*, as *Landesleiter* of the Austrian Nazis, he resumed negotiations with Chan-

cellor Schuschnigg, in pursuit of his *Befriedungsaktion* (Pacification Action) as part of the so-called National Action by Nazis, Nationalists and Agrarians who were attempting to seek national unity. Schuschnigg, Reinthaller's former regimental comrade, insisted on the Nazis entering his Fatherland Front individually rather than *en masse*. Reinthaller was determined that the National Opposition should seek a legal route to reconciliation, independent of Reich German influence, although he was quite prepared to accept moral support from that quarter. After the failure of the *Reinthaller Aktion* in early 1935, he stepped down from his *de facto* leadership of the Austrian party in favour of Neubacher (*q.v.*). Reinthaller went so far as to criticize anti-Semitic policies not because he did not share those sentiments but for the effect they might have on international opinion. He resisted the idea of a complete Hitlerian Anschluss.

On 5 March 1935 a National Front was founded in Linz, with the blessing of Kaltenbrunner and Langoth (*q.v.*), to continue the idea of reconciliation on the basis of the SA and SS being allowed to unite with other 'Aryan' paramilitary groups to serve the Fatherland Front. Reinthaller had continued his efforts through 1937 but in October was ordered to cease contacts with Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) by the intransigent Nazi, Leopold (*q.v.*). Refusing to toe the line, Reinthaller was once more deprived of his party offices. However, following the Anschluss he became a Reichstag member, Minister of Food and Agriculture in Seyss-Inquart's cabinet from 12 March 1938 to 30 April 1939. In December 1939 he was Undersecretary of State to the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture. He subsequently became *Gauamtsleiter* of the Landvolk for the Lower Danube area, *SS-Brigadeführer*, and in 1942 head of the Landesernährungsamt Donauland (the regional Food Office).

After the war Reinthaller took up advocacy of the so-called Third Force in Austrian politics. He was a co-founder of the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Austrian Freedom Party) on 17 October 1955; it consisted mostly of nationalists and ex-Nazis, although Reinthaller said, on one occasion, 'neo-Nazism is a danger for the Fatherland and a threat of death for our Party'. Reinthaller lost the leadership in mid-September 1958 to Friedrich Peter. He died in the Inn Valley on 6 March 1959.

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REMER, Otto-Ernst (1912–)

German career officer during the Third Reich who became a co-founder of the neo-Nazi Sozialistische Reichspartei.

Born on 18 August 1912 in Neubrandenburg (Mecklenburg), the son of a senior judicial officer, Remer graduated from a cadet institute and then embarked on a military career. By 1935 he was lieutenant. Wounded several times during the Second World War and highly decorated, Major Remer, who was not a member of the NSDAP though he had been in the Hitler Youth, played a vital part in the suppression of the July 1944 conspiracy against Hitler. As the commander of the guard battalion Grossdeutschland his intervention was instrumental in foiling the plot by Stauffenberg and his colleagues. Hitler promoted him, as a result, to major-general on 31 January 1945.

Held in a US prison after the war, he was released and worked for the US Army from December 1946 to February 1948 on war history research. A radical nationalist and 'socialist' member of the extreme right Deutsche Reichspartei, he was expelled from the party on 2 October 1949. With Dorls (b. 1910) and Krüger (q.v.) Remer founded the more radical Sozialistische Reichspartei for which he performed as an effective speaker, often employing the most demagogic rhetoric which forced him to defend himself in a number of libel lawsuits. In the summer of 1949 he had been a member of the Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Deutscher (Society of Independent Germans) in Bad Godesberg; this was a group of industrialists and former military men under Joachim von Ostau. In SRP circles he was known as 'the preventer of the treason of 20 July'. In November 1951 he was sentenced to four months in prison for insulting members of the Federal government in Brunswick, and in March 1952 to three months for defamatory remarks he had made against the 20 July conspirators as worthless traitors.

Remer escaped abroad to Egypt to avoid the sentence and in October 1952 the SRP was banned by the government but Dorls and Remer had already led their followers into Haussleiter's Deutsche Gemeinschaft in February.

Returning to Germany in September 1954 after

an amnesty, he worked for an agricultural machinery manufacturer. In 1959 he was again in trouble, suspected of financial and tax irregularities and spent from August to October 1959 in prison in Wilhelmshaven. In July he had lost his pension rights as a former serving officer. He again took evasive action in 1962 to avoid a further indictment. In the Middle East he was suspected of arms trafficking and is known to have had contacts with neo-Nazi supporters like Degrelle (q.v.) and underground ex-SS men like Alois Brunner.

Remer re-emerged in 1982 at the age of 70 as a speaker for Thies Christophersen's (b. 1918) Bürger und Bauerninitiative E.V. when he claimed that 'he was about to cause a turning point in the political situation' of the Federal Republic. In 1983 he established Der Bismarckdeutsche die Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung, an extreme right nationalist-neutralist, anti-NATO, anti-United States organization calling for greater understanding with the USSR. Remer was fined in 1985 for defaming the memory of the 20 July 1944 conspirators and in the following year was charged with selling material, introduced from France, that denied the Holocaust. Remer was believed to be still alive in mid-1988.

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REVENTLOW, Ernst Christian Einar Ludwig Detlef, Graf zu (1869–1943)

German radical and völkisch nationalist journalist and politician.

Born in Husum (Holstein) on 18 August 1869, the son of the Landsrat for Husum, the young Reventlow joined the navy as a cadet in April 1888 but left the service in January 1899 for personal reasons and turned to journalism. A contributor to the Liberal *Berliner Tageblatt* he wrote on naval affairs. From 1901 to 1909 he was senior editor of *Überall*, the organ of the Navy League. As a member of the Pan-German League, whose journal the *Alldeutsche Blätter* he edited, he was a firm advocate of imperial

expansion. He resigned from the League in autumn 1910 as he moved steadily away from conservatism towards the radical right.

From 1911 Reventlow wrote for the Agrarian League journal, the anti-Semitic *Deutsche Tageszeitung* but he was sacked as editor when he had differences of opinion with Von Wagenheim. As a strong opponent of the parliamentary system and of the pervading modern commercial spirit, he proved to be violently anti-British during the First World War. Following the end of hostilities, Reventlow founded in October 1920 his own newspaper *Der Reichsward* (with a circulation of about 4,000) which became an unofficial organ of the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei from 1922 to 1926. In October 1922 he launched a 'radical conservative' Deutsche Freiheitsbund (German Freedom League) which was later absorbed by the DVFP. Rejecting the conservative DNVP as 'nationalisten' (nationalist only) and the Stahlhelm as too reactionary and committed to the republican status quo, Reventlow formed within the DVFP a revolutionary, obsessively anti-Semitic faction which claimed to reject 'all un-German and racially alien influence' but saw the 'remedy' as legislation rather than physical intimidation. He accepted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as genuine.

In 1924 Reventlow was elected to the Reichstag as a member of the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei (the old DVFP augmented by temporarily homeless Nazis). He was to prove a true revolutionary and contributed to Niekisch's (*q.v.*) *Widerstand* although he rejected the Social Democrats. He had initiated talks in 1923 between *völkisch* groups and the international communist Radek with whom he shared an enthusiasm for a Russo-German alliance and he had engaged in a dialogue with the communist Die Rote Fahne; even after he joined the NSDAP in February 1927 he retained a modicum of these National Bolshevik views and embraced the Strasserite heresy. In fact, his Strasserite anti-capitalism and his desire for reform in labour legislation was one of the main reasons for his adherence to the Nazis. Hitler, whom he had accused of being a 'political child' in 1925, reciprocated the hostility and told Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) that Reventlow was 'a hopeless case'. Although he remained a loyal member of the NSDAP, he continued to publish the weekly *Der Reichsward*. If he was occasionally tempted to flirt with organizations like Otto Strasser's (*q.v.*) Black Front, he was also active in orthodox Nazi institutions like Walter Frank's (1905–45) Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands. In 1933 he became vice-director (until 1936) of the neo-pagan Deutsche Glaubens-

bewegung led by Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962). Reventlow died on 21 November 1943 in Munich.

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RIBBENTROP, Joachim von (1893–1946)

German National Socialist Foreign Minister, 1938–45. Born in Wesel on the Rhine in 30 April 1893, the son of an army officer in the First Westphalian Field-Artillery Regiment, Ribbentrop went to school in Metz, leaving at the age of 16. He found employment as a bank clerk and a casual construction worker in Montreal and New York. During the First World War, in which he served with a Prussian regiment, he was awarded the Iron Cross First Class for bravery in 1917. He was later transferred to the intelligence department where he worked with von Papen (*q.v.*) in Turkey. After the war he found a position in the Berlin branch of a Bremen cotton import firm and with his marriage to Annelies Henkell in July 1920, had the good fortune to marry into the largest Champagne firm in Germany; Schöneberg and Ribbentrop became a very successful wine and spirit business which was later to earn Ribbentrop the nickname 'the wine salesman'. Goebbels (*q.v.*), in his characteristically cynical manner, wrote: 'he bought his name, he married his money, and he swindled his way into office'. Mussolini (*q.v.*) thought him 'an imbecile and presumptuous'.

Introduced to Hitler (*q.v.*) by Count von Helldorf, he owed his later position entirely to Hitler's favour and to his own sycophancy. He joined the NSDAP on 1 May 1932. After hearing Hitler speaking about foreign policy in February 1933 he offered his services. He became the Reichstag member for Kurmark. His large house in Dahlem, a Berlin suburb, became a secret meeting

place for Hitler, von Papen and others in their negotiations to form a cabinet. Ribbentrop was vain, humourless, toadying, excitable, arrogant, full of the most vulgar social pretensions, but Hitler admired his loyalty and his naive enthusiasm which contrasted with the reticence of the professional diplomat. He was allowed to set up, across the road from the Foreign Ministry, the unofficial Ribbentrop Bureau in competition with von Neurath, the Foreign Minister. Ribbentrop, with his band of dynamic amateurs, was often able to read Foreign Ministry correspondence before the Ministry itself. Neurath, who loathed Ribbentrop, believed that 'he did not have even the most primitive notions about foreign and political affairs'. Even von Papen called him 'a husk with no kernel'. Ribbentrop claimed an intimate knowledge of Britain and France on little basis although he had a certain facility in foreign languages.

In May 1933 he was promoted to *SS-Standartenführer* and in the spring of 1934 he was made Commissioner for Disarmament Questions with ambassadorial rank. On 25 February 1935 he was upgraded to Commissioner for Foreign Policy Questions attached to the staff of Rudolf Hess (*q.v.*). In June of the same year Hitler appointed him Extraordinary Plenipotentiary and Ambassador of the German Reich on Special Mission; he was ordered to head the Anglo-German naval talks and, with most of Germany's demands satisfied, was able to hail the resulting agreement as a coup and a triumph. The naval sections of the abominated Versailles Treaty were virtually eliminated. He enjoyed another success with the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936. As ambassador to Britain from 2 August 1936 (though he did not take up his duties until October) Ribbentrop appeared aggressive and abrasive, encouraged appeasement and greeted the King with 'Heil Hitler'. Sir Neville Henderson summarized his qualities as 'a combination of vanity, stupidity and superficiality'.

As Foreign Minister from February 1938 to 1945, in succession to Neurath, Ribbentrop displayed a strong anglophobia, urged war on Hitler, tried to out-Hitler the Führer by anticipating his wishes, negotiated the Pact of Steel with Italy, the Tripartite Pact with Italy and Japan, and reached the acme of his esteem with his leader when he successfully concluded the Nazi-Soviet Pact on 23 August 1939. His style changed little though and as the former French ambassador in Berlin, Robert Coulondre, remarked: 'He hears you as little as his cold, empty, moon-like eyes see you.' For much of the war Ribbentrop was involved in futile rows with his colleagues over his

jurisdiction. Hitler downgraded the Foreign Office in his hierarchy of favoured instruments of power. Ribbentrop was finally dismissed as Foreign Minister on 1 May 1945 by Hitler's successor Dönitz (*q.v.*). At the Nuremberg Military Tribunal he showed appalling self-pity but no remorse. The Holocaust had been merely 'an additional burden on foreign policy'. Norman Birkett remarked about him: 'It was as if the main spring of his life [had] broken.' He was found guilty on all four counts and hanged on 16 October 1946 in Nuremberg. He wrote his memoirs shortly before his execution.

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RICCI, Renato (1896-1956)

Italian fascist militant, militia leader and minister.

Born in Carrara on 1 June 1896, Ricci was the son of a marble quarryman. He attended night school to study accountancy and later claimed to be a qualified accountant although it appears that his education was minimal. In 1915 he volunteered for the First World War and fought as a lieutenant in the Bersaglieri. Involved in the Fiume expedition with D'Annunzio (*q.v.*), he took part in the occupation of Zara in May 1921. In the same month he returned to Carrara to form the first fascist squad in the city, one that became renowned for its violence. Imprisoned for various brutal activities (the notorious raid in July 1921 on Sarzana had as one of its objectives the release of Ricci and his comrades), Ricci became an object of hatred to the left and to the workers for his forcible removal of the left-wing mayor and for his unrelenting élan in pursuit of the destruction of the working-class movement. In August 1922 his *squadristi* took part in the 'conquest' of Genoa and during the March on Rome in October he led a column. Hard and obstinate, a police report described him as 'overbearing and violent'.

Ricci became the provincial secretary and *ras* in the Massa-Carrara area of Tuscany in May 1923. He presided over his fiefdom through his tight control

over the local prefect. He even had his own bodyguard of '*disperata*', many of them marginal and criminal elements. With the large quarry owners he formed a consortium to control production and dictate prices and wages in the Carrara marble industry. As head of the Opera Nazionale Balilla youth organization he made a considerable profit by ordering Carrara marble for the ONB headquarters. In fact, he was the constant target of charges of financial irregularity and embezzlement. A lieutenant-general in the fascist militia, the MVSN, in 1924, he was also elected to the Chamber in the same year and became a vice-secretary of the PNF. At the end of 1924 he was a participant in the Consuls' movement, which tried to impose a 'second-wave' of *squadristi* radicalism.

In 1927 Ricci was appointed head of the youth movement the ONB and in 1937 was created president of the organization when it became an adjunct of the PNF. Ricci became a bitter enemy of Carlo Scorza (*q.v.*) whom he believed was conspiring to take over responsibility for the 14–18-year-olds on behalf of the Gruppi Universitaria Fascista thus depriving the Balilla of members. He warned Scorza that his policy would 'damage the efficiency and even the life of the Balilla'. In 1929 he was given the added responsibility of Undersecretary of Physical Education and Youth in the Ministry of Education. When Starace (*q.v.*) became party secretary, Ricci, could get on no better with him. From 1938 he served as Undersecretary in the Ministry of Corporations and from 1939 to February 1943 as Minister of Corporations.

Ricci developed close relations with the Nazis and especially with Himmler (*q.v.*) as the Second World War progressed. In September 1943 he fled to Germany with Pavolini (*q.v.*). As a fanatical adherent of the Italian Social Republic and one of the most pro-German (along with his fellow Tuscans Buffarini-Guidi (*q.v.*) and Pavolini), Ricci was put in charge of the Republican National Guard (GNR) in November 1943. He backed Pavolini (although they were personal enemies) in his struggle against a non-political republican army which Graziani (*q.v.*) supported; they believed that such an army would undermine their base in the party and preferred a political force under party control. The GNR with a strength of about 44,000 in March 1944, incorporating the militia (of which Ricci had been leader from September to November 1943), the military police, the *carabinieri*, and the Italian Africa Police also found itself at odds with Borghese's (*q.v.*) Decima MAS.

Ricci was dismissed as commander of the GNR on 19 August 1944 when Mussolini assumed the

command himself. Ricci survived the end of the war and died in Rome on 22 January 1956.

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RIDRUEJO JIMÉNEZ, Dionisio (1912–75)

Spanish poet, essayist, journalist and Falangist activist.

Ridruejo was born in Burgo de Osma (Soria) on 12 October 1912. He was educated in Segovia in the Jesuit Colegio de San José in Valladolid and in Madrid. In 1928 he studied law in the University of Maria Cristina but did not complete his studies until January 1935. As a student he was attracted to socialism but remained a devout traditional Catholic.

In May 1933 he joined José Antonio Primo de Rivera's (*q.v.*) Falange in Segovia with his three brothers to become one of José Antonio's 'court of poets and litterateurs' (Ansaldo). He had written his first poems in 1928. Ridruejo was to be the part-author of the words of the Falangist hymn *Cara al Sol*. In September 1935 he was appointed local *jefe* of the Sindicato Español Universitario in Segovia. After a period in Madrid he returned to Segovia in May 1936 to become provincial *jefe* of propaganda. He also launched the journal *La Falange*. Following a short experience at the head of the Segovian party, he was moved in December 1936 to provincial chief of Valladolid.

When the crisis over Hedilla's leadership surfaced in late 1936, Ridruejo counselled moderation and refused to assist in undermining his authority. In February 1937 when a group of Valladolid Falangists seized the radio station for a few hours, Ridruejo was detained, only to be released a few days later. On 21 April 1937 he gave up his provincial leadership as a protest against the forcible unification of the Falange and the Carlists and moved to Salamanca where he was eventually reconciled to the new state of affairs. He was subsequently to claim that he would have taken Salamanca and made Franco a prisoner after the decree of unification if he had found enough co-conspirators. In August 1937 he went to the Front. He attended the first National Council of FET y de las JONS in October of the same year and remained a loyal *franquista* until 1942. He also visited Germany

to attend a Kraft durch Freude conference in Hamburg as part of a Spanish delegation.

The pinnacle of his career in the Falange was reached on 2 March 1938 when he was appointed director-general of the National Propaganda Service. On a visit to Italy in October he met Starace (*q.v.*) and Ciano (*q.v.*), and in June 1939 entered Barcelona with the victorious nationalist troops to instal his propaganda apparatus. On a further visit to Germany in September 1940 he met Himmler (*q.v.*) and Ribbentrop (*q.v.*) and other Nazi leaders. His literary work continued to appear and in 1940 he produced a collection of Civil War poems, *Poesía en Armas*. His other major literary effort of this year was the creation of the journal *Escorial* with Pedro Laín Entralgo, later rector of Madrid University. With Laín Entralgo and Antonio Tovar he formed a group of 'liberal' Falangists who were protected by Serrano Suñer (*q.v.*), as long as he remained in favour. During this time Ridruejo became severely disillusioned by the stultification and fossilization of the regime and in February 1941 resigned his propaganda post. This was confirmed in May after the appearance of an article in *Arriba* critical of the Caudillo. As a reaction he joined the División Azul and in August fought on the Eastern Front. In April 1942 ill-health caused him to be sent home. His experiences of these months were crystallized in *Los Cuadernos de Rusia* (1978).

By this time alienated from the Falangists by the mediocrity of their performance, he wrote a letter in July 1942 renouncing all his offices including the direction of *Escorial* and in October was given a period of 'flexible confinement' in Ronda. Released in 1947 he was later to call the Civil War 'an absolutely unforgivable historical error'. In 1948 he went to Rome as correspondent of the Falangist *Arriba*. According to Southworth, who is perhaps unduly cynical, Ridruejo broke with Franco only because he had married a Catalan and because his mentor Serrano Suñer had fallen. Whatever the truth, Ridruejo came to believe that Franco's counter-revolutionary regime and, particularly, his separation of management and labour unions, was a betrayal of José Antonio's national syndicalist ideals. The actual process of distancing himself from the regime took a long time. By 1956 he had come to believe that large-scale reform was necessary and founded Acción Democrática. In April 1957 this became the Partido Social de Acción Democrática.

Dionisio Ridruejo suffered a number of prohibitions and imprisonments in his new role as democrat including a spell in Carabanchel prison in April 1957. Forced into exile to Paris, he later returned to

Spain and in 1974 founded Acción Social Democrática (later the Unión Social Democrática Española). He died on 29 June 1975 in Madrid. His collected poems *Hasta la Fecha* appeared in 1961.

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RIEHL, Walter (1881–1953)

Leader of the Austrian National Socialists from 1918 to 1923.

Born on 8 November 1881 in Vienna Neustädt, Riehl was a one-year volunteer in the army in 1900 and in 1901 studied at the Law Faculty in Vienna University and subsequently in Leipzig and Berlin. On 7 February 1908 he received his doctorate of law from Vienna University. For one year only he was a member of the Social Democrats but as a devout Catholic was opposed to the strong Marxist current present in the party. He was a man of puritan instincts and waged an anti-alcohol campaign within the Social Democrats. He resigned from the party largely because of what he saw as Jewish domination; this did not stem so much from a religious or racial aversion but was based on a perception of improper domination by what was seen as an alien element. He was to remain firmly anti-Semitic for the rest of his life.

In 1907 he went to Reichenberg (North Bohemia) in the course of his career in the Austrian civil service and there in the following year joined the nationalist workers' party, the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. At this time Schönerer was a major influence on Riehl. He was to be connected especially until 1918 with the youth activities of the party. He lost his civil service post in 1909 as a result of his nationalist agitation which was fuelled by a visceral anti-Czech prejudice. In September 1911 Riehl left Bohemia for Bosen in south Germany to work in a lawyers' office. While there he joined the Deutsche Schulverein and spoke all over Germany on its behalf. Back in Austro-Hungary he drafted in 1913 the Iglau programme of the DAP. He believed that the social conflict between workers and the

bourgeoisie had to be healed even if it meant temporary dictatorship.

During the First World War he served first in the Landsturm and at the end of 1915 on the Italian Front. On 21 March 1918 he became deputy chairman of the DAP and chairman in May. In August the party's name was changed to the Deutsche National Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei. Riehl was the leader of the new party, which by now had altered its character from a class to a 'Volks' party. He has been described by Schilling as the first true National Socialist. He was aware of the foundation of the Munich party which was to become the NSDAP and corresponded with Drexler (q.v.). He met Hitler in Salzburg in August 1920. His anti-Semitism had increased in its scope during the war and in 1919 he demanded the expulsion of all Eastern Jews from Austria.

In August 1923 he was given leave of absence from the leadership (his state of health was given as the reason) and on 1 December 1923 he ceased to be editor of the *Deutsche Arbeiter-Presse*. He differed from Hitler on the question of armed revolutionary struggle favoured by Hitler against his own inclination for moderation and a coalition with other nationalist groups; he was expelled from the party for 'anti-party activities'. On 11 August 1924 he launched the Deutschsozialer Verein für Österreich (which had begun in June as a 'Dr Riehl Bund'). In February 1925 his new party was in alliance with the Pan-German Grossdeutsche Volkspartei and in 1927 in an electoral pact with it in a grouping called the Nationale Einheitsfront. He was active for a time in Hiltl's (q.v.) Front Fighters' Association. However, by 1928 he had resumed his support for the Hitler movement and was readmitted on 26 September 1930 as member No. 360,702.

Riehl refused in 1933 to sanction the party's terror tactics and was expelled again on 9 August. Habicht (q.v.), the Reich Nazi sent to oversee the Austrian party, considered him a renegade because he would not countenance violence. He returned to a kind of Christian nationalism while most of his followers joined the movement of the ex-Nazi Karl Schulz. In 1937 Riehl founded the Wiener Stadtklub, a National Socialist society, and after the Anschluss was briefly imprisoned, but in time he returned to the fold though now completely without influence. After 1945 he became a member of the Austrian People's Party. He died on 6 September 1955 in Vienna.

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RINTELEN, Anton (1876–1946)

Austrian Christian Social politician, professor of civil law, Governor of Styria, founder of the Styrian Heimatschutz and friend of Austrian National Socialists.

Born on 15 November 1876, the son of a well-known lawyer, Rintelen studied at Graz University from 1894 to 1898 and then was appointed lecturer in civil law in Graz. From 1902 to 1903 he was assistant lecturer in the German University, Prague, and by 1906 professor. He was involved in the *Kulturkampf* in 1908. In 1911 he was appointed professor of civil law in Graz.

During the First World War he served as a volunteer in the military courts service and in the War Ministry. He returned in 1918 to Graz University. On 27 May 1919 he became *Landeshauptmann* (Governor) of Styria, a post he held until November 1933 with one small gap in 1926–8. He represented Styria in the Bundesrat from 1920 to 1923 (in June 1923 he became its president) as a Christian Social member and in the Nationalrat from 18 May 1927 to 2 May 1934. He was an early sympathizer with the Heimwehr movement and had connections with Organization Escherich (q.v.) (Orgesch). In May 1921 he was defenestrated and stoned by a group of miners in St Lorenzen.

Rintelen was the founder and president of the Steirer Bank, the collapse of which in 1926 precipitated a scandal which was exploited by his enemies in Styria. However, despite the opposition of the Social Democrats he won another term as Governor on 23 April 1928 (he served until 13 November 1933). He worked to build an extensive paramilitary Heimwehr and attempted to enlist the help of Mussolini. His ultimate aim was an organization large enough to march on Vienna as Mussolini had on Rome. He was a man of vaulting ambition and was talked about as the likely Chancellor in the event of a successful *putsch*. Under the Dollfuss Chancellorship Rintelen was appointed Undersecretary and then Minister of

Education in May 1932, a post from which he was ousted in May 1933 because of his continuing intrigues with the National Socialists. On 13 November 1933 he was made Austrian ambassador to Italy giving his conspiratorial talents an opportunity to come to full blossom; he kept Habicht (*q.v.*) fully informed of Dollfuss's visits to Italy and did his best to undermine Austro-Italian relations. By the spring of 1934 he was almost completely Hitler's creature on the understanding that he would be appointed Chancellor after the planned *putsch*.

Although not a member of the National Socialist Party before 1938 he was implicated up to the hilt in the July 1934 *putsch* which resulted in the murder of Dollfuss. In March 1935 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the attempted coup. He was released in 1938 and lived in Graz until his death on 28 January 1946.

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RIVA-AGÜERO Y OSMA, José de la (1885–1944)

Peruvian historian, minister and fascist supporter.

Descended from the Independence leader and first president of Peru, Riva-Agüero was born into one of the oldest and most prominent Creole families in Lima on 26 February 1885. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of San Marcos and his doctorate from the University of Lima. He soon made for himself an enviable reputation as a liberal historian especially as professor of history in the University of San Marcos, where he specialized in Inca and Conquest studies. His political career got underway in 1915 when he was co-founder of the Partido Nacional Democrática, a party which advocated a strong but elected executive and public intervention in the economy. During various extensive periods of travel in Europe between 1919 and 1930, his early influences, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Taine, gradually began to give way to the new magnetic pull of Bainville (*q.v.*) and Maurras (*q.v.*); he acquired a more reactionary Catholic outlook. He came to envisage a resurrected Peru bound together in a mystical, Barrèsian 'community of the ages'.

'Either atheistic positivism or Roman Catholicism,' he declared, 'any compromise is absurd.'

A year after his return from Europe, he became Mayor of Lima (1931/2). His political career reached new heights when in 1933 he was appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Public Education in the Benavides government. By this time he had launched an extreme Catholic group the Acción Patriótica which, under the influence of what he believed history had taught him about the supremacy of enlightened elites, soon acknowledged its main inspiration in the name, the Peruvian Fascist Brotherhood. The turn rightward had been accompanied by clear signs of a baroque excess in his literary style and an increasing eccentricity in his personal and political life. He insisted on his followers calling him the 'Marquis of Aulestia', the family's ancient Spanish title. The great renewer of Peruvian historiography became increasingly and more violently anti-Semitic, his predilection for heroic figures in the person of Hitler and his cool, aristocratic, reserved demeanour alienated his supporters, and his eccentricity reached its apogee when he attended a reception wearing a woman's dress. His credibility was severely tattered by 1942 when Peru decided to throw in its lot with the Allies. His last article before he died in Lima on 26 October 1944 was an elegy on the destruction of Rome.

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ROCCO, Alfredo (1875–1935)

Leading Italian ideologist of first nationalism and then fascism.

Born in Naples on 9 September 1875, Rocco studied in Perugia University from where he emerged with a degree in commercial law in 1899. He was appointed a professor in the University of Urbino in the same year and from 1902 to 1905 was professor in the University of Macerata. His later teaching career took him to the Universities of Parma and Palermo. After an early flirtation with socialism, Rocco from 1907 was a member of the

Radical Association of Perugia. Though most of his energy was expended on his academic work (from 1910 to 1924 he was professor of commercial law in Padua) until his adherence to the Italian Nationalist Association in 1913, Rocco was active in the Liberal-Monarchist Association and believed the Liberal Party could be persuaded to adopt his nationalist prescriptions.

As a leading spokesman, ideologist and economist of the new nationalism and one of the Paduan circle around the journal *L'Idea Nazionale*, Rocco as much as anyone was responsible for persuading the nationalists to abandon all traces of economic individualism in favour of a 'productivist' approach sustained by an authoritarian legal framework and an abandonment of liberal democracy. His ideas on technological efficiency, rationalization of production, rapid development and economic protection were contained in the *Fundamental Principles of Economic Nationalism*. The state would produce a suitable authoritarian structure within which a productive elite would operate.

In 1918 Rocco founded with Coppola (*q.v.*) the journal *Politica* which became the most important nationalist journal supporting an aggressive foreign policy. To Rocco the catastrophe at Caporetto in 1918 was a direct result of a democratic system. In 1921 Rocco was a candidate on the 'National Union' list for the parliamentary election which included fascists and in February 1923, with the merger of nationalists and fascists, he became a fascist. After the March on Rome in 1922 he was in favour of a Salandra-led government rather than one led by Mussolini; however, he served in Mussolini's cabinet as an Undersecretary to the Treasury and then in the war pensions department. From 1924 to 1925 he was president of the Chamber of Deputies.

As Minister of Justice from January 1925 to 1932, Rocco carried out extensive measures which earned him the title from Mussolini of 'the legislator of the fascist revolution'. He introduced the death penalty, measures for controlling the press and restrictions on opposition parties. A conservative who rejected any revolutionary approach to labour relations, he aimed to put labour and later the corporations under the all-controlling hand of a coercive state discipline without any of the flexibility and voluntarism inherent in true 'integral syndicalism'. He saw no independent role for the trade unions but envisaged paternalistic industrial enterprises along the lines of the German cartels. The Syndical Laws of April 1926, although recognizing fascist trade unions, had the effect of outlawing strike action. Rocco was responsible for the final draft in April 1927 of the

Charter of Labour which formed the ideological base of the corporate state. He was also the architect of the penal code of 1931 some of which was not in essence particularly fascist and much of which survived the end of the Second World War. Having served his function of Mussolinianization of the state with his *leggi fascistissime*, Rocco, who had been professor of economics and labour legislation in Rome University from 1925 to 1932, was appointed Rector of the University of Rome (1932-5) and from 1934 to 1935 was a Senator. His influence had waned considerably after 1932 and he died on 28 August 1935 in Rome.

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ROCKWELL, George Lincoln (1918-67)

American Nazi Party leader.

The son of a vaudeville and radio comedian 'Doc' Rockwell, George Lincoln was born on 9 March 1918 and educated at Hebron Academy for one year and at Brown University, from which he emerged with a degree and joined the US Navy. During the war he was involved in aerial anti-submarine warfare in the South Atlantic and the Pacific. He received an honourable discharge from the naval reserve with the rank of lieutenant commander. The Korean War saw him briefly recalled to active service. It is significant that he spent the honeymoon of his second wedding at Berchtesgaden near Hitler's old retreat. In 1954 he founded the US *Lady Magazine* and in 1956 the World Union of Free Enterprise Socialists. He had first become fascinated by anti-Semitism and German National Socialism in the early 1950s but his active involvement in street politics stemmed from his encounter with a like-minded benefactor Harold V. Arrowsmith, a wealthy businessman from Baltimore who provided Rockwell with the necessary accommodation and equipment to set up in Arlington, Virginia, in 1959, the National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination, a title which was shortly changed to American Nazi Party.

He was in trouble with the law on a number of occasions including one sentence of 60 days in prison for picketing the film *Exodus* in 1961 and in 1966 before the provocative White Power march through

Chicago. He seemed to relish and to derive intense psychological satisfaction from violent and provocative confrontations with his opponents; he was a frequent guest speaker on university campuses. His autobiography, *This Time the World* (1962), illustrates this apparent psychological need for the politics of apocalypse. The policy of the party, such as it was to be taken seriously, advocated the sterilization of all Jews, the confiscation of their property and the deportation of the black population to Africa. The conspiracy theory featured prominently in its many outpourings; party to this overarching plot were 'traitors' like Earl Warren and Eisenhower for whom the punishment should be hanging. Through the World Union of National Socialists, Rockwell had contact with European Nazis particularly, John Tyndall and Colin Jordan. His hopes of becoming President in 1972, hopes which he claimed to entertain quite seriously, were cut short by a gunman in Arlington on 25 August 1967. Many of his erstwhile disciples now believe, rightly or wrongly, that Rockwell was an undercover government agent.

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RODRIGUEZ, Nicolás (1897–1940)

Mexican general and founder of the Camisas Doradas (Gold Shirts).

Born in Chihuahua State in 1897, Rodriguez had served in the Revolution as one of the Pancho Villa's generals in the northern provinces. He claimed that the Camisas Doradas were descended from cavalry units called Dorados, the nucleus of Villa's northern divisions. Large and arrogant, he was throughout his life to find himself in the shadowlands where revolutionary action fades into criminal activity; he later served time in a US penitentiary after his involvement in real estate fraud. In 1927 he was sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment and a large fine for violations of the neutrality laws.

Continuing his revolutionary activities which he had begun in 1920 with the rising in Zacatecas, he became a follower of former Mexican War Secretary under Obregón and Governor of Zacatecas, Enrique Estrada, who planned to invade Mexico from the United States with a tiny army of 150 men. In March 1934 he founded the *Acción Revolucionaria*

Mexicana to oppose the rising tide of radical and socialist agitation which culminated in the appointment of Cárdenas as President in December 1934. Encouraged and protected by ex-President Plutarco Elias Calles (1877–1945), the Gold Shirts, as they came to be known from their bizarre uniform, spread from Mexico City to the northern provinces and were involved as a strike-breaking organization in clashes with Canabal's Red Shirts. The ARM was particularly anti-Semitic and not only attacked Jewish shopkeepers but used the idea in their propaganda of the Jewish international conspiracy despite the fact that there were only about 18,000 Jews in the whole of Mexico. They agitated for the confiscation of Jewish-owned businesses, receiving support as a result from the clothing manufacturers who were in direct competition with the Jews. Many indigenous business and industrial interests encouraged the 'Mexico for the Mexicans' xenophobia with substantial subsidies.

Rodriguez was arrested on 2 March 1935 protesting about Cárdenas' left turn and gaoled after a pitched battle in the Plaza Santo Domingo. Forced to act against the ARM, Cardenas placed a ban on the organization in April 1936 but Rodriguez continued his strike-breaking activities in Monterey. Finally, after a fracas in July in front of a building in which the CTM union was holding a meeting and shots were fired, Rodriguez was apprehended in Guanajuato, a ban placed on him on 11 August 1936 and he was deported to El Paso in Texas. He was involved in the revolt of ex-Agricultural Minister, Saturnino Cedillo (1890–1939), with whom he had had close contacts as early as June 1935 and for whom he was to try to secure German armaments. In the name of Cedillo he attacked several Mexican border towns from his Texan sanctuary but by May 1938 these had ceased. Six days after his return from exile in the United States, Rodriguez died on 11 August 1940.

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RÖHM, Ernst (1887–1934)

Close associate of Hitler and SA chief of staff, purged in the Night of the Long Knives in June 1934.

Born in Munich on 28 November 1887, Röhm was the son of a civil servant who was a strict disciplinarian. In the First World War, fulfilling a childhood ambition to be a soldier, he became a general staff officer in the 12th Bavarian Infantry Division and on the staff of the Gardekörps on the Western Front and in Romania. As a result of the war he lost half his nose and suffered a bullet-scarred face. Small, fat and ruddy complexioned, Röhm was typical of the front generation who found civilian life hopelessly constricted and yearned for the 'organized nihilism' (Fest) and male camaraderie of the soldiers' life. 'Since I am an immature and wicked man, war and unrest appeal to me more than the good bourgeois order,' he wrote in his autobiography *Die Geschichte eines Hochverrätters* (The Story of one Guilty of Treason). A coarse homosexual who found the 'philosophical' theories of Rosenberg (*q.v.*) ridiculous, Röhm was at first a Bavarian monarchist. After the war Captain Röhm, as a Reichswehr liaison officer, became a political adviser on the staff of Colonel Von Epp (*q.v.*) and was the organizer of the Free Corps which took part in the overthrow of the soviet regime in Munich. He was connected with Escherich's (*q.v.*) Bavarian Home Guard movement for which he proved himself a competent collector of caches of weapons and a creator of ammunition dumps.

His association with Hitler had begun in 1919 when he met him at a meeting of the nationalist circle the 'Iron Fist'. Member No. 623 of the DAP, forerunner of the NSDAP, Röhm provided the party not only with weapons but arranged for substantial subsidies. He saw Hitler as the man who would deliver 'the decisive act'. He played a vital part in the establishment of contacts between Hitler, the Reichswehr and other extremist organizations like Bund Oberland before the Munich *putsch* of November 1923. Under his influence the NSDAP joined other paramilitary groups in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Väterlandischen Kampfverbände. Found guilty by a Munich court of taking part in the occupation of army headquarters during the *putsch*, he was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment but released on parole in April 1924; he was, however, dismissed from the Reichswehr. Röhm now proceeded to build a new defence force, the Frontbann, from the remnants of the SA, which had begun as the gymnastic and sport section of the NSDAP and had been augmented by men from Ehrhardt's (*q.v.*) disbanded Naval Brigade No. 2. His continuing loyalty to Hitler was expressed in the statement: 'I am still a soldier and nothing but a soldier.'

With von Graefe and Gregor Strasser (*q.v.*) Röhm

established the Nazionalsozialistische Freiheitspartei after the banning of the NSDAP. However, Röhm was insistent that the SA should be subsumed in the Frontbann in order to act as a strong-arm force supporting but not subservient to the Nazis. He conceived the Frontbann as a revolutionary people's militia independent of the political leadership, an auxiliary force which would assist the Reichswehr in the face of the Versailles limitations on the size of the military. In May 1925 Röhm withdrew from political life after quarrelling with Hitler (the Führer had conceived of the Frontbann as a threat to his possibility of parole) and, after rejecting an offer of the leadership of the SA, took work as a factory hand and a travelling salesman before being invited to Bolivia as a military instructor in 1928. Towards the end of 1930, after Pfeffer's resignation as SA leader, Hitler sent Röhm a telegram saying, 'Return, I need you.' On 4 January 1931 Röhm took over as chief of the SA a force of some 100,000 which he rapidly expanded by August 1932 to 445,000. With its soldierly contempt for civilian life, the SA had scarcely moved on from the time when Fest describes it as a 'wrestling club with a political bias'.

Having won the freedom of the streets for Hitler by his elimination of serious political opposition, Röhm, after the *Machtergreifung*, began to envisage a kind of joint rule with Hitler, with himself as a victorious general in command of an amalgamated SA and Reichswehr in a national people's army. Dissatisfied by the *révolution manquée*, he became openly critical of Hitler as he saw the chance of a radical restructuring of society slipping away. 'I request that . . . the soldierly ethic be emphatically brought to the fore again,' he wrote in May 1933. Fearful at his attempt at a second wave of revolutionary activity by the creation of a 'private army within a private army', Göring (*q.v.*), Himmler (*q.v.*) and others determined to be rid of Röhm who not only used the SA to find him suitable homosexual contacts from the Gisela High School in Munich but allowed a small clique of similarly-oriented SA members like Ernst and Heines to dominate the leadership.

Hitler was eventually, albeit reluctantly, persuaded, not least by certain Reichswehr members, including Walter von Reichenau (1884–1942) who played up the debaucheries and excesses of the SA, to liquidate Röhm. In December 1933 Röhm had been Reich Minister without Portfolio and as chief-of-staff of the SA was a member of the Reich cabinet, but his ineptitude and his political naïveté were to lead to his execution at 6 pm on 1 July 1934 in Stadelheim prison where he had been taken after his arrest by a group of SS men with Hitler at their

head. Himmler and Heydrich had set the trap by the faking of the so-called Röhm *putsch*; this was enough to persuade Hitler of the need to act. On 25 June the League of German Officers had expelled Röhm, thus symbolically removing their protection. 'All revolutions devour their own children,' Röhm was to tell Hans Frank (*q.v.*). His death put paid to any further active political role for the SA.

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RÖSSLER, Fritz (known as Franz Richter) (1912–)

German National Socialist propaganda leader and member of the neo-Nazi Sozialistische Reichspartei.

Born on 17 January 1912 in Gottleuba, Fritz Rössler studied law and political science in Dresden, but never took a degree. A National Socialist from 1930 he worked for a party newspaper. He then moved to become technical adviser in the Gau leadership of Saxony concerned with agricultural and settlement policies in the East. In 1935 he was in charge of training in the Gau education department in Erzgebirge. By the end of the war the head of the main office of the NSDAP propaganda division (*Reichshauptstellungsleiter*), Rössler fled from the Eastern Front to the Saar and then to Hanover where he re-emerged with the new name, Dr Franz Richter, claiming to have been a Sudeten German teacher born in Smyrna in 1911. In April 1946 he was in Idensen and in the autumn moved to Luthe near Wunstorf.

Resembling Hitler, with a small black moustache, he was dismissed as a teacher in May 1949 in Luthe (Lower Saxony) for teaching the *Dolchstoß* (Stab in the Back) legend, claiming that 'we have lost the war through treachery'. He was elected chairman of the radical-nationalist Deutsche Reichspartei on 29 August 1949 but was expelled in September 1950 having already been elected a deputy in the Bundestag in September 1949. In parliament he appeared not only drunk but, often wearing riding

breeches and jackboots, aped Hitler. With other radical expellees from the DRP he formed the Sozialistische Reichspartei, an unapologetically neo-Nazi party calling for a return 'to National-Socialist fundamental principles' and for a restoration of Germany's 'historic' boundaries. As an SRP Bundestag member he made a notoriously anti-Semitic speech in November 1951. He was arrested in February 1952 and in May charged with falsifying documents when it was discovered that he was, indeed, Fritz Rössler. Sentenced to eighteen months in prison, he had already been given three months in March for insulting Lower Saxon ministers and for a breach of the electoral laws.

In 1951 Rössler was connected with the so-called Malmö International known as the European Social Movement. Rössler was expelled from the SRP before that movement was finally proscribed. Following his release from prison he left Germany for Egypt to join the exiled neo-Nazi community in Cairo. He may have been involved there in gun-running and it seems he changed his name to Achmed Rössler. On his return to Germany in 1966 he settled in Essen where he worked as a businessman.

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ROMUALDI, Pino Nettuno (1913–88)

Italian MSI politician.

Born in Mussolini's home village of Predappio near Forlì on 24 July 1913, Romualdi claimed to be Mussolini's illegitimate son. A doctor of political science, he became a journalist. He served as a volunteer in Mussolini's colonial adventure in Ethiopia and as a captain of infantry in the Greek-Albanian campaign during the Second World War. He served as a local secretary in the province of Forlì of the youth movement the Gruppi Universitari Fascisti from 1936 to 1938 and as a deputy in the 29th legislature.

Romualdi was an adherent of the Salò Republic in 1943 after his return to Italy. He took an active part in the Congress of Verona and edited the newspaper *La Gazzetta di Parma* before being appointed

vice-secretary of the Republican Fascist Party. Captured by partisans in April 1945 in Dongo, he managed to escape but was condemned to death *in absentia* by an Extraordinary Court. Arrested on 17 March 1948 his earlier sentence was commuted to four years in prison and he was released in 1951. While still a fugitive from justice he had been one of the founders of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano on 26 December 1946 with Michelini (*q.v.*) and others. He was one of four deputy secretaries of the party which he continued to serve during his imprisonment.

Elected a deputy in 1953, Romualdi continued his career as an editor on *Lotta Politica* and *Il Popolo Italiano* (until 1957), combining this activity with the national vice-secretaryship of the MSI. In this post he operated as a modernizer of the party structure. Romualdi was the author of a radical nine-point programme in 1967. From 1976 he was the editor of *Ardito*. In June 1979 he was re-elected for the seventh time to the legislature and in the same month elected to the European Parliament where he was a prominent member of the Foreign Affairs Committee; he was again elected in 1984. Romualdi died on 20 May 1988.

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ROSENBERG, Alfred (1893–1946)

Baltic-German National Socialist ideologist and Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories (1941–4).

Rosenberg was born on 12 January 1893 in Reval (now Tallinn) in Estonia into a Baltic-German family engaged in trade. He was later to be the subject of much rumour-mongering about his Latvian, Mongolian or Jewish ancestry. Trained as an architect in Riga Technical High School from 1910 and in Moscow University, Rosenberg fled from Riga to Reval and when the Estonian Republic was declared moved to Munich by way of Paris. Although he welcomed the February 1917 Revolution which broke out while he was working for a diploma designing a neo-classical crematorium, he was to develop a fierce hatred of communism which he experienced at first hand after November 1917. On

his arrival in Munich in January 1919 he contacted the émigré committee to assist him in finding food and accommodation. He worked on a prospective history of the Jews and freemasons based on his reading of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*), who had been an especial influence from March 1917. The pedantic, rigid and utterly humourless Rosenberg, who took his own ideological precepts with the utmost seriousness, became a member of the *völkisch* and occult Thule Society. His German, when he first arrived in Munich, had been rather poor and highly accented. Many in the National Socialist Party were to refer to him as the 'outsider' or 'the foreigner'.

Rosenberg took up an assistantship to Dietrich Eckart (*q.v.*) on his *völkisch* and anti-Semitic newspaper *Auf Gute Deutsche* and his name appeared on the first list of Deutsche Arbeiterpartei members for January 1920 as member No. 625. Drawn into National Socialist circles by Eckart he published a number of anti-Semitic tracts between 1920 and 1923, took over as editor of *Auf Gut Deutsche* and eventually replaced Eckart as editor of *Völkischer Beobachter* when it became a daily in March 1923 (and after he had acquired German citizenship). Following his participation in the abortive beer hall *putsch* in November 1923 and his subsequent arrest, Rosenberg received a scribbled note from Hitler saying: 'From now on you will lead the movement.' By this means Hitler hoped to prevent the movement from succeeding while he was in Landsberg prison so that he could reconstruct it on his return. Rosenberg adopted the pseudonym Rolf Eidhalt (Oath Keeper – an anagram of Adolf Hitler). He was a founder of the surrogate NSDAP, the Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft. He was to become the leading Nazi ideologist, impressing Hitler with his pseudo-scientific concoctions which put an undue burden on anonymous forces of darkness as an explanatory mechanism. His only early ideological rivals were Feder and Eckart (who died in 1923).

In 1929 Rosenberg headed the Munich-based Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur, a self-appointed censorship group which established canons for Nazi aesthetics and standards for the literary arts. He was appointed editor of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* in 1930. In his most famous work, the *Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1930), heavily influenced as it was by Chamberlain, he saw all history as the history of a race conflict. 'Nordic blood represents the mystery which has replaced and overcome the old sacraments.' This work, which Hitler never actually read completely though he claimed to find it derivative and cranky, was described by Göring as 'junk' and inspired Goebbels to name Rosenberg 'Almost-

Rosenberg' because he 'almost managed to become a scholar, a journalist, a politician, but only almost'. Rosenberg's anti-Semitism was matched by his anti-Catholicism; he was appalled by Hitler's compromise with the Church in spring 1933.

The would-be systematizer of the Nazi Weltanschauung was placed in 1934 at the head of the Amt für Überwachung der Gesamten Geistigen und Weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (Office for Supervision of the Total Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Education of the NSDAP) and was immediately involved in acrimonious debates with Goebbels (*q.v.*) over aesthetic questions. From 1933 Rosenberg became director of the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP and foreign policy adviser to Hitler. His real ambition was to be Foreign Minister. Bracher has described this post as 'nothing more than a reception centre for foreign visitors, particularly for non-German fascist groupings' and Rosenberg's influence within the party declined. In 1938 he was again passed over as Foreign Minister with the rise to favour of Ribbentrop (*q.v.*). Fobbed off with various high-sounding but token posts, Rosenberg operated at the margins, continuing with his crusade against 'degenerate art', attempting to coordinate cultural policy and sacking the art treasures of Europe in the early part of the war through the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. He did, however, enjoy the occasional success as when his arrangement of contacts between Hitler, Quisling (*q.v.*) and high-ranking German naval officers ensured the easy invasion of Norway in 1940. The Nazi-Soviet Pact was a bitter blow to Rosenberg who had traded on his anti-Bolshevism; in fact, he seems never to have read the works of Marx and only one book by Lenin.

On 17 July 1941 Rosenberg was appointed Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories but was in only nominal charge of the civil administration of German-occupied territory in Russia. He had no control over the Wehrmacht or over Himmler's (*q.v.*) SS and police apparatus and his powers were further limited by Sauckel's as Commissioner for the Labour Force and by Göring's (*q.v.*) powers under the four-year plan; even his subordinate Koch (*q.v.*) did what he wanted. Goebbels referred to the Ostministerium as the Cha-Ostministerium. As Dallin has written, Rosenberg was 'ignored, circumvented and forgotten' until his resignation in October 1944. He favoured the 'soft approach' to Hitler's Eastern policy and professed to be shocked by the more brutal approach of Koch in the Ukraine. In fact, all the orders concerned with the deportation and ghettoization of Jews and the alienation of property were

seen by Rosenberg's office. Convicted at Nuremberg for crimes against peace, conspiracy to commit crimes, crimes against humanity and war crimes, he was hanged on 16 October 1946.

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ROSSI, Cesare (1887–1967)

Italian former syndicalist and later close collaborator of Mussolini.

Born in Pescia (Pistoia) on 21 September 1887, the son of an artisan involved in the manufacture of wrought-iron, Rossi was forced to give up classical studies to take a job as a compositor in 1902. On the left of the Socialist Party and interested in revolutionary syndicalism, he was a member of the Unione Socialista Romana. He worked as a journalist on many leading syndicalist journals. He left the Socialist Party in July 1907 and joined the army in November; he was stationed first in Rome and then in Sassari (Sardinia). In 1911 he was appointed to the Parma Chamber of Labour as an administrator on its journal *L'Internazionale*; he was later its Rome correspondent. In October 1912 he became secretary of the Chamber of Labour in Piacenza and in December 1913 publicity officer of the Unione Sindacale Italiana. An interventionist in 1914 Rossi joined the Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria and in 1919 was one of the Sansepolcristi founders of the Fasci di Combattimento. He also continued his journalistic activity as a correspondent of Mussolini's *Il Popolo d'Italia*.

As one of Mussolini's closest advisers in 1919 and 1920, he was a strong influence on the rightward drift away from the more leftist *Sansepolcristi* programme

towards the adoption of a 'minimalist' policy and a concentration of quasi-constitutional methods to achieve a consensus which would lead fascism to power. His 'moderation' was conspicuous in the part he played in limiting the violence of the *squadristi* in the Pact of Pacification in August 1921. In the same year he became assistant secretary of the movement. He was a member first of the National Council and then of the Grand Council of the party. As a leader of the Milan party he stood for a process of internal democracy and opposed the more extreme manifestations of violence.

After the March on Rome, Rossi became the director of the new prime minister Mussolini's Press and Propaganda Office which gave him great control over the fascist press. He was keen to find wealthy backers who would buy press outlets to support fascism. Rossi played an important role in the organization of the April 1924 elections and in the post-election reprisals against areas which had rejected fascism. In June of the same year he found himself accused of involvement in the Matteotti murder. Rossi had been particularly outraged by Matteotti's speech in May denouncing fascist illegality. It is likely that Rossi was acting on Mussolini's direct orders or that he personally ordered Dumini (*q.v.*), the leading perpetrator of the crime, to carry out the murder. (Dumini was an assistant to Rossi in the Press Office.) In his *Memoriale* (Memorandum) Rossi held up the Duce himself for moral blame for the fascist violence which culminated in the socialist politician's death.

Arrested but then released, Rossi fled to France and became a leading anti-fascist. If Dumini is to be believed, Rossi had for some time ceased to be 'the keeper of the keys of Mussolini's heart' (Schneider) and was more interested in womanizing than in the continuing victory of fascism. Rossi was sentenced to thirty years in prison by a special political tribunal after being tricked into leaving Switzerland in August 1928. He was arraigned for his fascist past after the war but suffered no legal penalty and resumed his former journalist career. He died on 9 August 1967 in Rome.

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ROSSONI, Edmondo (1884–1965)

Italian revolutionary syndicalist who became head of the fascist labour unions.

Born in Tresigallo (Ferrara) on 6 October 1884, Rossoni was a labour organizer from 1903, having joined the Socialist Party. On the revolutionary syndicalist wing of the party, he was involved in the wave of agrarian strikes of 1903/4 and in the general strike of 1904. In 1907 he was responsible for organizing a series of strikes in the Po Valley. Rossoni, who was director of Mirandola's *Bandiera del Popolo* and a correspondent of Orano's *Gioventù Socialista*, concentrated especially on anti-militarist themes. He left the socialists in 1907 and in the following year fled Italy in order to escape imprisonment following his participation in the revolutionary events in Parma. After a brief stay in Nice and from February 1909 in Brazil, from where he was expelled for militant labour union activity among the Italian immigrant workers, Rossoni settled from 1910 to 1916, with a brief interlude in 1913 back in Italy as propaganda secretary of the *Unione Sindicale Italiana*, in the United States. The discrimination against Italian workers, which he encountered in his work for the *Federazione Socialista Italiana* led to his rejection of revolutionary syndicalist ideas of proletarian solidarity and converted him to Nationalism.

Having perceived the importance of nationality as a factor in obtaining employment and experienced the exploitation of worker by worker, he moved inexorably to the conclusion that proletarian internationalism was mere rhetoric: 'Internationalism is but a fiction and a hypocrisy.' He abandoned the FSI. In his interventionist newspaper *L'Italia Nostra* launched in 1915 he often used the slogan: 'the Fatherland is not to be rejected but conquered.' In the United States he had cooperated closely for a time with International Workers of the World. In May 1915, on his return to Italy to fulfil his military obligation, he operated as secretary to the chamber of labour in a number of Italian cities. He joined the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* and was active in the *Comitato Sindicale Italiano*. In March 1918 he became the secretary of the *Unione Sindicale Milanese* founded by Filippo Corridoni, in May 1918 *L'Italia Nostra*, edited by Olivetti (*q.v.*), was re-established, and in June Rossoni was elected general secretary of the resurrected and revamped *Unione Italiana del Lavoro* (originally founded in November 1914 but shortly after dissolved as moribund), founded a month earlier by an amalgamation of the *Unione Sindicale Milanese* and the *Comitato Sindicale Italiano*.

As late as 1919 Rossoni was opposed to what he saw as the reactionary *Fasci di Combattimento* despite the fact that he was anti-communist and opposed reformist socialism. Following a period of 'working-class pragmatism', his first fascist steps were taken in June 1921 when he acceded to Balbo's (*q.v.*) suggestion to head the fascist Syndical Chamber in Ferrara which Balbo had established. In January 1922 Rossoni led his followers into the fascist movement. On 10 February of the same year he was elected general secretary of the Confederation of Fascist Syndical Corporations into which all syndicalist organizations had been integrated. Rossoni believed that by applying the same discipline to employers as to labour, by a policy of 'loyalty and collaboration', he could improve working-class conditions; in the event the employers proved incapable of abandoning their inherent suspicions of the radical Rossoni. Through 'integral syndicalism' (mixed syndicates of workers and employers) Rossoni, a 'productivist' by inclination, considered that class conflict could be overcome and the *padroni/servitori* relationship ended for ever. He took over the direction of the review of fascist corporatism, *La Stirpe*, in December 1923 and later the editorship of *Il Lavoro d'Italia*.

A deputy in the 27th, 28th and 29th legislatures and a member of the National Council, Rossoni struggled, often against Mussolini's pusillanimity in the face of large industrial interests, to apply integral syndicalism to the extent, in some unions, of establishing employers and employees as equal partners, but his efforts were undermined by the Palazzo Chigi pact of 19 December 1923, when the CGIL and the Confederation of Syndical Corporations agreed to organize separately, and by the Palazzo Vidoni pact of October 1925. With the Labour Charter of 21 April 1927 which Rossoni helped to draft but which was subsequently altered by the Ministry of Corporations under Bottai (*q.v.*) and with the break-up (*sbloccamento*) of his large national confederation into six separate associations based on productive areas, each representing a branch of economic activity, Rossoni had lost the battle for mixed syndicates and became increasingly isolated. In September 1927 Mussolini had ordered him to address no more meetings and in December 1928 he manoeuvred his resignation as head of the fascist *Confederazione Nazionale dei Sindacati Fascisti* (the new name for the Confederation of Fascist Syndical Corporations).

Rossoni remained in the corridors of power as a member from January 1929 of the Fascist Grand Council and from 1932 to 1935 was Undersecretary of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. From

March 1935 to October 1939 he served as Minister of Agriculture and Forests and presided over the autarkic phase of agricultural policy resulting from the Ethiopian War. Rossoni supported Grandi's (*q.v.*) motion at the Grand Council meeting in July 1943 which deposed Mussolini. When German troops marched into Rome, Rossoni went into hiding. He survived the condemnation to death issued *in absentia* by the Verona Tribunal but after the fall of the Salò Republic he was sentenced in May 1945 to penal servitude for life for having 'collaborated in the suppression of public liberty'. In September 1946 he escaped to Canada on a false passport and returned to Italy after his sentence was rescinded by a Court of Cassation in 1947. Rossoni died in Rome on 8 June 1965.

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ROST VAN TONNINGEN, Meinoud Marinus (1894-1945)

Dutch economist and leading member of the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging.

Rost was born into an aristocratic family with colonial interests, in Soerabaja in the Netherlands East Indies on 19 February 1894. In 1914 he volunteered for the Dutch Army and attained the rank of first lieutenant. He studied at the University of Leiden from where he graduated on 8 December 1921. His first work experience was on the staff of the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations in Vienna. In 1926 he became the representative of the Financial Committee of the League where his function was to assist in the restoration of the Austrian banking system. He resigned in 1928 and worked for the research department of the banking firm Hore and Co. in Amsterdam. In 1931 he returned to Vienna and his former job. He was again involved with the economic problems of the Austrian Republic. At the time he became a convinced admirer of Chancellor Dollfuss and made contacts with the Austrian National Socialists who sustained his already strong anti-Semitism. He became an acquaintance of Franz von Papen (*q.v.*), Hitler's representative in Vienna, and through his various

intermediaries was able to obtain an audience with Hitler on 20 August 1936 and an invitation to the Nuremberg rally of that year. In summer 1936 he was forced to resign his League appointment and in the autumn returned to Holland.

In the meantime, he had met Mussert (*q.v.*), the Dutch National Socialist leader, at Christmas 1934 and on 12 August 1936 he joined the NSB and a few days later was put in charge of the NSB's Department of Foreign Affairs. He took up the editorship of the daily party newspaper *Het Nationale Dagblad* in November 1936; this became the mouthpiece of the most-Nazi and radical elements of the NSB. While Mussert welcomed his foreign connections, making him the movement's German expert, as well as his financial expertise, Rost reciprocated with a very unflattering view of Mussert's mediocrity masquerading as moderation and his lack of energy and élan. In addition to the Jews (who were banned from membership of the NSB in 1938), the other major enemy of Rost was the Catholic clergy against whom he campaigned ceaselessly. In contrast to Mussert he was a stimulating influence, ambitious, contentious and intolerant.

In May 1940 he was arrested on the eve of the German invasion and Mussert secretly hoped he would be sent to a British internment camp. After the invasion he was appointed by Reich Commissioner Seyss-Inquart (*q.v.*) in July as Commissioner for the Marxist Parties. When these parties were banned in 1941, Rost became Secretary-General for Special Economic Affairs and President of the Netherlands Bank. In September 1940 Mussert was forced to concede that Rost should become a joint deputy leader of the NSB with van Geelkerken (*q.v.*). He was overlooked for the post he really wanted which was the command of the Dutch SS (this was given to J.H. Feldmeijer), partly because the Germans suspected an admixture of Indonesian blood. In June 1942, with Seyss-Inquart, he founded the Netherlands East Co. (*Nederlandse Oost Compagnie NV*) with the purpose of settling Dutch people in the areas of the Ukraine and the Baltic made available for settlement by the German army.

Rost joined the Netherlands Landstorm-Regiment, an NSB self-defiance corps, and trained in the summer of 1944 for one month with the Waffen-SS but was captured by the Canadians when the Allies liberated Holland. Rost was held in Scheveningen Prison where he committed suicide at his second attempt on 6 June 1945.

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ROTH, Alfred (1879–1948)

German leader of the völkisch and anti-Semitic Reichshammerbund and the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund.

Born on 27 April 1879 in Stuttgart, the son of a photographer, Roth, after two years of commercial study, became an accountant in an ironmongery business. From 1897 he was a secretary for the Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen Verband in the socio-political office in Hamburg. From 1908 to 1911 he edited the Verband's journal *Deutsche Handelswacht* and contributed to the *Blätter für Junge Kaufleute*. In the First World War Roth fought as a lieutenant in the reserve, was wounded many times and was highly decorated. He was invalided out of the army in 1917 and found employment as secretary of a steel works in Duisberg-Meiderich.

In his work for the DHV, an organization whose economic concerns in the defence of shopworkers often contained an anti-Semitic component, Roth absorbed the anti-liberalism and anti-socialism of his environment. In 1896 he had been a member of the Deutsche Jungbund in Stuttgart and in 1904 after meeting Schönerer (*q.v.*) he became a follower for a time. In 1908 the German Social Party included him on their list of parliamentary candidates. By 1912 his anti-Semitism had become paramount and he worked with Bartels (*q.v.*) and Fritsch (*q.v.*) in the Reichshammerbund, in which he succeeded Colonel Hellwig in February 1914 as secretary; the *raison d'être* of the organization was as a vehicle for an obsessive anti-Semitism.

As a member of the Pan-German League, Roth played an indispensable part in the founding of its radical off-shoot, the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund, formed from members of the Hammerbund under Walter Otto, radical fugitives from the Pan-German movement, and remnants of the Germanen-Orden, in November 1918. The Reichshammerbund was officially absorbed by the new movement in April 1920. Roth, a compulsive joiner, was also a member of the conservative DNVP. The DVSTB, based on Hamburg, distributed huge quantities of anti-Semitic and *völkisch* propaganda in

north Germany and constituted the largest racist organization outside Bavaria. It cooperated closely with the new NSDAP in the south. Dissolved in 1922 after the murder of the Jewish politician, Walther Rathenau (1867–1922), a particular *bête noire* of Roth's, the organization continued in effect as the Deutscher Befreiungs-Bund (German Freedom League) in Württemberg. Roth was also president of the marginal Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände.

In 1928 Roth had to give up his journal, the *Reichs-Sturmflamme*, and moved back into publishing in Stuttgart. Disinclined to renounce his political activities, he stood in 1932 as a National Socialist candidate in a Hamburg local election, but it was not until February 1934 that the Nazis acknowledged his contribution to the *völkisch* cause with a grant of 1,000 marks as a former Bund member. He was awarded a further honorarium in 1936 for his work 'in the *völkisch* awakening of the German people'. Roth survived the war and died on 9 October 1948 in Hamburg.

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RUDEL, Hans-Ulrich (1916–82)

German air ace, Luftwaffe colonel and leading neo-Nazi. Rudel was born on 2 July 1916 in Konradswaldau (Silesia), the son of a clergyman. He joined the Air Force in 1936 and after a period which involved training in dive-bombing and reconnaissance techniques, he became a Stuka pilot in 1940. By the end of the war he had flown some 2,530 dive-bombing missions, mainly on the Eastern Front, and had destroyed 519 tanks, 150 gun emplacements, 800 combat vehicles and 3 warships. He was the only member of the German armed forces to receive the Golden Oak Leaves with Sword and Diamonds to the Knights' Cross of the Iron Cross. Known as the 'Eagle of the Eastern Front', Rudel lost his right leg in February 1945. He was imprisoned by the Americans in April. An unrepentant and fanatical Nazi, Rudel was released from prison in April 1946 and in 1947 took off for Peron's Argentina where he worked as a member of an all-German aircraft engineering group under the Focke-Wulf designer Pro-

fessor Kurt Tank. In Argentina he also founded the 21 Committee Association Argentina-Europa and in 1952 was persuaded to return to Germany by Werner Naumann. An associate of Léon Degrelle (*q.v.*), von Leers (*q.v.*) and Eugene Dollmann, Rudel had been banned from making speeches or holding meetings in Bavaria even before his return although he did, in fact, stand as a candidate in Bavaria for the Sozialistische Reichspartei.

Having worked for the Freikorps Deutschland and for Otto Skorzeny's (*q.v.*) Organisation der Ehemaligen SS-Angehörigen (ODESSA) to help escaping SS men, he joined the extreme right-wing Deutsche Reichspartei. During the 1950s he wrote a series of memoirs beginning in 1950 with *Trotzdem*, then *Aus Krieg und Frieden* (1953), *Zwischen Deutschland und Argentinien* (n.d.) and *Von den Stukas zu den Enden* (1956), published by Plesse-Verlag. Rudel was associated, as a collaborator with Dr Frey (*q.v.*) and his Deutsche Volksunion, with the Freiheitlicher Rat, an umbrella organization containing groups like the Wiking-Jugend and Aktion Deutsche Einheit. From November 1980 Rudel was its honorary president. He gave a notorious interview in November 1976 with the magazine *Bild* in which he said: 'If we had won the war, all the arms would be raised and Sieg Heil chanted.' In the same month the two highest ranking officers in the Luftwaffe, Generals Karl-Heinz Franke and Walter Krupinski were dismissed and pensioned off for their comparison of Rudel's continuing Nazi views with the views of the former communist chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Herbert Wehner. Rudel had also been allowed to take part in a social gathering of past and present Luftwaffe members. In 1978, living in Kufstein in Austria, he was awarded by Frey the European Freedom Prize of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung*. Before his death on 20 December 1982 in Rosenheim, he was writing articles in journals like *Klüter-Blätter* attacking the film *Holocaust*. He was buried in Dornhausen.

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RUIZ DE ALDA Y MIQUÉLEZ, Julio (1897–1936)

Spanish aviator and co-founder of the *Falange Española*.

Ruiz was born in Estella (Navarre) on 7 October 1897 into a family of twelve. He joined the army on 1 September 1913 and studied for five years in the Academia de Artillería, graduating as a lieutenant. He developed an interest in aviation and was engaged as a pilot in the Moroccan War. Ruiz published a number of works on flying and became the president of the Spanish Aeronautical Federation. In January 1926 he accompanied Ramón Franco on the first flight from Spain to Argentina in the aeroplane *Ne Plus Ultra*.

He held minor posts under the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera. In 1931 he first met Ledesma Ramos (*q.v.*) and was connected with the Conquista del Estado group, the first identifiable fascist group in Spain of any significance. Ruiz was not, however, a member of Ledesma's later JONS movement. He contributed to the first and only edition of the fascist journal *El Fascio* (16 March 1931). For some time Ruiz had been exploring the possibility of founding a popular, authoritarian nationalist movement modelled on Italian fascism and on 29 October 1933 Ruiz and José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*) were the leading movers in the launching of the Falange Española. Another of his associates was the aviator Ansaldo (*q.v.*) with whom he established an aviation armaments group to promote the nationalization of the aircraft industry.

Ruiz addressed the first meeting of the new movement in the Teatro Comedia in Madrid. A poor speaker, he would often explain it away with the phrase: 'The birds do not speak.' He conceived the Falange as a vehicle for the 'radical and violent' movement he had earlier imagined but not one that would result in 'a simple act of class defence or cowardly capitalism'. In December 1933 Ruiz was almost assassinated in Tudela as he drove to Saragossa. In 1934 after the union with Ledesma and his JONS movement, Ruiz was, with Ledesma and José Antonio, one of the ruling triumvirate and a leading member of the executive committee. He was also the organizer of the Sindicato Español Universitario, an instrument for the destruction of the leftist FUE student movement. In the 'shadow cabinet' of the Falange in 1935 Ruiz was appointed as the spokesman on communications. In March 1936 he was imprisoned after the proscription of the FE and on 20 August 1936 was killed by socialist militiamen in the Model Prison in Madrid.

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RUST, Bernhard (1883–1945)

German National Socialist gauleiter and Minister of Education.

Rust was born on 30 September 1883 in Hanover into a farming and artisan family. He studied at the Universities of Munich, Göttingen, Berlin and Halle. From 1909 until 1931 he was a senior teacher in the Ratsgymnasium in Hanover. After service in the First World War he held a leading position in 1919 in an Einwohnerwehr unit, the local residents' paramilitary home guard formation, in Hanover. He took part in the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* of 1920. At the end of 1922 he left the more conservative DNVP to found the local branch of the Deutschvölkische Freipartei, later becoming chairman of the amalgamated party known as the Nationalsozialistische Freipartei which contained fugitives from the NSDAP, banned after November 1923. Despite his membership of the DVFP, he regarded Hitler as the real leader of the *völkisch* movement.

Rust joined the NSDAP as member No. 3,391 on 27 February 1925 when he brought his local Lower Saxony *völkisch* group over to the Nazis. In the same year he was promoted to gauleiter of Hanover North (from 1928 Hanover–South Brunswick). He had been elected town councillor in Hanover in May 1924 and in November 1930 was a member of the provincial assembly. In the 1920s of decidedly 'National Bolshevik' views, he joined Gregor Strasser's (*q.v.*) Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Nordwest Deutschen Gauleitern der NSDAP, a pressure group within the party. Like Niekisch (*q.v.*) he favoured an alliance with the Soviet Union. A man of private means which he used to subsidize the local NSDAP and, in particular, the Niedersächsischer Beobachter, Rust was retired from his schoolteaching post 'for reasons of health' but rumour spoke of some sexual improprieties with a female pupil.

Elected to the Reichstag in 1930 as a Hitler loyalist, he was appointed Reich Commissioner to the Prussian Ministry of Education in February 1933 and then Minister in April, finally on 30 April 1934 achieving the post of Reich Minister of Science and Education. He was a complete failure in this post despite his megalomaniac view of his own powers

which brought him into conflict with most of his colleagues concerned with education, Ley (*q.v.*), Rosenberg (*q.v.*), Himmler (*q.v.*), Frank (*q.v.*) and von Schirach (*q.v.*). When he spoke to a Rectors' Conference in Salzburg in 1943 he was noticeably intoxicated. The ill-health which had plagued him since the 1920s, exacerbated by alcohol, caused him to seek refuge in a convalescent home. Rust took his own life on 8 May 1945 in Berne (Oldenburg).

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RYS-ROZSÉVAČ, Jan (1901–46)

Leader of the Czech fascist and collaborationist movement Vlastka.

Born on 1 November 1901, Josef Rozsévač, who had studied medicine, was the founder in 1930 of the Vlastka (Banner) movement, at first an insignificant student movement. It was an attempt to create a National Socialist movement along German lines in Czechoslovakia; it opposed Beneš, the democratic system, Marxism, freemasonry and Jews. Vlastka was influenced by the vitalist philosophy of Professor F. Mareš and by the theories of Professor Vrzalík. It was only after the Munich agreement that the movement reached any level of credibility as a serious political force (Elisabeth Wiskemann called Rys a 'nonentity'). Rys was a strong believer in the alliance with Germany and was secretly subsidized by the Nazis even before the invasion. Following the German occupation of March 1939 when the *Narodni Souručenství* (National Solidarity Movement) was set up under Emil Hácha (1872–1945) and Eliáš, Rys saw it as his function to harry, to assail and to embarrass the Hácha regime and noisily demanded a share of government. From 19 to 28 May 1939 Vlastka and the Action for National Restoration, although nominally incorporated into the NSM, provoked a series of riots in Brno and Prague and attacked Jews and NSM members. In the subsequent talks between Hácha and the fascists, Rys and the others demanded a *Czestapo* (Nuremberg-style race laws) and a

Nazified economy as well as key positions for Gajda (*q.v.*) and Rys in the government. After October 1939 as the *Český Národně-Sociální Tábor Vlastka* (Czech National Socialist Camp the Flag), to give it its full name, under Rozsévač, now called Jan Rys, the movement formed the core of a right opposition.

Rys and Vlastka reached the peak of their influence in late 1939 with some 13,000 activists and a paramilitary formation, the *Svatopluk Guard*, under Rys's direct command. Rys was to lose command of this in January 1940 and in February the CNST, which had incorporated smaller groups like the *Narodni Arijská Kulturní Jednota* (National Aryan Cultural Union), broke up. Vlastka continued as an oppositionist group on its own. In May 1940 a new attempt at amalgamation the *Česká Pracovní Fronta* also failed. On 8 August 1940 some 300 *Svatopluk Guards* attacked the NSM headquarters in Prague and demanded the cabinet's resignation. As a result, Rys-Rozsévač was detained for 'abuse of the government' and the Vlastka headquarters searched. At the same time Vlastka had to contend with the resistance movement and with the wrath of the local population who regularly smashed the windows of their party headquarters.

For a time after the retirement of Bohemia/Moravia's leading fascist Gajda in February 1941, Rys was temporarily successful in uniting the Czech fascists but he had very little effective influence and on 17 December he was ordered by Karl-Hermann Frank (*q.v.*), Minister of State in the Bohemian Protectorate, to be detained in Dachau until the end of the war. Vlastka was completely dissolved in June 1943 and its property given to the German Red Cross. After the war he was extradited to Czechoslovakia in 1945, put on trial in October and condemned to death. He was executed on 27 June 1946.

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S

SABIANI, Simon Pierre (1888–1956)

French communist who became the leader of Doriot's (q.v.) Parti Populaire Français in Marseilles.

Born in Casamaccioli (Corsica) on 14 May 1888, the son of a modest land-owner turned accountant, Sabiani left for Marseilles in 1907 where he became a drifter. In the First World War he lost an eye at Fort Douaumont, suffered five other wounds and was decorated with the Croix de Guerre and the Légion d'Honneur. His appalling experiences turned him to pacifism and while working as a shipper and transporter he joined the extreme left of the Socialist Party. Elected a municipal councillor in November 1919 on the socialist list, he moved over to the Third International faction (Communist Party) and in the Lazaret area of Marseilles carved out for himself a clientelist political machine.

Short, violent, demagogic and combative, with a heavy Corsican accent, Sabiani was re-elected as a communal councillor in 1922 but soon grew disillusioned with an increasingly sovietized party. He founded the Fédération Communiste Autonome, opposed to the official Communist Party and the socialists. In April 1923 he founded, with Henry Corrès, the Union Socialiste Communiste, which was to survive in Marseilles for eleven years. Fuelled by a fierce anti-communism and sustained by intense loyalty, particularly from the seamen of La Joliette, Sabiani's personal machine became associated with criminal elements like the notorious pair Carbone and Spirito. From 1925 to 1939 he served on the Conseil Général for Boûches-des-Rhône and in 1928 was elected as a deputy on the Independent Socialist ticket but in 1926 he had given his support to Poincaré. In the municipal elections of 1929, a list of independent socialists, ex-servicemen and communist dissidents under Dr Flasières and Dr Ribot won the municipal elections and Sabiani became Deputy Mayor but was effectively Mayor until May 1935 when the socialists regained power. Briefly attracted to the challenge of Déat (q.v.) and the neo-socialists, Sabiani, in 1933, set up his own Parti d'Action Socialiste out of the Parti Socialiste Communiste. Like many neo-socialists, Marquet (q.v.)

and Déat, for example, Sabiani abandoned Marxism and the class struggle, in favour of nation, order and authority. He was in danger, at this time, of being crushed, in his 'autonomous republic of Marseilles', between the communists and socialists on one side and La Rocque's PSF on the other. For reasons of naked survival he was forced to evolve.

Sabiani began to talk of a 'new state', of a 'French socialism', and used the slogan: 'Neither right nor left: France first'. In 1934 he founded the Front Français. Like Doriot, another dissident communist, Sabiani violently opposed the Popular Front. Defeated in the cantonal elections in October 1934, Sabiani, with his 'Phalanges Prolétariennes' consisting of dockers, seamen and marginal working-class elements took his Parti d'Action Socialiste into Doriot's PPF in 1936. Though he was beaten in the legislative elections of that year he continued to create his 'Sabianiste' system in Marseilles, incorporating electoral manipulation and personal favours. As a pillar of the local PPF, his rhetoric became more xenophobic and anti-Semitic as he embraced the 'counterfeit fascism' of his fellow rebel, Doriot.

After the armistice in 1940, Sabiani became the president of a special delegation for Marseilles, grew more vociferously anti-Semitic and wholeheartedly embraced collaboration, moving from Pétianism towards the ultra position. He gave his blessing to military collaboration and to the Anti-Bolshevik volunteers (LVF) of which he was general secretary in the Southern Zone. While Doriot was at the front, Sabiani served as a member of the PPF directory. On his own initiative he set up Groupes d'Action pour la Justice Sociale to recruit workers for Germany on behalf of Fritz Sauckel (q.v.). Sabiani fled to Germany after the Liberation and set up in the Hotel Bayer in Mengen near Sigmaringen. He acted as PPF representative to the so-called Governmental Commission in exile. When Doriot was killed in 1945, Sabiani was one of the triumvirate at the head of the party. Condemned to death *in absentia* after the war, he fled across the Alps to Milan and then to Buenos Aires in 1947. In Argentina he was to be seen taking part in Peronist demonstrations. Eventually in 1954, Sabiani settled in Barcelona

where he ran an import/export business. He died, using the alias Pedro Multedo, at the clinic Notre Dame de Lourdes in Barcelona on 19 September 1956. In April 1947 a group of ex-collabos including Sabiani set up the *Rassemblement du Peuple Français*. Fourteen years after his death his daughters sued *Paris-Match* for its description of their father as a 'bandit notoire'.

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SÁINZ NOTHNANGEL, José (1907–?)

Spanish Falangist.

Born in 1907 to a German mother, 'Pepe' Sáinz spent the years from 1912 to 1922 in New York and as a result spoke fluent English with an American accent. He then moved to Germany where he stayed until 1925 when he returned to Spain. He was always a great admirer of Germany. As one of the early members of the Falange Español, he served on the first National Council as regional representative for New Castille in October 1934. He was also a member in October 1935 of the Junta Política of the FE y de las JONS (as the movement was called after the union in February 1934 with the JONS movement). In the elections of February 1936 he was a Falange candidate. In the months leading up to the military uprising of July 1936 Sáinz, as the provincial chief of Toledo, was given the task of coordinating cooperation between the military and the Falange in the provinces, moved to Madrid, and was active in fomenting rebellion in Zaragoza, Salamanca, Pamplona, Burgos, Murcia, Albacete, Alicante and other cities. He had proposed that a Falange *putsch* should begin in Toledo.

On 28 May 1936 'Pepe' Sáinz was arrested in José Antonio Primo de Rivera's (q.v.) house with Davila (q.v.) and others, but was released on 27 June. He went to Zaragoza and Huesca to assist the preparations for military rebellion. Arrested again on 5 July he was discovered, in the Alcañiz prison (Teruel), to be carrying a circular from General Mola ordering the execution of the final plan for the coup, thus

causing Mola to postpone the arrangements. He was released from prison on 18 July and found himself the only member of the Junta Política still free but after the death of José Antonio, Hedilla (q.v.) was preferred as leader. Sáinz had too much of a reputation as a violent and fanatical devotee of the Falangist cause. The *New York Herald-Tribune* correspondent John Whitaker claimed that he had killed 127 'red' prisoners personally, and he was certainly known to carry a German Lueger wherever he went.

In December 1936 he was part of the mission which visited Nazi Germany. In the election for the leadership Sáinz voted for Hedilla and remained a Hedilla supporter. He continued as a member of the Junta de Mando and, until the unification of the FE with the Carlists, he was a member of the National Council. In June 1937 he was detained for a short time as a Hedilla supporter. After 1938 he ceased to play any part in the movement and it is believed he later lived for many years in Mexico.

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SÁINZ RODRÍGUEZ, Pedro (1897–1986)

Spanish right-wing monarchist, historian, man of letters and politician.

Born on 14 January 1897 in Madrid, Sáinz Rodríguez studied law and philosophy and letters in Madrid University. In 1926 he won the Premio Nacional de Literatura with his *Introducción a la Historia de la Literatura Rústica Española*. Previously in 1915 he had founded the journal *Filosofía y Letras* and had been appointed professor of language and literature in the University of Oviedo. The obese professor was given a post in Miguel Primo de Rivera's National Consultative Assembly as a man of known monarchist views. He was a founding member of Acción Española and a contributor to the journal of that name. He became vice-president of the AE cultural society founded in October 1931. He was also of that group of Alfonsine monarchists who saw in Ledesma's (q.v.) *Conquista del Estado* a sympathetic movement.

Sáinz was elected deputy for Santander on behalf of the Agrarian Party and re-elected in 1933 for Renovación Española, the monarchist party founded by Antonio Goicoechea and others. When Calvo Sotelo formed his Bloque Nacional, Sáinz became an

enthusiastic member and was re-elected for that party in February 1936. It was Sáinz more than anybody who drew up the manifesto for the Bloque Nacional. Earlier in the spring of 1934 he had been responsible as secretary of Renovación Española for their ten-point programme for the 'new Spanish state'.

When the Civil War broke out he was in contact with General Sanjurjo and was sent by General Mola to Italy to negotiate the purchase of aircraft. He attended the first National Council of the unified FE y de las JONS on 19 October 1937 and was a member of the Junta Política. Sáinz Rodríguez identified the authoritarian state of General Franco (*q.v.*) with the traditionalist Catholic state he had always worked for. He was appointed Minister of Education on 31 January 1938, a post he held until 27 April 1939 when he asked to be allowed to resign. As Minister he permitted the Jesuits to return to the educational field and encouraged religious education. In 1942 he took the chair of biology in Madrid University. He was forced into exile after the conspiracy by monarchist generals to restore Don Juan as king. In Lisbon he served on the Pretender's privy council but returned to Spain in 1969. He continued to work for the restoration and acted as private adviser to Don Juan de Borbón. He died on 14 December 1986.

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SALAZAR, António de Oliveira (1889–1970)

Portuguese President of the Council of Ministers from 1932 to his collapse in 1968.

Salazar was born on 28 April 1889 in Vimierio (Beira Alta) in the Dão Valley, the son of an estate manager to the local landowner. He was brought up in a pious Catholic household. Educated in a Viseu seminary, he eventually decided against the priesthood as a vocation. From 1910 he studied law and economics in Coimbra University where he came under the influence of French right-wing thinkers like Maurras (*q.v.*) and of Sardinha's (*q.v.*) version of *Integralismo*

Lusitano. As a member of the Academic Centre of Christian Democracy, a lay Catholic student body, Salazar subscribed to the social doctrines of Pope Leo XIII. In the name of 'Christian Democracy' he contributed to the weekly *O Imparcial* articles that revealed the influence of Maurras, Le Bon and the French sociological school of social Catholicism. In 1917 he joined the university staff as assistant lecturer in the Department of Economics. Cold, reserved, stern, studious and asexual, qualities he was to retain all his life, Salazar befriended in Coimbra Dr Cerejeira (1888–1977), later head of the Portuguese Catholic Church, Mario de Figueiredo (1890–1969) and the later General Santos Costa (*q.v.*). Graduating in November 1914 he submitted his doctoral thesis in 1918. He was briefly suspended from the university after Paiva Couceiro's monarchist rising in the north, for allegedly spreading monarchist ideas although, in fact, he was never a genuine adherent of the royalist cause.

Salazar was elected to parliament for Guimarães in 1921 for the Centro Católico Portugues having failed earlier. He remained unimpressed by the processes of liberal democracy and resigned almost immediately but accepted the legitimacy of the Republic. It was Salazar's moderate social Catholicism rather than Integralism that was to prove the model for the Portuguese corporatism of the Estado Novo. After the coup of 28 May 1926 by the Army which overthrew the Republic, Salazar was invited to become Finance Minister in the government of General Gomes da Costa (1863–1929). Unknown to Gomes da Costa personally, he was renowned in conservative financial circles. His tenure was to be very brief for he resigned when the government refused to implement his policies. In July 1928 President Carmona declared that he would not form a government without Salazar who as Finance Minister managed the economy efficiently and succeeded in balancing the budget. Between 1928 and 1932 the corporatist option became the favoured one and following 5 July 1932 when Salazar became prime minister and particularly after the corporative constitution of March 1933, Portugal became a corporative and unitary Republic. The pedestrian, cautious, hard-working premier first secured the traditional pillars of Portuguese power, the Church, the Army, the monarchists and the moderate right, in order to allow him room to carry out his corporatist revolution on ideological foundations as diverse as the encyclicals of Leo XIII, the Action Française, the Integralists and the theories of the Romanian Manoiilescu (*q.v.*).

Salazar worked for the industrialization, economic

growth and 'social peace', with a tenacious dogmatism and certainty of direction. His style was one of 'competence, modesty, impartiality and legalism', based on the principle that 'men change little and the Portuguese hardly at all'. Beginning in September 1933 with the National Labour Statute he began to build his New State founded on God, country, family and work. In 1935 the props of this system, the Legislative Assembly and Corporative Chamber, were established. Through an apparatus that included the establishment of a single government party, the União Nacional, the paramilitary Portuguese Legion (established September 1936), the youth Mocidade, the PIDE secret police and a rigid censorship, Salazar eventually acquired the power to act by decree without parliamentary approval. In total control for thirty-six years, he provided certain economic benefits, financial rectitude, public works, and a limited system of social welfare. His system has been variously characterized as 'a fascism without a fascist movement' (Lucena), or by Wiarda as stemming from Portugal's 'special and distinct tradition'. However, it is clear that Salazar neutralized and destroyed the real fascist movement in Portugal, Preto's (*q.v.*) National Syndicalists: 'They [the fascists] wanted me to inspire them with some sort of sacred hatred towards our enemies. But that is not my purpose. I want to normalize the nation.'

During the Second World War Salazar ensured that his country remained neutral while respecting the Anglo-Portuguese alliance; this was manifested in the granting to Britain of access to the Azores as a military base in 1943. He was aware of the ultimate fragility of the Hitler regime. After the war the Estado Novo was redefined as an organic democracy and faced growing opposition. In practice Salazar relied less and less on his ministers. In 1949 Portugal joined NATO and in May 1960 EFTA. The turning-point for the opposition came with the candidacy of General Humberto Delgado in the presidential election of 1958 to be followed in April 1961 by a failed coup led by Minister of Defence, General Botelho Moniz, and a military rising in Beja in January 1962. The loss of Goa in December 1961 and the outbreak of terrorism and revolt in Africa marked the beginning of the end of Portuguese colonialism. By autumn 1968 Salazar's health had rapidly deteriorated and he collapsed on 6 September 1968 with a blood clot on the brain. He was succeeded by Caetano (*q.v.*). Salazar died on 27 July 1970 in Lisbon. Wiarda has, perhaps, best summarized his corporative achievement as demonstrating 'distressingly large gaps between theory and practice'. He judges Salazar a success in the 1930s but, after the war, a failure.

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SALGADO, Plinio (1895–1975)

Brazilian journalist and writer, leader and founder of the Ação Integralista Brasileira, a native Brazilian fascist movement.

Born on 22 January 1895 in São Bento do Sapucaí (São Paulo) into a devout Catholic family, Salgado was the son of a pharmacist and conservative prefect in the municipal government. Salgado abandoned his studies at the age of 16 and was something of an autodidact whose early influences were Le Bon, Häckel, Sighele and Nietzsche. In 1916 he became editor of the weekly *Correio de São Bento*. Although persuaded of the truth of atheism, he later discovered the spiritual and Catholic Brazilian writers Farias Brito, Albert Torres and the authoritarians Jackson Figueiredo and Oliveira Viana.

His active political career began in 1918 when he co-founded the Partido Municipalista (Municipal Party) which campaigned for strong local government. From 1921 until 1924 he was on the editorial team of the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*. He joined the Partido Republicana Paulista which he represented in the São Paulo local assembly from February 1928 to 1930; he gravitated to the faction of the party that was later to split off as the Democratic Party. Salgado had, at this time, pronounced literary ambitions and was deeply influenced by the Modern Art Week held in São Paulo in February 1922. During the 1920s he discovered modernist writers like

Marinetti, Apollinaire, Cendrars and Cocteau and in 1926 Salgado wrote the first modernist Brazilian novel *O Estrangeiro* (The Stranger). In 1930 Salgado travelled extensively in Europe and the Middle East. In Italy, where he spent six months, he was impressed by the practice of fascism and after his return to Brazil in October he was to argue that 'the concept of fascism will be the light of the new age'.

Already aware that the old politics would have to give way to a revolutionary new initiative, as a believer in Brazilian national culture and its native roots, (he had begun to learn the Indian language Tupi) he attempted to find an indigenous expression of the impulse which had led to authoritarian fascism in Italy. Salgado supported the Vargas revolution of 1930 and was a member of the Legião Revolucionária founded in November with Miguel Costa and others which opposed the liberal constitution of 1891; Salgado was the author of its manifesto in March 1931. In the latter year he met Padilha, Madeira de Freitas and other like-minded future collaborators in the AIB, in Rio and together they left the Legion in April, no longer prepared to accept Vargas as the revolutionary Messiah. In June 1931 Salgado made clear the latest expression of his new-found native fascist ideology in the journal *A Razão*; in 1932 he founded the Sociedade de Estudos Políticos dedicated to the task of making the country 'aware of national realities and aspirations'.

Out of the Society grew the Ação Integralista Brasileira, the first native Brazilian fascist movement, in October 1932. By mid-1934 it had attracted some 60,000 members and Salgado had become sole leader. Calling for a hierarchical, integral state 'to overcome the lack of unity', with social justice, a corporate economy and anti-communist legislation, in the name of 'God, country, and family', the green-shirted AIB, a reaction against the previously liberal economy and the effects of urban industrial capitalism, was no mere copy of Italian fascism or German National Socialism. Salgado criticized the 'dangerous pagan tendencies' of Hitlerism and realized the inappropriateness of racialism in an integrated country like Brazil. Neurotic and tubercular, taciturn and sincere, Salgado, who sported a Hitler-type moustache, remained an idealist and retained his belief in the electoral process. His indecisiveness, which he displayed in his ambiguous behaviour after the Vargas coup and his passiveness, which curiously led him to announce in November 1937 that he would rather be adviser to the country than President, made his Italian allies despair.

In November 1935 he offered Vargas the use of his forces to suppress the communist revolt, but after

Vargas had banned the AIB in 1937 (it immediately reformed as the Brazilian Cultural Association) along with other political parties, Salgado, after a display of gross irresolution, finally gave his approval to a counter-coup in March 1938 in which his colleague Belmiro Valverde played a major part. After hiding out in São Paulo after the end of the abortive coup, Salgado was eventually arrested and imprisoned but on 22 June 1939, was allowed to escape to Portugal, where he was offered a chair in Coimbra University.

On his return to Brazil with Padilha on 18 August 1945, he co-founded the Partido da Representação Popular supporting the União Democrática Nacional. Defeated as PRP candidate for the presidency in October 1955 he still managed to attract 8 per cent of the vote. At heart he continued to be an Integralist in all but name and a believer in a corporate state. He was elected PRP deputy for Paraná in October 1958 (to serve from February 1959) and was re-elected in 1962 and again in October 1970. He was a member of the Committee of Education and Culture after 1971 and in the following year founded, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the AIB, the Movement for National Renovation which campaigned among peasants and workers. Plínio Salgado retired from active politics in December 1974 and died on 7 December 1975 in São Paulo.

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SALMIALA, Bruno Aleksandr (1890–1981)

Finnish lawyer, professor and Isänmaallinen Kansanliike's most competent leader who, until 1935, was called Sundström. Born in St Petersburg on 24 August 1890, Salmiala was the son of a mechanical engineer. He was educated in Helsinki University and was granted his

doctorate in jurisprudence in 1924. He began his career in an advocate's office in 1917, became assistant professor of criminal law in 1925, professor in 1927, a post which he held until 1959, and in 1920 was secretary of the Finnish Federation of Lawyers. From 1920 to 1968 he was editor of the legal periodical *Defensor Legis*. Salmiala was the legal counsel to the Diet and from 1930 a member of the Supreme Court.

His interest in politics seems to have been a belated one as he took no part in the Civil War nor in the Jäger movement as so many of his colleagues did. He did not even join the Academic Karelia Society, (Akateeminen Karjala-Seura) which strove for a Greater Finland, until 1932. His first foray into politics appears to have been his membership of the Board of Directors of *Uusi Suomi*, the newspaper of the conservative National Coalition Party in 1928. As a conservative lawyer he fully accepted the legal and constitutional way and thus was not involved in the violence of the Lapua Movement. He was, as late as 1932, on the executive committee of the National Coalition Party which was to act in concert with the IKL after its foundation. When the Isänmaallinen Kansanliike (IKL) (People's Patriotic Party) was founded on 10 April 1932, Salmiala joined and eventually became the deputy leader. The IKL, which at its height had 100,000 members, was a militant anti-socialist, anti-parliamentary, extreme nationalist party, much concerned, like many fascist parties, with the creation of a 'new man'. It was due to leaders like Salmiala that it developed in quite a different direction from the Lapua Movement in its more rigid discipline and structure. Salmiala was in charge of organizational activities and acted as an enemy of inter-party factionalism. His cautious instincts set him against illegal methods and the kind of violence represented by some of the more radical elements like Simojoki (*q.v.*).

Salmiala served the IKL in parliament from 1933 to 1944 as the member from Häme. Despite his caution, he was a radical in ideological terms and one of those responsible for ousting the more conservative Swedish-speaking members represented by Räikkönen (*q.v.*) and Gummerus (*q.v.*). From 1933 he was a regular contributor to the party organ *Ajan Suunta*. After the war Salmiala was a member of the Finnish Radio and Television Committee. He survived until 4 September 1981 when he died in Helsinki.

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SALOMON, Ernst Friedrich Karl von (1902-72)

German nationalist writer and Free Corps activist.

Von Salomon was born on 25 September 1902 in Kiel, the son of a serving officer, and educated in the Royal Military Academy in Karlsruhe and in the cadet school in Berlin-Lichterfelde from 1917. While still a cadet he assisted in the suppression of the Spartacist revolution and took part as a Free Corps member in the anti-Bolshevik campaigns in the Baltic States from April 1919. He fought in Upper Silesia in 1921 with the Ehrhardt (*q.v.*) Brigade with 'men on whom war has never released its grip, and who will always carry it in their veins'. In 1920 he had participated in the abortive Kapp *putsch*. 'I thought', he later declared, 'that in those troubled times any man who wished was entitled to make his own *putsch*.' Von Salomon was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his part in the murder of the Jewish economist and politician Walther Rathenau in June 1922; he considered Rathenau 'the last, ripest fruit of a corrupt and outdated class'. The mentality of the restless freebooters of the post-war generation was pithily expressed in von Salomon's *The Outlaws*: 'What we wanted we did not know, and what we knew we did not want.'

A violent enemy of the democratic and socialist 'November System', von Salomon espoused Prussian, nationalist, conservative authoritarian views that were at variance with his political practice which brought him close to the National Bolshevism of Ernst Niekisch (*q.v.*) and to the nihilism of Ernst Jünger (*q.v.*). Best characterized as an anarcho-fascist, von Salomon had a brother Bruno who joined the Communist Party. 'To march into the unknown was enough for us; for it answered some primal need within us,' he wrote at the time of the Kapp *putsch*. The ambiguity of the political and social climate which produced the National Socialist revolution was well described in von Salomon's two autobiographical novels *Die Geächteten* (The Outlaws) (1929) and *Die Stadt* (The City) (1932). Von Salomon never joined the NSDAP and later claimed to have been revolted by the thuggish excesses of the

time. To keep this in perspective, however, we have to remember how, during the Kapp *putsch*, he 'cheerfully [turned] a heavy machine gun on civilians and armed Red snipers alike', as Nigel Jones has described it.

In 1928 he was deeply involved in the peasant sabotage and protest movement, the Landvolk, in Schleswig-Holstein, but during the period of the Third Reich his writing was mostly apolitical though his books were officially described as 'documents of the struggle for the rebirth of the nation'. He earned his living as chief scenario writer for the German government film company Ufa. Drieu la Rochelle (*q.v.*) said of Salomon: 'he was no Nazi and refused to participate in Hitler's triumph. Hitler's ideas were close to his own. But there is an abyss between the ideas of an intellectual and a man of action'. Goronwy Rees calls his attempt to distance himself from Nazism a piece of 'effrontery'.

Arrested and interned by the Americans in 1945, von Salomon was interrogated but released in September 1946 with no criminal charges to face. His experiences were to form the basis of his *Der Fragebogen* (The Questionnaire) published in March 1951 and four times reprinted before the end of the year. Using mockery, sarcasm and derision, he compared the denazification process unfavourably with the crimes of the Nazis themselves. Amoral and cynical, von Salomon presented not only a naked apologia for his brutal career but a justification for the debased nationalist, conservative revolution. In *Das Schicksal des A.D.* (translated as *The Captive*, 1961), von Salomon wrote the 'story of an unknown political prisoner' which explains that what happened 'did so in an intellectual and political vacuum' and argues that the 'urge towards material perfection' was accompanied by an inevitable 'spiritual and intellectual emptiness'. Salomon died on 9 August 1972 in Stoeckte bei Winsen near Hamburg.

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SÁNCHEZ MAZAS, Rafael (1894–1966)

Spanish Falangist journalist and poet.

Born in Madrid in 1894, Sánchez Mazas came from an upper-class Bilbao family. He studied law in the

University of Bilbao where he was associated with the Catholic group around the journal *Cruz y Raya*. He contributed to the only issue of the journal *El Fascio* on 16 March 1933. He was an early member of the Falange Española, remembered as the possible inventor of the name of the party (or it may have been Ruiz de Alda (*q.v.*)) and the coining of the slogan *Arriba España!* (although this was more likely Ledesma's (*q.v.*) slogan). His first novel had appeared in 1915, an autobiography of adolescence called *Pequeñas Memorias de Tarín*. Sánchez had worked as ABC correspondent in Rome where he became a great admirer of fascism. In 1923 he had written a series of articles in ABC sympathetic to the fascists.

He became known as something of a rhetorician: Ledesma alluded to him as 'the provider of rhetoric for the Falange'. Sánchez composed the Falange hymn *Cara el Sol*, was a frequent contributor to *Acción Española* and *El Sol*, and wrote in 1935 the famous *Oración por los Muertos de la Falange*. He was a personal friend of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). During the Civil War he was incarcerated in a Republican prison and after the war became a loyal and unquestioning Franco supporter. In August 1939 he was appointed Minister without Portfolio and in October vice-president of the Junta Política and later a national delegate of the Falange Exterior.

Sánchez Mazas abandoned politics for writing, became a member of the Spanish Academy in 1940 and a deputy in the Cortes. In 1956 he was a member of the study group set up to review possible revision of the statutes of the movement, the Law of the Fundamental Principles of the State and the Organic Law of the Movement. After the student riots of February 1956 he was briefly taken into custody. He died in October 1966 in Madrid. His not very accomplished *Sonetos de un Verano Antiguo y Otros Poemas* appeared posthumously in 1973.

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SANTOS COSTA, Fernando (1899–1982)

Portuguese nationalist, military leader and Salazarist minister.

The son of a manager of a country estate, Santos

Costa was born on 19 December 1899 in Alcaface (Beira Alta). He joined the army as a volunteer on 16 August 1917 and was one of the young officers supporting the dictatorial regime of President Bernardino Sidónio Pais. He first met Salazar (*q.v.*) while he was attending the University of Coimbra. Both were members of the student Catholic society Centro Academico de Democracia Cristã. As a second-lieutenant he took part in the monarchist revolt in Castro Daire in 1919. He was a member of the group of Young Turk right-wing officers who organized the coup of May 1926 which left General Oscar Carmona in power.

Under Salazar in 1933 Santos Costa became a minister and a prime mover in the formation of the União Nacional. His military and political careers described a parallel rising curve; a captain in 1933, he was appointed colonel in 1953 and general in 1961. As one of Salazar's inner circle, he was appointed Undersecretary in the Ministry of War and in September 1944 Minister of War, a post he retained until 1958. His main functions were to reorganize the army and more importantly to keep it loyal to the Estado Novo, an undertaking which he successfully achieved for over thirty years. To the opposition he 'epitomized . . . the mediocrity and cronyism which infected the New State appointments' (Wheeler, 1979). He also served as one of the major leaders of the paramilitary prop of the regime, the Legião Portuguesa, from 1936.

During the Second World War, as the driving force of the powerful pro-Axis elements in the regime, he failed to eliminate pro-Allied sentiment in the army. It is significant that he was the only cabinet member to oppose the ceding of the Azores to Britain as a military base in 1943 when the Anglo-Portuguese alliance was invoked. In 1947 in the so-called Marques Godinho affair he was accused by the opposition of manslaughter after a general died in custody on 24 December 1947. José Marques Godinho, the leader of an army conspiracy, died of a heart attack. In an article written in 1981, Santos Costa denied any role in the affair. His increasing assumption of independence from outside control even at the highest level, however it might have been greeted with apprehension by Salazar, was tolerated because of his services to the regime in assuring the Army's loyalty. In 1950 he became, almost by self-appointment, the Minister of National Defence, in 1952 a member of the Council of State, and in 1954 he took over the portfolio of the Army Minister. He was dismissed in 1957 but his influence in the army lived on.

Under Caetano (*q.v.*) he agitated for the return of

the monarchist pretender Duarte Nuno to Portugal. After the fall of the regime he stayed on in his native country where he lived unmolested, possibly the result of protection from the communist leader Dr Alvaro Cunhal, who owed him a favour. Santos Costa died on 15 October 1982.

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SARDINHA, António (1888–1925)

Portuguese poet, man of letters and leading Integralist.

Sardinha was born on 9 September 1888 in Monforte do Alentejo. A graduate of Coimbra University in law in 1911, he began his political life as a republican and an anarcho-syndicalist but became converted to Catholicism and then to monarchism. He was responsible for some eight anthologies of poetry and many books on literary, cultural and political subjects. One of the founders of Integralismo Lusitano, he became recognized as its most talented and influential leader. His influence was decisive in converting Integralism from a traditionalist, backward-looking movement to one of right-wing Jacobins with an outlook that has been called 'Futurism of the past'; his original nostalgic, Saudade-oriented Integralism gave way to a more imperialistic *sebastianismo* which had Portugal inaugurating a new age, although, as Cardoso has demonstrated, his new synthesis was at its core a Quixotic, messianic hope for the impossible.

Sardinha was at the hub of all important Integralist developments including joint political director with Monsaraz (*q.v.*) of *A Monarquia*. He was a monarchist deputy under the Sidónio Pais regime (1917/18) which he tried to push in a more corporatist direction but ultimately rejected it because, as he wrote: 'Napoleon, however much a genius, always fails.' Sardinha was a contributor to the germanophile and ultra-conservative *Ideia Nacional* (1915/16) and editor of the resurrected *A Nação Portuguesa* in July 1922. He was the pro-Spanish, revolutionary and internationalist guiding light of the Junta Central of the movement until his death.

The ideology he espoused, founded on a fundamental and mystical Portuguese nationalism, embracing Brazil (he often referred to the Atlantic as a Portuguese lake), was similar to that of the Action

Française in its rejection of liberalism and in its racist and anti-Semitic implications; Sardinha was a racist much concerned with attacking miscegenation. He called for an authoritarian, anti-parliamentary, organic monarchy which would restore the Portugal of municipal and rural values, and, in place of popular sovereignty expressed through elections, would substitute the hierarchical and occupational representation of traditional Portuguese society through the family and local communities. That Sardinha's ideas were not entirely the traditionalist package is testified to by his embrace of Sorel's (*q.v.*) theories of the revolutionary validity and the social value of myth.

Sardinha died on 9 January 1925, before the basic dilemma of Integralism, whether to ditch a reactionary monarchy in favour of a republican dictatorship with a corporatist organization, was resolved. After the loss of his guidance the movement split and became diffuse although his influence, particularly on bourgeois youth, had been intense.

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SAUCKEL, Fritz Ernst Christoph (1894–1946)

German National Socialist gauleiter of Thuringia, responsible as General Plenipotentiary for the Labour Draft for the recruitment of forced labour in the occupied territories.

Born in Hassfurt-am-Main (Lower Franconia) on 27 October 1894, the son of a post-office worker, Sauckel spent four years at sea from 1910, after Gymnasium in Schweinfurt, as an able seaman on board British, Swedish and Norwegian ships. On 31 August 1914 he was interned in France after his ship had been captured and thus missed the slaughter of the First World War. Released in November 1919, he worked as a turner and fitter in the Fischer ball-bearing factory in Schweinfurt then took the necessary training to allow him to enter engineering school in Ilmenau (Thuringia) for two years. It was his political activity which prevented the completion of his course.

In 1920 Sauckel had become a local leader in Lower Franconia of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund, transferring to the SA in Ilmenau in 1922 and early in 1923 joining the NSDAP. At first a

district leader in Ilmenau he became in 1925 a local business manager (*Gaugeschäftsführer*) in Weimar. After the re-establishment of the party in 1925 he launched, with some assistance from his own personal funds, the journal *Die Deutsche Aar*.

As a protégé of the respected Thuringian gauleiter Artur Dinter (1876–1948), Sauckel was chosen by the local NSDAP establishment as Dinter's successor on 30 September 1927 when the latter had fallen out of favour. From 1930 he was leader of the Nazi group in the Thuringian parliament to which he had been elected in 1929. When, in July 1932, the Landtag elections gave the Nazis victory in Thuringia, Sauckel was made Minister of the Interior (in August) and President of the Thuringian state ministries. In May 1933 he served as *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Thuringia (to 1937) and in November 1933 became a member of the Reichstag. In September 1939 he was appointed Reich Defence Commissioner for district 9 (Kassel).

On 21 March 1942 he took over, as SS-*Obergruppenführer*, the responsibility as General Plenipotentiary for the Labour Draft (Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz). In this capacity he was given the mammoth task of recruiting, transporting and exploiting forced labour from the occupied territories for service in industry and agriculture in the interests of the German war economy. In 1942–3, of the 4.6 million workers required by German industry and agriculture, 3.5 million came from abroad. Unsited to the task, Sauckel, to whom Goebbels had referred in his diary as 'the dullest of the dull', was in a constant state of friction with his colleagues. Expected to maximize production with the minimum of resources, he presided over the mass exploitation of some five million slave labourers, mainly from the occupied East, who were kept in the most appalling conditions. It is ironic that Speer (*q.v.*), who gave Sauckel his labour quotas, survived after his appearance before the Nuremberg Tribunal while Sauckel, who made a very poor impression in the dock with his uneducated German and his plea of ignorance about war crimes, was sentenced to death on 30 September 1946. Sauckel was hanged in Nuremberg on 16 October 1946.

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**SCHACHT, Hjalmar Horace Greeley
(1877–1970)**

German president of the Reichsbank and National Socialist Minister of Economics.

Born on 22 January 1877 in Tingleff (Schleswig-Holstein) into a family of Danish origin and liberal views, Schacht, who spent his childhood in the United States, studied literature, German and economics in Munich, Leipzig, Berlin and Kiel Universities. Employed in 1903 by the Dresdner Bank, he became a member of the board of the Nationalbank für Deutschland in 1916 which merged in 1922 with the Dresdner Bank. As president of the Reichsbank from December 1923 to March 1930, he was forced to wrestle with the great runaway inflation and succeeded in bringing it under control through the stabilization of the new mark. As an expert to the Dawes Commission in 1924, he advocated a stimulation of the economy by foreign loans in order to make the necessary reparation payments. In March 1930 he resigned from the Reichsbank over the terms of the Young reparations plan which he found too unfavourable to Germany.

By this time he had moved rightward following an eight-year membership of the German Democratic Party (1918–26) and in 1929 opposed the Centre-left coalition headed by SPD politician, Hermann Müller. It was in December 1930 that he was introduced to Hermann Göring (*q.v.*) and from this point he began to see the necessity for a nationalist government led by Hitler. He was favourably impressed by meeting Hitler in early 1931 and October 1931 joined the Harzburg Front of the 'national opposition' which included the National Socialists. At this stage he actually alarmed his business colleagues and supporters by casting doubts on Germany's ability to pay its debts; it was only later that he helped to make Hitler *salonfähig* (acceptable in polite society). Indeed, Hitler, having encouraged him to set up his own Arbeitsstelle to solicit business support in 1932, undermined his efforts by his encouragement of the circle established by Wilhelm Keppler which Schacht was forced to agree to join. Nevertheless Schacht, in his ambitious search for a return to high office, in November 1932 organized a petition from business interests calling for Hitler's appointment as head of cabinet with strong powers.

Seen by Hitler as a financial wizard – and an orthodox one at that – whose aim was a sound and strong economy, Schacht was installed as president of the Reichsbank in March 1933 and from 1934 to 1937 as Minister of Economics and then as Plenipotentiary for War Economy in May 1935. At first

submitting to Hitler's 'dynamic force' despite being harassed by party zealots like Goebbels (*q.v.*), Schacht was able to increase the monetary resources available to the Nazi government through unorthodox methods such as Mefo-bills. Schacht brought in measures to provide work, introduced his 'new plan' for foreign trade leading to state control of this sector of the economy, and by means of deficit spending provided the resources for rearmament. By 1936 the conservative pragmatists including Schacht, in face of the worsening trade balance, called for a slowing-down of rearmament and found themselves in conflict with Göring (whom Schacht accused of a 'complete lack of understanding of economics'), who wanted to create an autarkic, war-oriented economy, and Darré (*q.v.*), who wanted to use precious foreign exchange for food imports.

Losing the struggle with Göring, Schacht resigned his post as Economics Minister in November 1937, after a disagreement over the budget deficit, and shortly after his post as Plenipotentiary for War Economy. He remained in the cabinet as Minister without Portfolio until January 1943 and from March 1938 to January 1939 was reappointed as president of the Reichsbank. He was disturbed by the drift of events, by the squeezing out of his allies Generals von Blomberg and von Fritsch, and by the anti-Semitic manifestations of 1938. In this year he attempted to approach General Erwin von Witzleben (1881–1944) to form an anti-Hitler coalition. He had secret dealings with foreign embassies especially the Americans and with private bankers and even considered defecting to the United States. His contacts in the anti-Hitler resistance led to his arrest in July 1944 and to his imprisonment in Ravensbrück, Flossenbürg and Dachau. He was released in April 1945 by the Americans.

Acquitted at Nuremberg of war crimes, he was sentenced to eight years in prison by a denazification court but in September 1948 acquitted by a court in Ludwigsburg. Schacht eventually re-established his banking house in Düsseldorf in 1953 with Otto Skorzeny (*q.v.*) as one of his representatives and had close relations as an adviser with some of the developing countries. He was a member of the Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik, whose true aim was to ensure a climate in which the extreme right could be free to publish. Schacht died on 3 June 1970 in Munich, a wealthy man.

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SCHAFFNER, Jakob (1875–1944)

Swiss writer and supporter of the extreme right.

Born in Basel on 14 November 1875 of mixed Swiss and German parentage, Schaffner was orphaned at an early age. His autobiographical novel *Johannes* (1922) was based on his experience in an orphanage. He first became a shoe-maker and then a writer. Like Hamsun (*q.v.*) in Norway, he was unable to settle in one job for much of his early life. He married a German and before the First World War lived in Germany. His early writings display a markedly polemical, almost communist, political content up to 1930 but with a compensating nationalist bias. His main literary influences were Dostoevsky and Nietzsche.

From 1936 to 1938 he was a National Front supporter and spoke at many of their meetings. He wrote *Eidgenossen Heraus* as a song for the Front. Despite his earlier doubts about National Socialism he saw it as an enemy of Swiss bourgeois sterility and as a force for the renovation of Europe. Schaffner left the Front in 1938 with Henne (*q.v.*) and Oehler (*q.v.*) and spent the Second World War in Germany. He was killed in an air raid in Strasbourg on 25 September 1944. After the war his reputation suffered a setback, undermined as it was by his pro-Nazi views.

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SCHELLENBERG, Walter (1910–52)

Leading German SD operative and head of German espionage.

Schellenberg was born on 16 January 1910 in Saabrücken, the son of a piano manufacturer who

later went bankrupt. He studied law and political science in Bonn University after first studying medicine. He joined the NSDAP for opportunistic and career-seeking reasons in May 1933, the SS as member No. 124,817 in 1934, and in the summer of that year took a post with the SD head office. While still a student and as a *Referendar* (a civil service graduate doing in-service training attached to a district court), he performed espionage work for the SD and it was the Nazis who financed the completion of his legal studies in exchange for Schellenberg's loyalty. He was one of the intellectual opportunists and careerists, 'the so-called academicians', who joined the SS in these years. Elegant, well-dressed and good-mannered, he was the antithesis of the SS man of popular legend.

He worked in 1939 in Amt IV (Gestapo) for Heinrich Müller (*q.v.*) with whom there was constant friction. Schellenberg was in charge of Amt IVE responsible for counter-intelligence work in Germany and the occupied territories. In November 1939 he received the Iron Cross First Class and promotion to *SS-Standartenführer* for his work in organizing the abduction of two British secret service officers, from Holland, in what came to be known as the Venlo incident.

Earlier in 1938 Schellenberg had been taken up by Heydrich (*q.v.*) (he was later rumoured to have had a sexual relationship with Lina Heydrich) and asked to examine a possible merger of the SD security service and the SIPO (Sicherheitspolizei) security police in what was to become, in September 1939, the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) (a concept of which Schellenberg was largely the author). Schellenberg served as Heydrich's orderly officer during the Polish campaign in September. From this time until June 1941 he was deputy chief of Amt VI of the RSHA, SD foreign intelligence. In June 1941 he succeeded Heinz Jost as head of Amt VI and became, simultaneously *SS-Brigadeführer*. Schellenberg was concerned to make SD foreign intelligence a state organization independent of the party and distinct from the RSHA, autonomous to the extent of having its own Reich leadership and its staff freed from legal restraints, answerable only to Hitler. He became a vital foreign affairs adviser to Heydrich and Himmler (*q.v.*) and, as an 'idealist', however perverted, who found the fanaticism and heavy drinking of Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*) distasteful, sought to distance his 'professional' activities from those of his more brutish RSHA operatives.

Well-read, ambitious and intellectually adaptable, with what has been described as a 'feminine sensibility', Schellenberg, as one of the top half-dozen

men in the RSHA, strove to extirpate all opposition, destroyed the Rote Kapelle (Red Orchestra) spy ring, and was responsible for the arrest of Admiral Canaris (*q.v.*), and for the removal of the powers from the Abwehr. After the destruction of Canaris's Abwehr in February 1944 he took over the added responsibilities for military intelligence, at last achieving the unified foreign intelligence service he had desired.

Towards the end of the war Schellenberg, seeing the inevitable outcome of the war, tried to persuade Himmler to pursue independent negotiations with the western Allies and, indeed, the search for a separate peace with the West did take place through the vice-president of the Swedish Red Cross, Count Folke Bernadotte, with negative results. Schellenberg sincerely believed that something of the SS Empire could be preserved following a negotiated peace. Sheltering with Bernadotte in Sweden after the war he was extradited and returned to Germany in June 1945. His analysis of the failure of his negotiations typically exonerated himself from any blame: 'it was the indecision of the *Reichsführer* [Himmler] that had ruined everything'. His trial took place in January 1948 and he was acquitted on all but two charges – complicity in the execution of Russian POWs and membership of a criminal organization. Sentenced to six years' imprisonment in April 1949, he was released in June 1951 and retired to Switzerland but was soon moved on by the police to Italy. He settled in Pallanza. Schellenberg died in the Clinica Fornaca in Turin on 31 February 1952. As Trevor-Roper has indicated, to Schellenberg 'the extermination of the Jews would have been unexceptionable if it could have been carried out completely; but since two-thirds of the Jews were out of reach, such a policy was "worse than a crime; it was folly".'

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SCHIRACH, Baldur von (1907–74)

German National Socialist and Hitler Youth leader, Reich Youth Leader and Governor of Vienna.

Schirach was born in 9 May 1907 in Berlin, the son of a Prussian army lieutenant who later became administrator of the Weimar Hoftheater. Both his parents were born in the United States and his grandfather had fought on the Union side in the Civil War. As early as 1917 Schirach had been a member of the Jungdeutschland Bund and enjoyed something of an exclusive education. He joined the NSDAP on 9 May 1925 as member No. 17,251 after hearing Hitler speak, and his father followed suit shortly after. The Führer was pleased to attract recruits from such elevated social circles and encouraged the young Schirach to attend Munich University where he studied art history and German philosophy; he never completed his studies.

On 20 July 1928 Schirach became leader (*Reichsführer*) of the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund, a Nazi student body which had been led by a revolutionary and 'socialist' Nazi, while he was still a student in Munich. Although at university he had mixed in circles that admired the poets Stefan George and Rainer Maria Rilke, and the novelist Jünger (*q.v.*), Schirach, who was unintellectual and rather stupid, was more influenced by the marginal *völkisch* outpourings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*) and Bartels (*q.v.*), and by Henry Ford from whom he acquired his pronounced anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, some of the romantic notions of heroism and sacrifice in the more serious writers did rub off on him.

Immature, unstable, weak and effeminate, Schirach always looked as if he were play-acting in his oversized uniform. By 1931 the Student League had become the dominant voice in many German universities. Any 'socialist' ideas it may have had were to be totally extirpated by Schirach in cooperation with the traditional, rightist fraternities. On 30 October 1931 Schirach became the Reich Youth Leader (*Reichsjugendführer*) and thus directly responsible to Hitler himself. As Reich Youth Leader he took over control of the Hitler Youth, the NS Schülerbund, and the Bund Deutscher Mädel for girls, in addition to the Student League. He had something of a success in his major task of creating one state youth organization for indoctrination and of eliminating all independent groups. He removed Kurt Gruber, who had been closely associated with the SA, as leader of the Hitler Youth and suppressed any lingering radical tendencies which had made the HJ (Hitlerjugend) a recruiting ground for the SA. On 17 June 1933 Schirach became Youth Leader of the German Reich, a post he held until 1940, having earlier also succeeded Theodor von Renteln (1897–1946) as head of the HJ. His ideals of obedience and

discipline are laid out in his book *Der Hitler-Jugend: Idee und Gestalt* (1934). Schirach had been elected to the Reichstag in July 1932.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, Schirach volunteered for army service from December of that year until August 1940. As a lieutenant he won the Iron Cross Second Class. On 2 August 1940 Schirach lost the youth leadership to Axmann (*q.v.*) and was appointed gauleiter and *Reichsstatthalter* (Governor) of Vienna in succession to Bürckel, a post in which he proved a catastrophe. Hitler had decided in 1943 that he should be removed but he remained in post until 1944 although by the end he had lost all respect and all influence and sought consolation in a luxurious life-style. He was given the meaningless title of Reich Leader of Youth Education. Schirach was heavily involved with the deportation of Jews and with the overseeing of a programme of slave-labour. In his repentant but equivocating memoir *Ich Glaube an Hitler* (1967) he claimed that he knew of the murder camps only after the deportations were over. As Bradley Smith has said, he remained 'a dazed fellow-traveller'. Weak as he was, it was left to his wife to tackle the Führer on the appalling circumstances of the deportations.

After the capitulation of Vienna, he went into hiding, using the alias Richard Falk, near Innsbruck but on 6 June 1945 gave himself up to the US Army. He was sentenced at Nuremberg on 1 October 1946 to 20 years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity. He was released, having become blind in one eye, in October 1966 with Albert Speer (*q.v.*). Schirach died on 8 August 1974 in Kröv.

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SCHMITT, Carl (1888–1985)

Influential German political and legal theorist who briefly joined the NSDAP.

Born on 11 July 1888 in Plettenberg (Westphalia) into a lower-middle-class family, Schmitt was appointed a professor in Greifswald in 1921, in Bonn (1922–8), in the Handelshochschule in Berlin (in 1928 and again from 1933 to 1945 as professor of public law), and in Cologne (1929–33). In a series of works he put forward the idea of parliament as a 'meaningless façade', 'a meeting place of hidden interests'. His brilliant critique of Weimar pluralism and of liberal parliamentary democracy was predicated on an attack on the consequences of legal positivism and a denial that the constitution was grounded in basic axioms or norms. In works like *Political Romanticism* (1919), *Political Theology* (1922), *The Crisis of Political Democracy* (1923), *The Concept of the Political* (1932) and *Legalität und Legitimität* (1932) he advocated the idea of a strong state with the necessary accompanying sovereignty in the tradition of Machiavelli and Hobbes, whose 'decisionism' in a situation where 'the state is the constant prevention of civil war' he particularly approved. He was especially concerned with the *Ausnahmezustand* ('the state of exception') in which the very existence of the state was threatened; in such circumstances the President should employ his discretionary, emergency powers in an act of distinguishing between essential friends and foes of the constitutional order. Under Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution such an emergency provision existed and Schmitt argued that this power should be considered 'for the security and the defence of the constitution as a whole'.

His own political position in these years was as a supporter of political Catholicism in general and, in particular, of Brüning. He was later a member of the tight circle around Schleicher and close to his aids, Erich Marcks and Eugen Ott; he was an adviser to Schleicher during his brief hold on the Reich Chancellorship. Although from 1930 to 1932 he favoured rule by extra-parliamentary defence, he wrote in the latter year: 'whoever provides the National Socialists with the majority on 31 July . . . acts foolishly.' However, he argued in his *Legalität und Legitimität* for constitutional reality against 'poeticization' or 'political romanticization' of political conflict and for the basic concepts in political action of the polar opposites good/evil and justice/injustice. He made a fundamental distinction between commissarial and sovereign dictatorship, the first being temporary, for a limited purpose, and appropriate under the Weimar constitution; in short, his solutions were authoritarian rather than totalitarian.

His embrace of the NSDAP, which he joined on 1 May 1933, came as a shock to some who had been

aware of his opposition to an 'equal chance' for those parties who threatened the fundamentals of the Weimar constitution, i.e. both communists and Nazis. His change of heart can be ascribed to his desire for, above all else, stability, which he believed Hitler had provided. In June 1933 he allowed himself to be appointed to the Prussian State Council. Gone were the days when he referred to the Nazis as 'organized mass insanity'; instead he praised the 'purification' of German law from the 'Jewish spirit' and called the Jewish intellect 'unproductive and sterile'. Schmitt provided the legal apparatus for the process of *Gleichschaltung* and assisted in the draft of the law of 7 April 1933 which coordinated the *Länder* governments with the Reich. Schmitt, who has been described as the 'crown-jurist of the Nazis regime', referred to the Nuremberg race laws as 'the constitution of freedom'. In November 1933 he became director of the NS League of German Jurists and in June 1934 editor of the *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*. During the Röhm purges Schmitt defended Hitler's behaviour by calling him the 'highest judge'.

There was a sense in which Schmitt could be described as fascist rather than National Socialist; he had a detectable influence in the development of the Italian fascist corporations through his disciples like Costamagna (q.v.). Schmitt's star began to wane in the Third Reich in 1936 after an attack on him by the SS journal *Das Schwarze Korps* and an accusation by Himmler that he had colluded with General von Fritsch in a plot against the regime. He was deprived of most of his offices after a Gestapo inquiry into his activities during the republican period. He survived the purges following the 20 July 1944 conspiracy although his ex-colleague Johannes Popitz (1884–1945) was not so lucky. He was later to compare his situation in the Third Reich with that of Herman Melville's Benito Cereno who was held captive by a ship-load of mutinous slaves.

Following the end of hostilities Schmitt was interned for a year by the Allies and then retired to his home in Sauerland. There was to be a great revival of interest in his works, particularly in Italy and among the thinkers of the New Left, as the analyst of the 'existential crisis of liberal democracy'. In this spirit Habermas wrote: 'What representatives of the big capitalist interest groups agree in the smallest committees is more important for the fate of millions of people, perhaps, than any political decision'. Schwab has pointed out his influence on the constitution of the Federal Republic in its limitations on the powers of parliamentary majorities to amend the constitution. Schmitt died in Plettenberg on 7 April 1985.

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SCHÖNERER, Georg, Ritter von (1842–1921)

Austro-Hungarian Pan-German leader.

Born on 17 July 1842 in Vienna, the son of a notable railway engineer who had been knighted for his work, Schönerer took over his father's estates near the Bohemian frontier after his death. In 1873 he was elected to the *Reichsrat* for Waidhofen-Zwettl; he was to keep his seat until 1889 and then was re-elected from 1897 until 1907. Beginning as nominally a left-wing liberal he developed an anti-democratic and anti-Semitic outlook which caused many of his earlier liberal followers to distance themselves from him, disgusted by his fanaticism and intolerance. His first anti-Semitic speech in the Federal Parliament was on 7 March 1878. He called for an economic and political union with Germany, the maintenance of secular education, and the nationalization of the railways. He supported the interests of the landed classes against 'the interests of mobile capital', making a distinction between 'honest' and 'harmful' capitalism. After the failure of his nationalist faction to gain control of the Liberal Party, he formed a two-man party with Fürnkranz and, with Friedjung, established a *Deutscher Klub* out of which grew the *Verein der Deutschen Volkspartei* and on 2 June 1882 the *Deutschnationaler Verein* as a vehicle for the propagation of Schönerer's Pan-German and anti-Semitic policies.

Schönerer was the main architect of the Linz programme demanding the protection of Germans in Austria and the extension of the franchise. A combination of nationalism and social reform, it did not actually contain the anti-Semitic clause calling for the removal of Jewish influence from all sections of public life; this was added on 1 May 1885. Although it was a racial anti-Semitism, in the sense that the determining factor for Jewishness was race rather than religion, it was an economic rather than a

biologically-based prejudice (in the way in which the Nazis were to employ it). The DNV, dissolved in 1886, never achieved the status of a mass movement, its most enthusiastic supporters coming from the lower middle classes and from small specialized groups like the Burschenschaft student corporations. The ideological influence of the movement was much greater working through sports and gymnastic societies, trade unions and social clubs.

Authoritarian, violent, demagogic, 'a loud-mouthed bully' (Whiteside), an enemy of Catholicism with its 'Jew Bible', Schönerer had a talent for the flamboyant gesture, as he demonstrated in March 1888 when he and several companions invaded the editorial offices of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* which had made a premature public announcement of the German Emperor William I's death. The intruders demanded that the staff ask for pardon on their knees and attacked them with sticks, calling them *Scharidblattjuden* (infamous newspaper Jews). The Pan-German leader was sentenced to four months in prison and five years' loss of political rights.

He resumed his activities with his re-election in 1897. The emphasis this time was on his Los von Rom, an anti-Catholic campaign which was summed up in the slogan: 'Without Judah, Without Rome, We must build a Germanic dome.' He attacked the Badeni government which was brought down after it attempted to make the Czech language legally equal to German. Despite his nominal 'conversion' to Protestantism in 1900, he remained what he had always been – 'a pagan'. By 1907 Schönerer was politically dead though the movement limped on until November 1918. Schönerer died on 14 August 1921 in Schloss Rosenau near Zwettl. Such was his German nationalism that he tried to introduce a new calendar dating from the battle of Noreia in 118 BC when the Cimbri defeated the Romans.

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SCORZA, Carlo (1897–?)

Leading Italian fascist.

Born in Paola (Cosenza) on 15 June 1897 into a large *petit-bourgeois* family, Scorza had little formal education though he later studied accountancy in a technical institute and spent some time in the Faculty of Engineering in Pisa. In June 1916 he attended a military school in Modena. The family had moved from Calabria to Lucca early in Scorza's life. He served from 1916 to 1918 as a lieutenant in the 25th Battalion of Bersaglieri. As a representative of a generation of uprooted ex-soldiery he was one of the founders of the fascist organization in Lucca following his expulsion of the original political secretary, Della Maggiora, in order to take his place. Scorza was the editor of the weekly *Intrepido*, which later became *Il Popolo Toscano*, an extremist journal. In considerable financial trouble, Scorza was forced to give French lessons to supplement his income and was to be frequently accused in Lucca of corrupt practices in the way of local property acquisition.

In the March on Rome Scorza led the local squads which had been well prepared in the use of terror tactics by their leader. He became federal secretary of his province and consul-general of the local MVSN militia. Scorza acquired a reputation for violence and for dictatorial methods; he was one of those responsible for the manhandling of Amendola in 1924 which eventually led to his death. In 1926 Scorza became a national party inspector and in 1929 a member of the National Directorate. He was re-elected to parliament in 1928 having been first elected in 1924. In October 1930 he was named general of the Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento, editor of the journal *Gioventù Fascista* and head of the Gruppi Universitaria Fascista. He clashed with Ricci (*q.v.*), the head of the Balilla youth organization, early in 1931 over his extension of recruitment for the GUF to 14 to 18-year-olds; Ricci was not pleased that the FG was kept apart from the Balilla.

Despite his loyalty to Mussolini (see his *Il Segreto di Mussolini* of 1933) and his extreme orthodoxy ('criticism only serves to confuse values'), he was dismissed from all offices after an investigation and his paper *Il Popolo Toscana* was closed by Starace (*q.v.*), an enemy of Scorza's who wanted to eliminate Scorza whom he saw as loyal, young, experienced and therefore a direct threat. Starace ordered Scorza to leave Lucca and come to Rome. In the mid-1930s Scorza was involved in a campaign by certain squad leaders to rid the Duce of 'bad advisers' like Arpinati (*q.v.*). In 1935/6 Scorza served in Ethiopia and in 1938/9 in Spain. In 1939 he was the president of Ente Stampa in charge of party publications. In 1940 he served once more in the Bersaglieri, this time in Libya. He was appointed vice-secretary of the party in charge

of militia questions and director of the press office in December 1942. He became party secretary in April 1943, the last before Mussolini's fall. As secretary he attempted to revive the earlier *squadristi* spirit and to return the party to 'the central motive power of the nation'. His drastic reorganization was unsuccessful in overcoming what he called the 'elephantiasis' of the party. On his appointment, in succession to the incompetent Vidussoni (*q.v.*), he had said: 'I feel as if I have been called to the bedside of a dying man'. His efforts at trying to force blind obedience were, however, too late.

Pro-Nazi by temperament, he nevertheless began to work for Italian neutrality but he was not in favour of removing Mussolini before the Fascist Grand Council meeting of 24 July 1943. He in fact voted against the Grandi (*q.v.*) motion and tried to persuade others to do so yet he was in favour of replacing the Chief of the General Staff, Ambrosio, with Graziani (*q.v.*). Following the Duce's arrest, Scorza tried to persuade the party not to take action against the Badoglio government and went into hiding. Arrested on 28 October 1943 he was put on trial for treason in Parma in April 1944. Mussolini, who according to German ambassador Rahn was 'favourable to Scorza', secured his acquittal.

Scorza took refuge in Argentina in 1945 and became head of a social science institute as well as taking on the function of director in Buenos Aires of the journal *Dinámica Social* in the 1950s. He was still at this time pro-fascist. He appears to have returned eventually to Italy where he drew a pension as a general of the militia in Badoglio's republic.

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SEBOTTENDORFF, Rudolf von, (pseud.) (Adam Alfred Rudolf Glauer) (1875–1945)

German völkisch agitator and colourful adventurer, founder of the Thule Society.

Born on 9 November 1875 in Hoyerswerda (Saxony), Rudolf Glauer, the son of a locomotive engineer, failed to complete his education. He went to sea and travelled to Australia, Egypt and Turkey where he inherited the occult library of a Greek–

Jewish freemason called Termudi and studied Islamic mysticism. In 1911, fascinated by the country and its culture, he became a Turkish citizen and was adopted by Baron Heinrich von Sebottendorff whose name he assumed. He took part in the Second Balkan War of 1912 in the Turkish Red Crescent and was wounded.

Returning to Germany Sebottendorff was exempted from service in the German army because of his Turkish nationality. In 1916 he joined the Germanen-Orden founded in 1912, a mystical völkisch Aryan society, became its *Ordenmeister*, and in December 1917 financed its periodical, *Runen*. In the autumn of 1918 the Germanen-Orden had some 1,500 members in Bavaria. Meeting in rooms leased from the Hotel Vierjahreszeiten, Sebottendorff used the cover name Thule Society to camouflage the more extremist right-wing activities of the order. In July 1918 he had bought, with the financial backing of his mistress Käthe Bierbaumer, the *Münchener Beobachter und Sportsblatt*, which became from July 1919, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the racial organ of the völkisch movement in south Germany (strictly speaking it was the mouthpiece of the Deutsch-Sozialistische Partei of H.G. Grassinger). Sebottendorff was horrified by the Bavarian revolution of November 1918 and used the Thule Society as an instrument for stockpiling arms; he planned to kidnap the revolutionary leader, Kurt Eisner, during a political meeting. Eisner was assassinated in February 1919 but, in April, seven Thule hostages were shot by the 'red' forces. Sebottendorff converted the Thule Society into the Kampfbund Thule with the Freikorps Oberland as its military formation.

At this time Sebottendorff was associated with many of those who were later to become prominent in the NSDAP, Feder (*q.v.*), Eckart (*q.v.*), Hess (*q.v.*) and Rosenberg (*q.v.*). Held responsible for the loss of the hostages, he effectively left the Thule Society in June 1919 although this was not made official until February 1920. He now turned to his earlier interest in astrology which resulted in a number of astrological textbooks. He was forced to leave Munich because of his imposture and moved to Bad Sachsa in the Harz Mountains and, after a time as honorary Mexican consul in Istanbul, travelled in Mexico and the United States. On his return to Munich in 1933 he tried to revive the Thule Society but incurred the wrath of the National Socialist leaders by his claims to be the inspirer and originator of Nazism. The second edition of his book *Bevor Hitler Kam* (1933) was banned by the Nazis in 1934 and Sebottendorff was briefly imprisoned. Returning once more to Istanbul he worked for the German intelligence

service and it is believed that, on 9 May 1945, the day of Germany's capitulation, he committed suicide by throwing himself into the Bosphorus.

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SELDTE, Franz (1882–1947)

Founder of the German ex-servicemen's organization the Stahlhelm and National Socialist Minister of Labour from 1933.

Born on 29 June 1882 in Magdeburg, the son of the owner of a factory making mineral water and chemical products, Seldte studied chemistry at the Technical High School in Brunswick. There is some evidence that before the First World War he had National Liberal leanings. Serving as a captain on the Western Front he lost his left arm on the Somme and then worked in a news-reporting unit on the Italian Front. After the war, in order to sustain the front mystique, he formed a self-help group which first met in his mineral water factory in Magdeburg. On 25 December 1918 the Stahlhelm was formed to 'aid in the process of rebuilding Germany' and to press the economic demands of the demobilized veterans. The Stahlhelm was one of the quasi-legal paramilitary groups which proliferated after November 1918. With, at first, a conservative ideology and little trace of racism or even a very strong anti-republicanism, the organization moved distinctly to the right in 1919 when a rhetoric more characteristic of the radical right began to surface. Stahlhelm propaganda referred to the need 'to choke the damned revolutionary rats'.

A friend of both Spengler (*q.v.*) and Escherich (*q.v.*), Seldte, who was a member of the Bavarian Civil Guard, worked closely with Escherich's Orgesch paramilitaries in the attempt to build a movement of 'front soldiers, volunteers, and civil guards'; which would assist in the maintenance of law and order. Outlawed in June 1922 after the

Rathenau murder but restored a year later, the Stahlhelm became increasingly anti-republican, anti-Marxist and anti-Semitic, though Seldte, in fact, represented the more moderate bourgeois Magdeburg faction, while his deputy and later co-leader Duesterberg (*q.v.*) stood for the more radical Halle group. The weak and cautious Seldte was always closer to the conservative DNVP and in 1931 approved the Harzburger Front. In 1933 he consented to the Nazi/DNVP government. Prepared to compromise in order to achieve personal political power he accepted the offer of the portfolio of Labour in January 1933 in Hitler's cabinet. He had earlier considered Hitler a marginal element and a fanatic.

Seldte joined the NSDAP on 27 April 1933 and presided over the merger of the Stahlhelm with the Nazi SA. From March 1933 to July 1934 he was Reich Commissioner for the Labour Service and, although he stayed on as Minister of Labour until 1945, and became Prussian Economics Minister, a member of the Reichstag, and of the Prussian State Council, his influence was undermined by Göring's (*q.v.*) Office for the Four-Year Plan and by Ley's Deutsche Arbeitsfront. Arrested after the war, Seldte died in an American military hospital in Fürth (Bavaria) on 1 April 1947.

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SERRANO SUÑER, Ramón (1901–)

Spanish Falangist, Minister of the Interior and later Foreign Minister under his brother-in-law Franco (q.v.).

Born on 12 September 1901 in Cartagena, the son of a port engineer, Serrano studied law in the University of Madrid and won a scholarship to study in the Universities of Rome and Bologna. He practised as a lawyer in Zaragoza, having been admitted to the elite Cuerpo de Abogados del Estado, (the corps of state attorneys). In November 1933 he was elected as a CEDA deputy for Zaragoza as part of the Union of the Right. His close friendship with José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*), later Falange leader, had

begun in the University of Madrid and his early good relations with Franco were the result of his marriage in 1931 to Franco's sister. In the Cortes, Serrano contented himself mainly with issues of local interest, the defence of public order and agricultural protection. He was head of the green-shirted *Juventudes de Acción Popular*, the CEDA youth movement. Impressed by the fascism he had seen at first hand during his Bologna studies and as a JAP leader exposed to national syndicalist doctrines (Gil Robles, the CEDA leader, admits in his memoirs that the JAP was seduced by 'the great totalitarian movements of Italy and Germany'), Serrano cooperated with Jose Antonio, with the Falange and with the leading conspirators of the July 1936 military rebellion which led to the Civil War; this was in spite of his deeply conservative instincts. Serrano, thin, slight, elegant and with courteous manners disguising a nervousness which would appear in the form of facial twitches, did not join the Falange at this stage, fearing too much its connections with street brawling, violence and a radical social ideology.

Gaoled in Alicante in the spring and then in Madrid in July 1936, Serrano Suñer escaped to the nationalist zone in February 1937 by way of the Dutch Embassy and the Argentine legation in Alicante. Tending towards a Catholic fascism, legalistic and moderate, Serrano became Franco's chief political adviser, already in the spring of 1936 having served his chief in the capacity of a civilian intermediary on mainland Spain while Franco was based in the Canaries. Now the leading civilian in the nationalist zone, Serrano worked for the unification of the various nationalist organizations. It was Serrano who prepared the decree (on behalf of Franco) unifying the Carlist *Requetés* and the Falange Española in a new state party, the FET. Serrano's tactful and cautious negotiations with the suspicious old-guard Falangists, promising to develop a national syndicalist programme after the war had been won, demonstrated his considerable diplomatic skills.

Known as the *cuñadísimo* (brother-in-law in chief), Serrano, who was deeply affected by the loss of two brothers, shot by the Republicans during the war, was aware that many of the *camisas viejas* preferred a Falangist of the first hour like Fernandez Cuesta (*q.v.*) in the shaping role. He was, nevertheless, instrumental in converting the National Movement into a legitimate and effective regime through constitutional definition and administrative reorganization. He was appointed Minister of the Interior in 1938, a post in which he controlled the party apparatus. As National Chief for Press and Propaganda for

the FET y la JONS he instituted a system of rigid censorship. These activities prompted the British ambassador in Madrid, Sir Samuel Hoare, to describe Serrano as a 'pinchbeck Robespierre'.

In May 1939 Serrano visited Italy at the head of a delegation. On 9 August he was appointed president of the new Junta Política of FET. In September 1940 he visited Germany where he had talks with Hitler (*q.v.*) and Ribbentrop (*q.v.*); he made Spain's friendship with Germany explicitly clear. On 16 October 1940 he was appointed Foreign Minister and in this capacity was simultaneously able to avoid Spain's entry into the war on the Axis side and to fend off a German invasion, although he certainly believed that the Axis powers would be victorious. It is clear that he planned to enter the war on the German side just before the final victory but his stance was not entirely unequivocal; on the one hand, he refused to concede the use of the Canaries to the Germans, and on the other, he earned a reputation as 'the Axis Minister'.

By 1941 his power within the FET had suffered an eclipse at the hands of the secretary general Arrese (*q.v.*). He came to be hated for his arrogance by many groups, including the military. Three groups in particular opposed Serrano's influence: that led by Arrese, the Carlists led by the anglophile General Varela; and those around the Undersecretary of the Presidency, Carrero Blanco. By the end of 1940 Serrano was virtually Franco's second-in-command and a key adviser on both foreign and domestic policy. But he was dismissed as Foreign Minister in September 1942 after the excessively cautious Franco became suspicious of his attempt to create a more systematic and coherent regime. He came face to face in his search for ideological and institutional definition in an authoritarian corporatist direction with the personalism of his brother-in-law. Serrano later conceded his disappointment with the empty shell he had created. 'In reality the Falange was a political effort that never reached maturity'. In 1945 he wrote a famous letter suggesting the dissolution of the Falange and the establishment of a government of national unity (excluding only the communists and socialists). Serrano went into permanent political retirement, a state in which he was not entirely unfriendly to the regime. There was some talk of making him an ambassador but he never again achieved any position of prominence.

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SEYSS-INQUART, Arthur (1892–1946)

Austrian practising Catholic and Pan-German Nationalist, later National Socialist Governor of the Ostmark and Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Netherlands.

Born in Stannern (now Stonorov) near Iglau (Moravia) on 22 July 1892, Seyss-Inquart, the son of a school teacher, moved first to Olmütz and then at the age of 15 to Vienna, where he completed secondary school and entered the legal faculty at the University. His education was interrupted by military service from August 1914 with the Tyrolean Kaiserjäger in Russia, Romania and Italy. After the war he set up in legal practice in Vienna.

Although not a member of any political party he served on the executive of the Austrian-German Volksbund, was known as *nationalgesimt* (holding nationalist opinions), was a firm advocate of Anschluss with Germany, and joined the Styrian Heimatschutz in 1932. A man with 'conciliatory skills', Seyss, a Pan-German Catholic, enjoyed the confidence of both the NSDAP, with whom he had been close since 1931 (he did not become a member until 13 March 1938), and of the Fatherland Front, whose general-secretary from 1936, Guido Zernatto, was a friend of Seyss'. Anxious to maximize the 'moderate' *völkisch* nationalist element in the Schuschnigg Fatherland Front regime, Seyss was put in charge of the Volkspolitische Referat (National Political Office) to work for reconciliation between the Front and the National Opposition. As a member of Schuschnigg's state council from June 1937 Seyss acted with Reinthaller (*q.v.*) and others to bring about a federal union with Germany and a moderate bourgeois nationalist regime in Austria. An intense rival of the Austrian NSDAP leader, Leopold (*q.v.*), who opposed the negotiations of Seyss and the Rainer (*q.v.*)/Globochnik (*q.v.*) group, Seyss-Inquart was seen as a bridge between Leopold, who referred to Seyss and the Carinthian group as 'traitors, scoundrels and rogues', and Schuschnigg.

From 1937 Seyss played a major part in bringing about Anschluss but not as the 'Trojan Horse' of which he has sometimes been accused. Hitler used him as 'not too strong a man' and Seyss himself was

to describe his role as 'historical telephone girl'. Under pressure from Hitler, Seyss was appointed Minister of the Interior on 17 February 1938 but it was Göring (*q.v.*) who insisted on Schuschnigg's resignation in March to the displeasure of Seyss who was ready to compromise and who was genuinely surprised when Austrian independence disappeared (even the name Ostmark vanished in 1942). As Minister of the Interior he tried to ban the swastika and the wearing of military uniforms and condemned Nazi acts of illegality. From this time he was placed under surveillance by the SS on Heydrich's (*q.v.*) orders.

Appointed Chancellor on 11 March 1938, the tall, balding, lame, colourless Seyss now had to accept the German invasion he had feared. On 15 March 1938 he became *Reichstatthalter* of Austria, honorary SS-*Obergruppenführer* and, on 1 May 1939, Reich Minister without Portfolio. In March 1939 he had been sent on a mission to Slovakia to persuade the Slovak 'clerico-fascists' to undermine the legal Czechoslovak Republic even further by announcing their independence. Seyss served in September 1939 as chief of the civil administration in southern Poland and from October was Frank's (*q.v.*) deputy as *Generalgouverneur* of occupied Poland.

Seyss was chosen as the man most likely to persuade the Dutch to acquiesce in their exploitation by the German Reich. As Reich Commissioner of the Netherlands from May 1940 Seyss proved his loyalty to Hitler, who relied on his judgements, and the Reich through his policies of Jewish deportation, the employment of slave labour, police terror and economic exploitation under the guise of supervizing the civilian administration in Holland where, by the end of the occupation, government by decree had become the norm. As Orlov has argued: 'As a man without a power base of his own in either the party or the state, he was in a very weak position from the outset of his administration . . . Seyss became the relatively impotent object of a power play between his two chief assistants, Fritz Schmidt, (1903–43) the head of the Arbeitsbereich, and Hanns Rauter (1895–1948) the HSSPF for Holland.' The occupation progressed from an early effort to persuade the Dutch to undertake a process of 'self-Nazification', through a brief interlude when the Dutch Nazi NSB was allowed a limited participation in public life, to the SS-dominated final stage of occupation when Seyss, a prisoner of the SS, indulged in government by decree.

Briefly securing the Foreign Ministry in the Dönitz regime after Hitler's death, Seyss was indicted to appear before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal and cleared of the charge of conspiracy to

prepare aggressive war but he was still convicted for his repressive policies in the Netherlands and sentenced to death. He was hanged in Nuremberg on 16 October 1946.

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SICARD, Maurice-Ivan (known as Saint-Paulien) (1910–)

French right-wing activist and historian of the Collaboration.

Sicard was born in Le Puy (Haute-Loire) on 21 May 1910 into a peasant family. His father was killed in the First World War. Sicard attended the Lycée Condorcet. By profession he was both a French teacher and a journalist, becoming editor of journals like *Spectateur* and *Germinal*. From 1932 to 1935 he edited a left-wing weekly journal, *Le Huron*, but as early as 1931 he had been a believer in reconciliation with Germany.

In 1936 he joined Doriot's (*q.v.*) Parti Populaire Français and took over the editorship of the PPF youth movement, the Union Populaire de la Jeunesse Française's journal, *Jeunesses de France*. In 1937 he edited the PPF journal, *L'Emancipation Nationale*, and contributed to *La Liberté*. By the following year he was a member of the political bureau of the movement and in 1942 national secretary responsible for press and propaganda in the Vichy zone. He became famous for his powerful, polemical writings, passionate, mordant, opinionated and above all abjectly pro-German. In an issue of *L'Emancipation Nationale* he talked about the necessity of bringing French youth 'back by every means and by force if necessary, to the elementary forces which make up our country: land, blood and race'. He had referred in 1939 to the dangers of miscegenation with 'creatures belonging to the filthy holes of Europe and the ghettos of the Orient'. During the war he was one of the most anti-Semitic of PPF speakers. From 1940 to 1944 he edited the resurrected *L'Emancipation Nationale* in Marseilles.

Sicard was one of the inspirers of the PPF para-

military Gardes Françaises, served on the central committee of Pétain's Rassemblement de la Révolution Nationale, became a member of the Comité de Libération Anti-Bolchévique and of the nine-man directorate set up by Doriot before his departure for the Russian Front. Escaping to Germany at the Liberation, he was a leading figure among the exiles in Sigmaringen and took part in the purely academic struggle for the succession to Doriot as PPF leader with Sabiani (*q.v.*) and Jeantet (*q.v.*). After the war Sicard fled to Madrid and was condemned, *in absentia*, to a term of imprisonment. Although he was later arrested he was amnestied. He published a number of works under the pseudonym Saint-Paulien, including *Histoire de la Collaboration*, an apologia for the process of collaboration. He also contributed to journals like *Minute*, *Rivarol*, *Écrits de Paris*, to Spanish journals like *Arriba*, and occasionally to Venner's (*q.v.*) *Europe-Action* and gave support to the Jeune Nation movement. He has continued to believe in a 'revolution, socialist, national, unitary as an urgent necessity, not only for France, but for the West'. In the late 1980s he was believed to be still living in Angoulême. With his vicious and flagrantly provocative views during the war he is, perhaps, the counter-example to those who still feel that the process of *l'Épuration* was in some way vindictive to innocents.

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SIDOR, Karol (1901–53)

Slovak politician of the extreme right.

Sidor, a devout Catholic, was born in Ružomberok on 16 July 1901. He became involved in politics at an early age when he organized strikes in Slovak schools to protest against Father Hlinka's imprisonment. As a result he was excluded from all public schools. He finished his education privately and then studied law in Prague and Bratislava. In 1926 the government allowed him to visit Poland on a scholarship. He became one of the Polonophiles of the nationalist Hlinka Slovak People's Party, who much admired the authoritarian aspects of their northern neighbour. At one time he favoured some kind of federal arrangement with Poland.

Sidor was also drawn for a time to Durčanský's (*q.v.*) separatist wing of the party and came under the influence of another leading radical nationalist, Bela

Tuka (*q.v.*). Sidor was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Slovak* after joining the staff in 1929. He was later to become the HSPP's unofficial historian. In 1935 he was elected deputy to the Prague parliament and served as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. In 1938 he was chosen to argue Slovakia's case in Warsaw against Polish territorial claims.

Sidor was the supreme commander of the paramilitary organization of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, the Hlinka Guard. After Hlinka's death on 16 August 1938 it was widely believed that Sidor would become his successor but it was not to be. However, he was to be appointed deputy prime minister and Minister for Slovak Affairs in the Czechoslovak Federated government on 1 December 1938 until March 1939, representing Slovakia in the central government. This position left him out of touch with the other radicals and ripe for outmanoeuvring by Slovak prime minister Tiso (*q.v.*), a moderate who was able to make use of the radicals. Sidor proved himself unpopular with the Germans when in March 1939 he refused to proclaim immediate independence by Slovakia without first receiving orders from the party praesidium. Although he accepted the post of Minister of the Interior from 14 March 1939, he resigned on 18 April under German pressure. Too independent for the Nazis, he was, nevertheless, not ideologically entirely opposed to them, having vowed to 'cooperate with all nations which oppose Judaeo-Bolshevism'. He became associated after this with the anti-German elements.

Under pressure from Tiso and Tuka he accepted the appointment as Slovak Minister to the Holy See. After the war he fled to the West and was sentenced on 18 October 1947 by a Czechoslovak court *in absentia* to 20 years' imprisonment, loss of civil rights and confiscation of his property. Sidor moved to Canada and died in Montreal on 20 October 1953.

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SIDOS, Pierre Lucien Jérôme (1927–)

French nationalist and neo-Vichyist, founder of Jeune Nation in the period after 1945.

Born in Saint-Pierre d'Oléron (Charentes-Inférieure) on 6 January 1927, Pierr Sidos was the

son of François Sidos (1889–1946), regional director of Taittinger's (*q.v.*) Jeunesses Patriotes, executed after the Liberation as an inspector-general in the Milice. Pierre and his brother Jacques were arrested at the Liberation and interned until 1949. Pierre first came to prominence as the founder of Jeune Nation on 23 March 1950, a nationalist, anti-communist, authoritarian movement, based on the principles of 'authority, responsibility, and hierarchy', that used the celtic cross as its symbol, an emblem earlier employed by the French SS-Charlemagne division during the war. General-secretary of JN from 1950 to 1958, Sidos was particularly concerned to retain the French Empire in Indo-China and in Algeria. Sidos was close to those organizations like Charles de Jonquières' Union des Intellectuels Indépendants and his later Nation et Progrès which were dedicated to the vindication and rehabilitation of the collaborationists and built on a foundation of 'soil, blood and traditions'. In the June 1951 elections Sidos stood as a candidate for the Unions des Nationaux Indépendants et Républicains in the Indre department on a platform which would ban the Communist Party and revise the constitution in order to strengthen the executive and the Senate at the expense of the lower house of the legislature.

In February 1959 Sidos formed the Parti Nationaliste (after the ban on Jeune Nation) until its proscription shortly after, following violent demonstrations at the time of the prime minister Michel Debré's visit to Algiers. The journal *Jeune Nation* (founded July 1958) continued after the demise of the party of that name. After 1960 he went into hiding but was arrested on 13 July 1962 and found guilty of conspiracy to overthrow the constitutional regime and of participating in the activities of a banned group. His beliefs at this time were especially coloured by his militant campaign to glorify the French armed forces during the Algerian war and by his conviction that an authoritarian and social state was essential for France; his methods were unashamedly violent and direct.

On 28 April 1964 the Occident movement was created and took a prominent part in the student unrest of May 1968 but was then proscribed. Sidos broke with Occident, preferring the traditional verities of the extreme right, French nationalism in place of the idea of a European super-patriotism and corporate integralism and solidarism in place of Venner's (*q.v.*) 'neo-Marxism' as expressed in *Europe-Action*. His masters continued to be Drumont (*q.v.*) (he later considered founding a Cercle Édouard Drumont), Barrès (*q.v.*), Maurras (*q.v.*) and Brasillach (*q.v.*).

On 6 February 1966 Sidos launched the nationalist *le Soleil* and in April 1968 founded l'Oeuvre Française of which he was president and a member of the political bureau from October 1970. He failed to find enough signatures to stand in the presidential election in 1969. This movement continued until 1982 when it formed a coalition with the Comité de Soutien au Journal Militant, represented by Pierre Pauty and Pierre Bousquet, and the Mouvement Nationaliste Révolutionnaire of Malliarakis (*q.v.*) to form a Regroupement Nationaliste. The resulting Parti Nationaliste Révolutionnaire scarcely got off the ground. L'Oeuvre Française has often acted in concert with the MNR and with Le Pen's (*q.v.*) Front National but Sidos had recently moved away from any alliance with the overt neo-Nazis and from violent action. He continues to call the FN 'reformist', to advocate a corporate solidarism opposed to the idea of class struggle, and to combat what he calls 'elements of disintegration' among whom he numbers 'Zionists', communists, representatives of international finance and black and Arab immigrants. He has been remarkably consistent over the years and his perfervid rhetoric calling on his militants to 'deliver France from an ideological and economic cosmopolitanism' can still be heard. He has recently turned increasingly to ideas of coalition with other similar minds in the integrist and royalist community as exemplified in his reunion on the tenth anniversary of the occupation of the church in Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet (occupied in the name of the Catholic counter-revolution of Mgr Lefebvre) with Brigneau (*q.v.*), Gaucher, Pierre Pujo, Jean Madiran and others.

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SIMA, Horia, (1906–)

Romanian Iron Guard leader and deputy premier for a brief period under the National Legionary State.

Born on 3 July 1906 in Fügăras in Transylvania, Sima was a pupil of the famous Romanian intellectual Nicolae Ionescu in the University of Bucharest where he joined the Legion of the Archangel Michael in 1926 while still an undergraduate. He was a teacher of logic and philosophy in secondary schools.

He became the legionary chief of the Banat region centred on Lugoj, in about 1935. He came to national prominence in 1938 when most of the Iron Guard leaders were imprisoned and it had become necessary to improvise in order to maintain a united national movement. Sima became the commander of the Legion (Iron Guard) after Codreanu's (*q.v.*) imprisonment. Sima was very tough and unscrupulous, with an unappeasable appetite for violent activity but was not a charismatic figure like Codreanu had been. After Codreanu's death Sima escaped to Germany and Ion Voziu took over as leader. Following the initiation of a policy of reconciliation by the government of King Carol, Sima returned after the fall of France. In June he issued a call for legionaries to join the government party and, on 28 June 1940, Sima himself joined the cabinet as Minister of Education but resigned only three days later because of the fundamental split that this action caused in legionary ranks. The section of the movement loyal to the memory of Codreanu, led by the latter's father, was bitterly hostile to Sima whom they called Satan.

In September Sima protested against the cession of his home area of Transylvania to the Hungarians and a legionary rising took place resulting in Carol's abdication and the creation of a National Legionary State with Sima as vice-premier and General Antonescu, a conservative, as leader. Sima strove to build a totalitarian state with fascist economic structures. In November there ensued the most appalling atrocities committed against Jews and members of the old ruling class during which Sima's old teacher Nicolae Ionescu was murdered along with a number of Cuzists (*see* Cuza) and the unfortunate inmates of Jilava prison. Sima refused to condemn the excesses which he justified by referring to past persecutions of legionaries. In January 1941 the Legion rose in revolt against Antonescu and was crushed by the Romanian army. Sima signed a cease fire under pressure from Dr Hermann Neubacher (*q.v.*) and the Germans. Sima was smuggled out of Romania in an SS uniform and found refuge in the Reich. All his attempts to seek reconciliation were rebuffed by Antonescu; the Germans in their turn used Sima as a sword of Damocles to keep Antonescu in line.

In 1943 Sima was temporarily allowed to 'escape' to Italy in order to concentrate Antonescu's mind on

the overriding need of the Reich for Romanian raw materials. On 24 August 1944 he was released from his internment and taken to Vienna following Romania's *volte face* in adhering to the Allied cause. He became a puppet president of the 'National Romanian government' in exile. When the game was up he was finally evacuated, bearing papers in the name of Josef Weber, to Alt-Aussee and thence to Western Europe.

Since 1945 he has lived in Paris, Italy and then in Spain, where he was shamelessly protected by the Franco (*q.v.*) government. In 1946 he was condemned to death *in absentia* by a Romanian People's Court. In 1949 he apologized for his fiercely anti-monarchist position in 1944 and earlier and asked to be allowed to participate in the Romanian National Committee in exile. He was believed to be still alive in Spain in 1985 where he had written pamphlets and spoken for Blas Piñar's (*q.v.*) *Fuerza Nueva*.

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SIMOJOKI, Lauri Elias (before 1926, Simelius) (1899–1940)

Finnish Protestant priest and leader of IKL's unofficial youth movement, demagogue and fanatical fighter.

Born on 28 January 1899 in Rautio (Keski-Pohjanmaa parish), the son of a clergyman, Simojoki was the first in his grade at school to join the volunteer army in the Finnish War of Independence. He fought in the 1st Oulu Front volunteers and for the Kajaanin ski partisans. He graduated from secondary school in Oulu in spring 1919 and enrolled in the theology faculty in Helsinki University. In 1921 and 1922 he was a member of an explosives unit of the East Karelian volunteers who fought, under the leadership of Major Tokkinen, to bring indepen-

dence to the Soviet territory of Karelia after the failure of the Soviets to implement the provisions of the Treaty of Tartu. Simojoki was a leading inspiration in the foundation of the Akateeminen Karjala-Seura (Academic Karelia Society), originally a relief organization for Karelian refugees after the abandonment on 22 February 1922 of the independence campaign following the fall of Uhtua on the 7 February, but later a powerful student secret society enjoying the allegiance of as many as 80 per cent of students. In dedicating the flag of the AKS he said of the Russians: 'our hatred is as black as this flag'.

Simojoki was chairman of AKS (1922–3), secretary (1923–4) and throughout his time in the organization a fierce advocate of a Greater Finland incorporating all the Finnic peoples of Eastern Karelia, the Kola Peninsula and areas to the East. Simojoki left Helsinki University in 1923 to train for the ministry and in 1925 was assistant minister in Kiuruvesi and from 1929 chaplain there until his death in 1940. His main claim to fame is as the founder of the semi-independent IKL youth movement, the Sinimustat (Blue-Blacks), the Finnish equivalent of the HJ or the Italian Balilla, set up in March 1933. It was dissolved by law on 31 January 1936 after Major Bernard Heinolainen and fourteen youth members were arrested for assistance given to the fascist Wabse revolt in Estonia, a cause in which Simojoki was involved up to the hilt in 1935. The IKL founded a new youth movement, the Kansallinen Partioliiike, shortly afterwards. Simojoki served the Isänmaallinen Kansanliike (IKL, or People's Patriotic Movement) as a deputy and leader of its parliamentary group from 1933 to 1939. From 1936 to 1940 he was a member of his local municipal council.

From 1937 Elias Simojoki was the founder and the leader of a new fascist youth movement, the Mustapoita. During the Winter War with the Soviet Union in 1939/40 Simojoki immediately volunteered as a pastor. He was shot near Impilahti, and died in Koirinoja on Lake Lagoda on 25 January 1940. He was buried in a 'hero's tomb' in Kiuruvesi.

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SIMON, Gustav (1900–45)

German National Socialist gauleiter and head of the civil administration in occupied Luxembourg.

Simon was born in Saarbrücken on 2 August 1900, the son of an upwardly mobile railwayman who was to become a chief inspector. He attended a teachers' training college in Merzig from 1914 and from 1922 studied law and economics in Frankfurt University, a course he financed by taking various casual jobs on the railways, in the customs service and in private teaching. He eventually obtained his business college teaching certificate and in 1927 took up a teaching post in a commercial college in Völklingen in the Saarland, then under the French flag.

In 1923 he had been deputy chairman of a *völkisch* student group in Frankfurt and in the following year joined the National Socialist Freedom Party, an *ersatz* Nazi Party which filled the gap left by the banned NSDAP. In 1925 he joined the resurrected NSDAP and in October 1926 founded a local group in Hermeskiel. His devotion to the National Socialists denied him the opportunity to take his final examination in Frankfurt University. Simon gave up his teaching post in 1928 and was appointed by Robert Ley (*q.v.*) to lead the Trier-Birkenfeld area and in January 1929 was created one of the five new district leaders (*Bezirkleiter*) centred on Koblenz. In the Koblenz municipal elections of that year, the NSDAP won 38.5 per cent of the vote, an achievement to which Simon made a large contribution and as a result was himself elected to the city council. In September 1930 he was elected to the Reichstag.

Simon clashed with his gauleiter Ley over his desire to carve a gau of his own in the southern part of Ley's jurisdiction; he was also incensed over a swindle by Ley, who inveigled Simon into handing over money in order to keep Ley's *Westdeutscher Boebachter* going. Though a skilful administrator, Simon was hated for his arrogance, nepotism and corruption, and became known as 'the poisonous mushroom of Hermeskiel'. In May 1931 his ambitions were fulfilled when he was created a gauleiter of the new Koblenz-Trier-Birkenfeld Gau (in 1942 it became the Gau Moselland). Simon was named a member of the Prussian State Council in 1933. He later became leader of the *Saarvereine Deutschlands*. His final ambition was achieved in 1940 on his appointment as chief of the civil administration in Luxembourg after the invasion of that country. In 1942 he became a Reich Defence Commissioner.

He was taken prisoner by the Allies in Koblenz in April 1945 and placed in Paderborn internment

camp. He committed suicide in a Luxembourg prison on 28 December 1945.

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SINCLAIR DE ROCHEMONT, Hugues Alexandre (1901–42)

One of the first Dutch fascists who died on the Eastern Front in the Second World War.

Born in Hilversum on 6 January 1901, Sinclair de Rochemont was something of an eccentric who studied Indology at the University of Leiden in 1922. He became involved in the circle of the ultra-right philosophy professor G.J.P.J. Bolland (1854–1922). In December 1922 he was co-founder of the fascist *Verbond von Actualisten* along with the millionaire Haighton (*q.v.*). The inspiration of the movement was directly Italian. As well as serving as secretary, Sinclair, a talented journalist, edited the journal *De Vaderlander*. He had already at this time been involved in strike-breaking activities.

After a short-lived post with the pension council in The Hague in September 1927, Sinclair became editor of a new fascist journal *De Bezem* (The Broom), which was designed to appeal to a *petit-bourgeois* and working-class readership. He also became the general secretary of the *De Bezem* political organization. In March 1930 a dispute with Haighton led to the departure of Sinclair from *De Bezem* only to set up another rival organization of the same name.

In the summer of 1931 talks took place between Sinclair and the Fleming Wies Moens to explore the possibility of an understanding with Van Severen (*q.v.*), the Flemish solidarist. The outcome was that Sinclair in 1932 became leader of the *Verbond van Nationaal-Socialisten in Rijkso-Nederland*. Having worked for some time as a civil servant, Sinclair resigned on 1 April 1939 and moved into antiquarian bookselling. At the end of May 1940 he joined Meijer's (*q.v.*) *Nationaal Front* and Ernst Ritter von Rappard's *Nationaal-Socialistische Nederlandsche Arbeiders-Partij*. His fascist ideas hardened and he fell completely under Hitler's spell, even subscribing to the SS ideal of a Greater Germany incorporating

the Netherlands. He was imprisoned for a short term for a number of illegal activities including homosexuality and a half-hearted attempt to assassinate the NSB leader Mussert (*q.v.*). Sinclair was killed on the Eastern Front near Grisi on 13 March 1942 while serving as a volunteer in the SS.

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SIRK, Artur (1900–37)

Leader of the Estonian Association of Freedom Fighters.

Born on 25 September 1900 in Järvamaa, the son of a farmer, Sirk was educated as a lawyer and from 1926 made a living as an advocate in Reval. He took part in the Estonian War of Independence in 1919 and was known to be from that time a man of pro-German sympathies. Energetic, fiery, skilled as an organizer and ambitious, Sirk served as an army officer from 1920 to 1926. In 1929 he founded an ex-servicemen's league, first known as the Keskliit (Central Association of Freedom Fighters) and later as the Vabadussõjalaste Liit (Association of Freedom Fighters), often called the Wabse or Vabs movement, which campaigned at the outset for veterans' rights but which Sirk transformed into a paramilitary, extra-parliamentary organization with a grey-green uniform and white armbands. At the second national conference of the movement in 1932, Sirk made a barn-storming speech which has been seen as the catalyst for the transformation. Sirk believed that it was unnecessary to organize a political party, as the essential transfer to authoritarian government could come about through the extensive system of direct democracy, by means of popular initiative and referendum, available under the Estonian constitution.

There was within the movement, in a similar way to other fascist movements, a 'socialist' element which emphasized workers' rights and land reform. In June 1933 Tõnisson banned the ex-servicemen's movement after rumours of a possible coup. In October the Wabse put forward an initiative on constitutional reform which was supported in a referendum by 33 per cent of the voters. As a result the Tõnisson cabinet resigned and lifted the state of emergency. In the January 1934 elections which followed, the Wabse won a majority in several large

urban conurbations. However, on the verge of power, they were to be denied by the Päts coup which declared the movement illegal in March 1934. Sirk himself was among the 400 or so members who were arrested. In November of the same year he escaped to Finland where he had been close to the Lapua movement. By way of Sweden, Britain and Holland he settled in Luxemburg in the spring of 1937. In 1935 the VJL plan for a *putsch*, following which Sirk was to head a cabinet, was foiled by the powerful security authorities employed by Konstantin Päts.

Artur Sirk died on 2 August 1937 two days after falling out of a window on the first floor of a hotel in Echternach (Luxemburg) in mysterious circumstances. It has been argued by some historians, including Pusta and Tomingas, that Sirk was murdered by the long arm of Päts's security police, although the local police claimed it was a case of suicide.

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SKANCKE, Ragnar Sigvald (1890–1948)

Norwegian member of the Nasjonal Samling and associate of Quisling (q.v.).

Born on 9 November 1890 in Ås, Skancke was the son of a bank manager and farmer. He studied electrical technology in Karlsruhe Technical High School and obtained a diploma in 1913. He then became an instructor in electrical engineering in Norway and in 1917 a lecturer. He was later appointed to the chair in electronic engineering in Trondheim Technical University where he specialized in radiotelegraphy and electronic technology.

Although he joined the Nasjonal Samling in 1933 and was appointed *Fylkesfører* for Sør-Trøndelag, he had up to that time had no previous political or administrative experience. Falling under Quisling's spell, he developed a strong loyalty to him and became his uncritical spokesman. Appointed Minister of Labour in Quisling's brief and abortive first

administration, Skancke heard about his elevation on the radio. He achieved real power as the State Council Commissioner for Church and Education 25 September 1940 and continued in this position under Quisling's 'national regime' from 1 February 1942 until the liberation. In this position he took active measures to bring both the clergy and the teachers under NS control, but when Quisling demanded that recalcitrant teachers be deported to the far north, Skancke acted as a moderating influence. He was forced to appoint NS commissioners to overcome the opposition of the Norwegian Clergymen's Association to the new catechism. He was ordered to introduce a declaration requiring obedience by teachers to 'state and leader' and a commitment to spreading NS ideas.

In his dealings with universities he attempted to promote pro-NS academics, to further his campaign against academic freedom, to favour NS students irrespective of their qualifications, and to remove all Jewish books from Oslo University Library. For a time he appointed himself rector of Oslo University. Like many who underestimated the evils of Nazism, he operated in a climate of moral vacuity, a naive scientist seduced by an idealistic commitment to Quisling.

He was arrested in 1945 and accused of complicity in the programme of Nazification and responsibility for the NS legislation from 1940. His trial began on 7 March 1946 and, after much protracted legal argument, and despite protests, Skancke was executed on 28 August 1948, the last of the executions of collaborators to be carried out.

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SKORZENY, Otto (1908–75)

Austrian commando leader who rescued Mussolini from Gran Sasso in 1943 and remained an unrepentant Nazi to his death.

Born in Vienna on 12 June 1908, the son of a businessman who owned an engineering firm, Skorzeny studied engineering at the Technical High School in Vienna, graduating in December 1931. From his ac-

tivities in one of the duelling fraternities, he received a facial wound which gave him his later nick-name 'Scarface'. After leaving University in Vienna he founded his own engineering firm. He was a protégé of Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*) from 1929 and shortly after became a member of the NSDAP. He was certainly, according to the testimony of Gottlob Berger (*q.v.*), an active member in 1935/6, despite his later denials. By 1938 he was a member of both SS and Gestapo. In March 1939 he joined the Waffen-SS Das Reich regiment in Berlin where he served as a technical artillery expert. In the first part of the war he served in France, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and Russia but was invalided out with gallstones while serving on the Eastern Front in December 1942.

Assigned to the 5th Panzer Regiment in France where he remained until February 1943, he was declared by doctors unfit for front-line service. In April 1943 he was transferred to Amt VI of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) under Schellenberg (*q.v.*), the department responsible for foreign intelligence. Skorzeny headed the special commando unit Amt VI-S, the Oranienburg, set up to deal with special assignments involving sabotage and subversion. On 12 September 1943 a force of glider-borne commandos under Skorzeny rescued Mussolini from his mountain prison in Gran Sasso and flew him to safety in Germany, a brilliant exploit that was to create Skorzeny's reputation as an heroic figure. In November he was sent to Vichy France to persuade Marshal Pétain not to indulge in possible secret negotiations with the Allies. This was followed by an abortive mission to kidnap Tito. In the period up to July 1944 he carried out operations against the Danish resistance.

During the 20 July 1944 conspiracy against Hitler, Skorzeny gave invaluable support to troops loyal to Hitler. In gratitude Hitler declared: 'You, Skorzeny, saved the Third Reich.' He was involved in the search for the conspirators and in their bringing to 'justice'. In October 1944 he was sent to Budapest to prevent Regent Horthy from negotiating peace with the Allies. Skorzeny kidnapped Horthy's son, Miki, forcing the regent not only to abandon any thoughts of peace but to sign over power to Ferenc Szálasi (*q.v.*), the Hungarian Arrow Cross leader. Skorzeny's special brigade of English-speaking soldiers, dressed in US uniforms, played a vital part behind American lines in the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944, posing a personal threat even to the person of General Eisenhower.

Surrendering to US soldiers on 17 May 1945 near Salzburg, he was imprisoned in Dachau and in September 1947 acquitted on charges of torturing and

murdering prisoners of war. Skorzeny escaped on 25 July 1948 from a Darmstadt internment camp before he could be dealt with by a denazification court. In Spain he founded an import-export business and wrote his memoirs. From his position in Spain, protected by Franco (*q.v.*), he was involved in the ex-SS welfare organization, the Bruderschaft, with HIAG and its escape arm known as Die Spinne (The Spider), and was contacted by the Naumann circle. He became a familiar figure in the neo-Nazi International. In January 1953 he was invited to inspect a parade celebrating the Naguib-Nasser revolution in Cairo and kept up his contacts with Nazi exiles in Egypt and with the Egyptian army. In 1957 he bought an estate in County Kildare and also kept a house in Mallorca. In the mid-1960s he officially retired from political activity and worked as a representative for Schacht's (*q.v.*) (his uncle by marriage) re-established banking house. He died in Madrid on 7 July 1975.

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SMITH, Gerald Lyman Kenneth (1898–1976)

Far Right Protestant agitator, American nationalist and anti-Semite.

The son of a modest farmer and preacher in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Smith was born in Pardeeville, Wisconsin on 27 February 1898. He received a bachelor of oratory degree from Valparaiso University, Indiana. Working his way upward as a preacher in the evangelical Christian Church, he moved in 1929 to an affluent Louisiana congregation, the King's Highway Christian Church, in Shreveport where he soon met Governor Huey P. Long (*q.v.*) and joined him as an administrator of his Share Our Wealth clubs and as a labour organizer. In 1934 he gave up his church post to work full-time for Long. He developed a reputation as a considerable orator who was particularly good with hecklers. With biblical fervour and syntax, the burly, six-foot demagogue built up a solid rapport with his audience with such gems of rhetoric as: 'A slimy group of men culled from the pink campuses of America with friendly gaze fixed on Russia' or 'our people were starving and they burned the

wheat, hungry and they killed the pigs'. H.L. Mencken called him 'the gutsiest and goriest, the loudest and lustiest, the deadliest and damndest orator' he had heard. After the assassination of his idol Long, in September 1935, a man he had called a 'political genius' and a 'superman', Smith cast about for a new cause. Already an opponent of Roosevelt and the New Deal, he saw a sinister network behind Long's assassination, the same amalgam of forces he was to see behind President Kennedy's death a generation later.

For a time Smith found a new ideological home working for Dr Francis Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pension Plan Ltd, which offered 200 dollars per month to all those over 60. In 1934 he joined Pelley's (*q.v.*) Silver Shirts. 'We're going to drive that cripple [i.e. Roosevelt] out of the White House', he declared. In 1936 he joined the coalition of Townsend, Charles Coughlin (*q.v.*) and Representative William Lemke in the short-lived Union Party attempt on the presidency. Earlier he had endorsed the racist Governor Talmadge of Georgia in that state's primary election. Coming from a background of Lincoln Republicanism and having shown evidence of Progressive attitudes in earlier days, by April 1937, when he launched his Committee of One Million, he had already demonstrated some private anti-Semitism, racism and anti-Catholic prejudice. These sentiments were to become more overt over the next ten years and to lead to charges that Smith was a fascist and a pro-Nazi. He claimed to oppose fascism as much as he abhorred communism, calling Hitler on one occasion, 'the crazy butcher'. His erstwhile support for redistribution of income was soon lost as he discovered allies in the business community and his emphasis inevitably shifted to combating 'the cancerous and creeping paralysis of planned economy' and 'the chamber of torture' of the New Deal. His major obsession became his belief in a communist conspiracy to subvert the United States through the capture of the trade unions and by fomenting labour unrest. He took a stand against US intervention in Europe's quarrels. In March 1942 he launched the Cross and the Flag which survived his death.

He sought the Republican senatorial nomination in Michigan in the same year. Despite his failure to win the nomination, he stood as an Independent Republican and received 32,173 votes. Enlarging on the experience gained, he founded the America First Party which he represented in the 1944 presidential election although, in the event, he was on the ballot in Michigan and Texas only. In 1953 he moved his headquarters from St Louis to California, where his latest political

vehicle, set up in 1947 and known as the Christian Nationalist Crusade, purveyed a mixture of nationalism, a more virulent anti-Semitism, racism and the ubiquitous anti-communism; it called for the deportation of 'Zionists' and the forced transportation of Blacks to Africa. He referred to Eisenhower as 'a Swedish Jew'. In 1964 he gave his support to Senator Barry Goldwater. Not unexpectedly, he thought Governor George Wallace a plus and Martin Luther King a minus. He lavished much energy in the 1960s and 1970s on grandiose plans like the huge statue known as the Christ of the Ozarks near Eureka Springs, Arkansas, where Smith lived for the last years of his life in Penn Castle, and on a plan to build a life-sized replica of Jerusalem as it was in the time of Christ. Smith died on 15 April 1976 in Glendale, California. According to Geoffrey Smith: 'He had more in common with the Oddfellows than the SS.'

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SOFFICI, Ardengo (1879–1964)

Italian artist and poet who gave his support to the fascist movement.

Born in Rignano sull'Arno (Florence) on 7 April 1879, Soffici began as an artist and attended the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence where he founded the journal *La Fiamma*. In November 1900 he moved to Paris where he lived a bohemian existence and went through uninhibited Impressionist, Fauvist and Cubist phases, and met Max Jacob, Apollinaire and Picasso. On his return to Florence in 1907 he collaborated with Papini (*q.v.*) and Prezzolini (*q.v.*) on the journals *Leonardo* and *La Voce*. Working for these nationalist cultural journals, Soffici was concerned to a large degree with cultural themes. He wrote an important work on Rimbaud in 1911 and his most famous novel, *Lemmonio Boreo*, the story of a 'Tuscan Don Quixote' returned to Italy after a period of absence. In 1913, having been converted to Futurism he founded, with Papini, the journal, *Lacerba*, which became in effect the official Futurist organ. At this time Soffici was still a revolutionary iconoclast but shared the disdain for democracy and liberalism prevalent on *La Voce*.

After service in the First World War he returned to his native roots and like Barrès (*q.v.*) in France, became increasingly conservative and tradition-bound, seeking a 'return to order' as he described it. Although he embraced fascism, he rejected party control over cultural affairs but his conversion was to be accompanied by an antipathy towards urbanism, a penchant for populist ruralism with its conceit of an uncorrupted peasantry; he became the 'laureate of rural *squadrismo*' who was to be appointed to the Italian Academy in May 1939. He joined the Tuscan Strapaese movement and was assistant editor of the movement's organ, *Il Selvaggio*, from 1924 to 1943. He wrote a notorious ode to Mussolini in *Nuova Antologia* on 16 October 1938. His fascist aesthetic was systematically described in the journal, *Gerarchia*.

Soffici was appalled by his experience of the Badoglio government after August 1943 and was attracted by the new republican purity of Salò fascism. He accepted membership of the Salò Italian Academy along with Gentile (*q.v.*) and Marinetti (*q.v.*). By early 1945 he had become disillusioned with Mussolini and all his works. After the war he retired to Poggio a Caiano and died on 19 August 1964 in Forte dei Marmi (Lucca).

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SOMERSALO, Arne Sakari (1891–1941)

Finnish military man and journalist, active in both the Lapua and IKL movements.

Born in Tampere on 6 March 1891, Somersalo was the son of a prominent businessman. He graduated from Helsinki University and then studied natural sciences in Germany in the University of Jena. In 1914 he attended an officers' course in Germany and spent the years of the First World War fighting, first on the Western Front as a lieutenant in a German Hussars regiment from 1916 to 1917, and then on the general staff of the 9th German Army Corps until 1918. He returned home to Finland as a major in

that year and served as a general staff officer of the Central Division. In 1919 he commanded an operational division and, from 1920 to 1926, was the officer in command of the Finnish Air Force. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1926.

It was at this time that he entered the political arena as editor of the journal *Valkoinen Vartio* (White Guard), and as one of the founders and executive secretary of the Suomen Suojelusliitto (Finnish Defence League) whose main *raison d'être* was to combat what he saw as a red threat to the country. In 1928 he published his memoirs, *Taisteluvuosien Varelta* (During the Years of Struggle). He became associated with the Lapua Movement in 1930 and in 1931 he edited the movement's organ, *Ajan Sana*; from 1932 to 1935 he edited its successor *Ajan Suunna*. Somersalo joined the IKL (People's Patriotic Movement), the successor to Lapua, in 1933 and became its foreign policy spokesman and from 1933 to 1935 the member of parliament for Turku. Somersalo, with his colleague Gummerus (*q.v.*), was an enthusiast for the corporative, occupational form of representation and was able to persuade the party to adopt this policy by 1935. In the following year he launched, in Kuopio, the provincial paper, *Savon Suunna*. He often wrote as a political commentator under the name Antti Suomenpoika.

During the Winter War against the Soviet Union he served as chief of staff of a front-line division. He was decorated with the Liberty Cross and died while fighting in the continuation war on 17 August 1941 near Kiestinki in the Soviet Union.

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SONDEREGGER, Emil (1898–1934)

Swiss military man, National Front member and co-founder of the Volksbund and the Volksfront.

Born on 28 November 1868 in Herisau, Emil Sonderegger took over his father's embroidery business. He had been employed in the export branch where he was able to travel a great deal and as a result became a good linguist. However, he preferred a military career and by 1888 had been promoted to artillery lieutenant. By 1916 he had progressed to

Kommandant of a brigade. As Commander of the 4th Division, he was involved in the suppression of the general strike in Zurich in November 1918. His anti-left campaign was greeted with great enthusiasm in conservative circles and he acquired the nickname 'the saviour of the Fatherland'. In August 1920 he received his reward in the shape of an appointment to the Swiss General Staff.

He had a reputation for combativeness and quarrelled with his colleagues over restructuring of the army which led to his resignation in May 1923. He then worked for the Schweizerische Industriegesellschaft Neuhausen and for an arms-exporting firm and on 1 August 1931 travelled to China to lecture to Chinese intellectuals on Swiss politics. His political beliefs had moved to the extreme right by this time and he had adopted an anti-democratic position which led him to liken parliament to a stock exchange whereas he was convinced that it should be run on the lines of an efficient business corporation; executive and legislative powers should be amalgamated with a direct popular plebiscitary system as a check on arbitrary power. In the field of economic affairs his views favoured individual enterprise rather than massive state intervention. These tended to be second-hand and naive.

In many ways he was an archetypal military man obsessed by the primacy of order in the state, as he was in his clipped appearance with short grey hair and military moustache. He was attracted into the National Front by the editor of the *Schweizerische Monatshefte*, Oehler (*q.v.*), for whom the capture of this national hero was something of a coup. Throughout 1933 he spoke for the Front. In fact, he played a considerable part, with his military-style organizational ability, in effecting the transition from the more discussion-oriented Neue Front to the street politics of the more disciplined Nationale Front.

Sonderegger left the NF, which he did not believe was resolute enough, with Leonhardt (*q.v.*) in the autumn of 1933 to form the Volksbund but then in February 1934 left Leonhardt to found the Volksfront. After Sonderegger's death this movement joined the Eidgenössischen Bund. These organizations of the extreme radical right called for the abolition of parliament, the disenfranchising of the Jews, control of the press and the strengthening of the army. Sonderegger died on 15 July 1934.

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SOREL, Georges (1847–1922)

French social theorist, philosopher and revolutionary syndicalist who has been seen as the irrationalist inspirer of Italian fascism.

Born in Cherbourg on 2 November 1847, the son of a bankrupted wine merchant, Sorel studied from 1865 in the École Polytechnique in Perpignan and in 1870 began work as an engineer with the Department of Public Works; he was to become a chief engineer. The years from 1870 to 1889 demonstrated nothing extraordinary but in the latter year his first book was published. At this time his political outlook was traditionalist and monarchist but, resigning from his professional vocation in 1892, he devoted himself to a search for a new morality, an endeavour that was to lead to his embrace of orthodox Marxism. From 1894 he began to contribute to left-wing journals, including the *Guesdiste Devenir Social* (until his break with it in December 1897) but he was to become a major revisionist and a revolutionary syndicalist. So rapid was his political evolution that, by 1901, he had already said to Valois (*q.v.*) 'socialism is finished' and by the following year had lost all faith in the parliamentary road to socialism. The only rescue for socialism was 'the autonomous development of workers' syndicates'. As early as 1898 he wrote an essay, 'Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats', which was to have a profound influence on the Italian syndicalists, many of whom Sorel corresponded with. Socialism for Sorel was always a 'mechanism capable of guaranteeing the development of morality', a concept in which he was influenced by Francesco Merlino (1856–1930); it was a way of overcoming 'moral decadence', an embodiment of Sorel's puritanism and anti-hedonism. His disillusion with the parliamentary socialism of a Jaurès and his 'Jacobin demagogues' was partly because it lulled workers instead of inciting them to struggle and partly because he believed it was based on a Jacobin rationalism like that of the hated and 'blood-thirsty' Robespierre.

Underlying his whole philosophy, which he was the first to admit was neither consistent nor entirely coherent ('I have never hidden variations in my thought', he wrote; and in 1903 to Croce: 'I write from day to day following the need of the moment'), was the idea that a heroic effort was necessary to overcome the natural entropy in the world and to

regalvanize a culture that was always under threat of a recourse to barbarism. As he embraced revolutionary syndicalism and came to believe in the syndicate as the only organ of change, so he became increasingly anti-parliamentary and anti-democratic; democracy was a greater enemy even than capitalism. From 1905 to 1909 Sorel was connected with the journal *Mouvement Socialiste*. In two books published in 1908, the *Illusion of Progress*, and *Reflections on Violence*, he attacked the mindless optimism of the eighteenth century and the blind faith in scientific progress. In his castigation of the 'subversion of ancient virtues' he sounds almost Evolian (*q.v.*). He also lamented the 'separation of men of thought from men of production'. Workers should express their will directly and not through corrupted intermediaries like parliaments. Only energy (Bergson's *élan vital*) and will could create the necessary 'society of producers'; only the workers armed with that most important motivating force the myth or the vision of the future, which was 'not a description of things but the expression of the will' and particularly with 'the myth of the general strike', and through a purifying violence 'without hatred and without the spirit of revenge', could, as Beetham puts it, 'renew the vitality of social life'. The violence and spontaneity of the general strike, far from being unfortunate necessities, were to be welcomed as morally superior and transforming.

In late 1908 Sorel was prepared even to examine the monarchist nationalism of Action Française as an anti-bourgeois ally in his revolutionary hostility to the *mufles* who ran the Republic. 'Maurras's friends . . . will do the country a great service by giving it back a feeling for intellectual values'. In 1910 Charles Péguy, now a Catholic nationalist, seemed the great white hope. In 1912 Sorel embraced Mussolini whom he predicted would be 'at the head of a sacred battalion saluting the Italian flag with a sword'. At this time he also contributed to the journal, *L'Indépendance*, a number of articles with anti-Semitic undertones although he was generally to repudiate this sentiment as 'reactionary'. By 1919 he had become an admirer of Lenin and the Bolsheviks although he later called him a 'confusionist'. In his enthusiasm for Lenin's revolution he saw the soviets as embodying his concept of decentralized syndicates in the tradition of Proudhon. At his death on 29 August 1922 in Boulogne-sur-Seine his attitude to both fascism and Bolshevism was ambivalent.

There has been profound disagreement about Sorel's influence on and his attitude to fascism and Bolshevism. It is true that both the Italian and the Soviet ambassadors considered building a monument

over his grave in the 1930s. His associate Berth argued in 1931 that Sorel could most emphatically not be considered 'the spiritual father of Fascism'. Beetham has argued that he does not fit neatly into categories of right or left, while Roth says that it was 'sorelismo', a vulgarized version, which influenced fascism not Sorel, though the same author argues that: 'all evidence seems to indicate that Sorel's attraction to Fascism continued to mount until his death in 1922'. On the other hand, Sir Isaiah Berlin points to the closeness of his thought to that of Déat (*q.v.*) and Strasser (*q.v.*), Drumont (*q.v.*) and Barrès (*q.v.*) and quotes his hostility to those with 'no ancestral tombs to protect, no relics to defend against barbarism' but concludes that despite his belief that Mussolini was a 'Political genius' Sorel was no more a fascist than Proudhon, 'but his glorification of action, honour, defiance, his deep hatred of democracy and equality, his contempt for liberals and Jews are, like Proudhon's brand of socialism, not unrelated to the language and thought of fascism and National Socialism'. Ultimately we must ask, if later generations of the most violent and neo-fascist students in Italy have seized upon Sorel as their guru and guiding light, is this a matter of perverse misperception, of simple misinterpretation, or of a deep recognition of a fellow spirit?

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SOULÈS, Georges Raymond (known as Raymond Abellio) (1907–)

French post-war novelist and writer who came from the left to join Deloncle's (q.v.) MSR in its collaboration with the German occupiers.

Georges Soulès was born in Toulouse on 11 November 1907, into a humble and uncultured

household in which his father was a small tradesman. He was a student in the Polytechnic and worked from 1932 to 1936 in Valence as a road and bridge engineer and in Versailles from 1937 to 1943. His first political adventure was in the Jeunesses Socialistes in 1930 and later, in the Socialist Party (SFIO), he moved to the Trotskyist wing, the Gauche Révolutionnaire, which he describes in his memoirs as the 'most important. . . of [the] dissident leftist movements . . . engendered by the monstrous copulation between anarchism and Marxism'. When this became the Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan, led by Marcel Privert, in 1938, Soulès joined the Redressement (an ultra-pacifist group within the SFIO). Earlier he had served as *chargé de mission* in the Ministry of National Economy under Charles Spinasse (June 1936–June 1937) in Léon Blum's Popular Front government. Between 1937 and 1939 he was a member of the SFIO's executive committee. At this time he became an admirer of the economic plan of the German Economics Minister, Hjalmar Schacht (*q.v.*).

Called up in 1939, Soulès served with an engineering battalion and was captured near Calais and imprisoned in Elsterhorst in Silesia. In Oflag LVD he came under the influence of former Cagouards. He formed a study group which converted him to an 'idealistic' National Socialism and he later set up a Cercle Pétain. Released by the Germans in March 1941 after a recommendation by Jean-Charles Legrand, he briefly joined Déat's (*q.v.*) RNP. He refers in his memoirs to his earlier admiration for Déat, the socialist, as a model for his display of '[the] passionate eloquence of a man of the people'. He was shortly to be a recruit for Deloncle's (*q.v.*) Mouvement Social Révolutionnaire, attracted by the MSR's commitment to immediate, direct action and to the low priority accorded to ideas by Deloncle. To the impressionable Soulès, Deloncle appeared as an heroic figure. Paradoxically he formed within the MSR a 'literary' faction with André Mahé, a former communist, and a fugitive from Action Française, Jean de Castellane. His ideological beliefs at this time are contained in *La Fin du Nihilisme* (written with Mahé), a mixture of Nietzschean superiority, Sorelian direct action and Rosenberg's (*q.v.*) racial mythology. Soulès argued for French integration into the New Order in Europe through the revolutionary activism of a rising elite, inspired by National Socialist racial mythology, as an antidote to communism, which he considered was about to 'pollute the world'. His justification for this conversion in his memoirs is, in keeping with his later interest in the esoteric and the occult, almost metaphysical.

Growing disillusioned with Deloncle's 'Florentine' methods of leadership, as Gordon had described them, Soulès gradually moved away from collaboration. He was the MSR representative on Déat's Front Révolutionnaire Nationale, then appears to have worked as a spy for Laval and finally broke with the MSR to form, in December 1943, the Mouvement Révolutionnaire Français which worked clandestinely to forge links, according to Soulès himself, with the Resistance. He was forced to avoid first the Milice and then the Gaullist government. In 1946 he won the Sainte-Beuve prize, as Raymond Abellio, for his *Heureux les Pacifiques*. In February 1947 he fled to Switzerland.

Subsequently reintegrated into mainstream French life, his only, albeit ambiguous, genuflection to extreme right-wing politics has been his membership of the Amis du Robert Brasillach (*q.v.*). In addition he has been a member of the patronage committee of the *nouvelle droite* journal *Nouvelle École*. He was still alive in the late 1980s.

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SPANN, Othmar (1878–1950)

Austrian social philosopher and political thinker, major figure of the 'conservative revolution', and influence on the Austrian Heimwehr movement.

Born in Altmannsdorf (Vienna) on 1 October 1878, the son of a small artisan and member of the Handwerkstand, Spann studied in Vienna, Zurich, Bern and Tübingen and was appointed professor in Brunn in 1908. He served in the First World War in 1915. After being slightly wounded he returned to Vienna to work for the War Ministry. In 1919 he was appointed to the chair in national economics and sociology. Before the war he had been deeply influenced by the anti-individualist philosophy of Vogelsang (1818–90) and Adam Müller (1779–1829). One of the most serious consequences of the breakdown of a spiritual community and the apotheosis of the individualist values of the nineteenth century, he believed, was Marxism. Elitist and anti-democrat, Spann envisaged a hierarchical, organic community in stark opposition to a society based on rational individualism. As the last of the romantic political theorists who has also been called, 'one of

the last spokesmen of intellectual counter-revolution against liberal and democratic ideas', he established himself as a spokesman of the war generation postulating a derationalized utopian society. Ralf Dahrendorf has argued that a persistent theme of modern Germanic social philosophy has been a backward-looking fear of the actual world of human conflict, an attitude that Spann embodied more than anyone. Spann's theory of 'neoromantic universalism' had a wide influence in reactionary circles not only in the Austrian Heimwehr but also in the Swiss National Front, the Sudeten youth movement, in Walter Heinrich's Kameradschaftsbund and among individuals like the industrialist, Thyssen.

Politically naive and ideologically confused, Spann, in what Peter Gay has called his 'hunger for wholeness', dreamt of a state of stasis and equilibrium within a corporate state. In 1921 he published *Der Wahre Staat*. Spann did not hesitate to involve himself in practical politics, praised Hitler's Munich putsch of 1923, and in mid-June 1928 appeared at a rally of the Austrian Heimatschutz with Pfrimer (*q.v.*). Spann's influence on the Heimwehr movement, through his disciples, was considerable and the Korneuburg oath on 18 May 1930 demonstrates this ideological symbiosis. Spann joined the Austrian NSDAP on 1 May 1933 but Hitler himself considered Spann's ideas hopelessly impracticable, in particular his wish to reorganize functioning modern economic structures into anachronistic hierarchical estates in a dream of impossible medievalism. His doctrines, however, were popular in Austria in the 1920s and 1930s, some like Chancellor Dollfuss being inclined to take some of them seriously. Spann's intolerance, irascibility and dogmatism did little to endear him to a wide following: in Germany he found himself *persona non grata* and his followers were persecuted and expelled, while in Austria his pro-Anschluss line was anathema to the Fatherland Front.

After the Anschluss Spann was arrested in March 1938 and sent for a time to Dachau concentration camp. Anti-Slav though his ideas were (he was a member of the Verein Mitteleuropäischer Staatenbund), he never shared the Nazis' racial and anti-Semitic doctrines. He did not resume his academic career after the war and died on 8 July 1950 in Neustift on his Burgenland estate.

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SPEER, Albert (1905–81)

Hitler's friend, architect and National Socialist Minister of Armaments and War Production, who, at the height of the war effort, prolonged the survival of the Third Reich.

Born in Mannheim on 19 March 1905, the son of a prosperous upper-middle-class architect and master builder, Speer was educated as an architect in the Technical High Schools in Karlsruhe, Munich (from spring 1924), and in the Institute of Technology in Berlin from autumn 1925. He passed his architects' licence examinations in 1927.

As a university assistant lecturer at the Institute of Technology in Berlin–Charlottenberg, a post he held for three years, he heard Hitler speak in 1930 in Hasenheide Beer Hall and succumbed to his 'strange magic' which he saw as a counterweight to a Spenglerian (*q.v.*) pessimism which had infected him after an extensive reading of Spengler's *Decline of the West*. He believed that like the ancient Roman Empire, Germany was in a period of terminal decay and decline.

In January 1931 he became member No. 474,481 of the NSDAP and put his architectural skills at the disposal of the party. 'I was not choosing the NSDAP but becoming a follower of Hitler', he later explained. Among other commissions he designed Adolf Hitler House, the party headquarters for the Berlin Gau and the new Ministry of Propaganda. In addition to his new architectural functions, he became Wannsee section head of the NS Kraftfahrkorps (NSKK), the National Socialist motorists' association. Speer was to achieve his greatest architectural impact as the creator of the 'cathedrals of light' marking the Nuremberg rallies from 1933; one of his first major triumphs was the organization of the technical arrangements for the huge rally at the Tempelhof Field on 1 May 1933. In 1934 he redesigned the Zeppelin Field in Nuremberg with the huge flight of stairs which he based on the Pergamon altar for the rally of that year. He became famous as the architect of 'insane monumentality' (Fest); Hitler considered him 'an architect of genius'. Speer thought his pseudo-classical Doric style to be a synthesis between the architecture of Paul Ludwig Troost, Hitler's architect from Munich, and that of Speer's own teacher Heinrich Tessenow, a combina-

tion which had great appeal for the frustrated artist in Hitler. Responsible for the Reich Chancellery building in 1934, after the death of Troost, Speer was appointed *Arbeitsleiter*, a department chief on Hess's (*q.v.*) staff, and *Interabteilungsleiter* of the Propaganda Ministry. He also became head of the German Labour Front's (DAF) Amt Schönheit der Arbeit (Beauty of Work – a part of *Kraft durch Freude*) to run the campaign for beautifying German workplaces.

Speer was the focus for Hitler's plans to redesign Berlin on a monumental scale as a fitting capital of a new Germanic Empire and in 1937 was appointed General Architectural Inspector for Berlin. 'For the commission to do a great building, I would have sold my soul like Faust. I had found my Mephistopheles', he admitted in the almost reckless candidity of his later years (despite the omissions). With its paramount motivation being prestige, Speer's dalliance with Hitler would bring considerable honours; in 1938 he was named a Prussian state councillor and presented with the Golden Badge of Honour and in 1941 appointed to the Reichstag. On 9 February 1942 (though not confirmed by Hitler until 18 February) Speer reached the pinnacle of his ambitions with his 'surprise' appointment as successor to Fritz Todt (*q.v.*) as Minister of Armaments and Munitions; he 'coincidentally' happened to be at Hitler's headquarters when Todt was killed in an airplane crash. In fact, it was not as surprising as Speer claims in his memoirs for he was already engaged in the Ministry as a head constructional engineer who had doubled the floorspace available for aircraft production. In addition Speer was, to the chagrin of Göring (*q.v.*), created at the same time a Commissioner-General for Armaments Tasks under the Four-Year Plan. Ending inter-departmental rivalries and making use of his authority which derived solely from Hitler, Speer achieved an 'armaments miracle' through the kind of central control that had eluded Todt. The index of arms production based on an early 1942 figure of 100, gives 153 for July 1942, 229 for July 1943 and 322 for July 1944. He gathered a circle of experts around him, known as the 'Speer Ministry', an expert group which he used often to the detriment of the professional bureaucrats. In September 1943 the Ministry was redesignated the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production. Much use was to be made of slave labour from the occupied territories, gathered mostly by Sauckel (*q.v.*), the brutal Plenipotentiary-General for Labour, who viewed large industrialists with suspicion and with whom Speer had an uneasy relationship.

Speer was not only intelligent but sensitive and cultured and was drawn to Nazism by a combination

of his innate nationalism, his ambition and by a fierce loyalty to the person of Hitler. There has been much controversy recently about when Speer actually 'gave up'. Schmidt has claimed that 'no true breach ever really developed' between Hitler and Speer and there is evidence that he distorted documents in his autobiographical works. If he tried to sabotage Hitler's plans, as he claims, and planned Hitler's assassination by means of gas in the ventilation system in February 1945, it is certain that he was relieved when the plot failed. In July 1944 he was still calling for suicide attacks against Russian plants in the Urals and was concerned with the preparations for the counter-attack in the Ardennes. He continued to work for the local supply of arms to neighbouring military units in order to speed up arms supply. According to Mierzejewski, his confidence did not begin to wane until late January 1945.

Speer was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal and released from Spandau in October 1966. He acknowledged his guilt and expressed repentance, but made it clear in *Inside the Third Reich* that 'no apologies are possible' although he refused to acknowledge that he knew about the mass liquidations in the East. According to Dieter Stahl, 'he had the courage to say things that put his life in danger', whereas Trevor-Roper has argued that he was 'the real criminal of Nazi Germany . . . for ten years he sat at the very centre of political power but did nothing.' Speer died in London on 1 September 1981. Mierzejewski summarized his career thus: 'He was a complex, ambiguous figure who struggled long and hard both with the massive problems that confronted him and with himself.'

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SPENGLER, Oswald (1880-1936)

German author of *The Decline of the West* and speculative historian of 'conservative revolutionary' tendencies. Born in Blankenburg (Harz) on 29 May 1880, the

son of a mining technician who had become a postal worker, Spengler studied maths and natural sciences in the classical high school in Halle, and in the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Halle. He taught in Saarbrücken then in Düsseldorf and Hamburg in the Heinrich-Hertz-Realgymnasium. In 1910 he gave up teaching to work as a freelance scholar. He was not called up during the First World War because of myopia and a heart condition. He wrote his most famous work, *The Decline of the West* (vol. 1 published 1918), by candle-light, while living in penury; his original title for the book was to have been *Conservative and Liberal*. Begun at the time of the Agadir crisis of 1911, when the Kaiser sent a gunboat to Morocco in protest against the French takeover of Fez, another milestone on the road to the First World War, the *Decline of the West* tried to establish a comparative 'morphology' of history, a cyclic theory of the rise and decline of civilizations from the point of view of what he has called 'ascendant mythic principles'. He took an organic view of cultural and national development. The era of intellectual freedom and individuality would give way to a new era of Caesarism, of faith, and of restricted freedom more in keeping with the Prussian values admired by Spengler: order, discipline and work. The western response should be one of acceptance as a necessity for the technological revolution at hand. The new technological age should be welcomed as the scourge of current decadence.

It is important to see Spengler within the German context, to appreciate his assumption of German victory in the First World War, his experience of the brief Soviet regime in Bavaria in 1919, and his espousal of a 'German socialism' influenced by Nietzsche and based on Prussian values, which would seek 'the welfare not of the diseased but of the energetic man who ought to be given . . . freedom to do'; his archetypal socialist was Frederick William I of Prussia. In vol. II of *Decline of the West* (1922) he had, as Aschheim has recognized, come to see in socialism 'a mighty politico-economic order that transcends all class interests'. Spengler, who had connections with the conservative DNVP, believed that Gustav von Kahr (1862-1934), the Bavarian Minister President, would restore Prince Rupprecht to the throne. Spengler could well have entered the world of practical politics as Bavarian Minister of Education in the authoritarian regime that followed the destruction of the 'red' regime. He was briefly in favour of the Munich *putsch* of 1923 but he turned against the National Socialists after its failure and by 1924 had virtually abandoned his practical political interests. His correspondence with Gregor Strasser

(*q.v.*) between 1925 and 1935 was extensive. He also had close ties with the June Club, the Herrenklub and thus with the upper echelons of German industry, mutual enemies of communism, liberalism and democracy.

In 1920 he had written *Preussentum und Sozialismus* on which he developed his ideas on Prussian socialism as an alliance between workers, shorn of their international, revolutionary socialist loyalties and conservatives divested of their 'feudal-agrarian narrowness'. In *Der Mensch und die Technik* (1931) civilization can be defended against the 'coloured' hordes only in the spirit of 'the Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him', 'without hope, without rescue'. Only an aristocratic elite not the masses could, he believed, make the future. In this spirit he gave only a cautious welcome to the National Socialist revolution and loathed both their plebeianism and their racial and anti-Semitic obsessions. Spengler had repeated in 1932 what he had earlier said in 1924 that Hitler was an 'heroic tenor' when he should be a 'hero'. In his last political work, *The Hour of Decision*, denounced unnecessarily by von Leers (*q.v.*) as a counter-revolutionary tract, he finally turned his back on National Socialism though the message of the book is far from unambiguous.

The two main charges against Spengler, that he 'aided in that process of intellectual softening-up by which Hitler was eventually able to profit' (Hughes), and that 'his historical vision is lacking in depth as well as in love, pity, and pathos . . . it is a worthless and deeply untruthful sort of history which lacks these qualities' (Heller), take a great deal of gain-saying. Ill, boycotted and ignored for the last three years of his life, Spengler died in Munich on 8 May 1936.

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SPIRITO, Ugo (1896–1979)

Italian fascist philosopher and theorist of corporatism.

Born on 9 September 1896 in Arezzo, Spirito studied at the University of Rome under Giovanni Gentile and was awarded a degree in law and philosophy. His academic career consisted of a series of appointments including the chair of politics and corporate economics at the University of Pisa (1932) the chair of philosophy and the history of philosophy in the University of Messina (1935) and the chair of theoretical philosophy in the University of Genoa (1936), followed by his appointment as emeritus professor in the University of Rome. His earliest intellectual preoccupations were in the fields of criminal law and economics before he developed his philosophical interests.

As early as 1920 he took over the editorship of the *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana* and from 1927 to 1935 co-directed with Arnaldo Volpicelli, the *Nuovi Studi di Diritto, Economica e Politica*. He was also director of *Rassegna di Filosofia*. As editor of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, which he was later unconvincingly to claim was an indictment of fascism, Spirito was responsible, under Gentile (*q.v.*) for certain areas of knowledge.

As a firm convert to the corporate state in the 1920s, Spirito considered himself to be on the 'left' in the movement with his advocacy of an integral corporatism, although in its essential conservatism, its rigid bureaucratic implications, it was far even from the fascist 'socialism' advocated by Panunzio (*q.v.*) and some of the other recruits from revolutionary syndicalism. Spirito believed that the very distinctions between capital and labour themselves would disappear and that the two would be subsumed in a new category of 'producers'. In effect his ideas, which he liked on occasions, to describe as 'communist' went back to the 'proprietary' corporatism of Proudhon. In the 1930s he came to argue that the ultimate aim should be corporate ownership of the means of production, that is that they should be collectively owned by their own workers. Many of these ideas figured prominently in the second congress of syndical and corporative studies held in Ferrara in May 1932 at which he found his own propositions criticized by Panunzio and others. Rejecting the concept of *homo economicus*, an enemy of 'the mechanistic atomism of the old [liberal] economics', and profoundly concerned to find a solution to the ancient conundrum of the correct relationship between practice and theory, individual and state, ethics and economics, Spirito undertook a study of contemporary experiments from Soviet communism to Roosevelt's New Deal under Bottai's (*q.v.*) inspiration in the Scuola di Scienze Corporative at the University of Pisa.

In his more abstract philosophical work, Spirito later shook off the close identification with Gentile whose actualism Spirito had expanded into an *attualismo costruttore* and in his *La Vita come Ricerca* (1937) he demonstrated a new faith in scientific inquiry and a disillusion with fascism. He came to postulate a theory of problematicism which was acutely conscious of the limits of human knowledge, denied the validity of an absolute knowledge, and rejected the possibility of human beings ever achieving self-consciousness due to the deterministic nature of human kind. The new philosophical world of Ugo Spirito, based on the biblical prescription, 'judge not lest ye be judged', and the new 'effort at understanding', offered the prospect of the dissolution of the problem of evil in a universe free of sinners.

Spirito continued to attack democracy as the embodiment of egocentricity and to contrast an acceptable Christian communism with its misshapen Marxist sibling. After the war he became director of the Fondazione Giovanni Gentile and took a part in the activities of the Turin-based Associazione per la Cultura Occidentale. He died in Rome on 28 April 1979.

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STALIISKI, Aleksandur (1893–1945)

Bulgarian leader of the Nationalna Zadruga Faccisti and Minister of Justice for a brief period in 1944.

Born in Vidin on 28 August 1893, Staliiski was the son of the founder of the Bulgarian Union of Academics. He studied law in Sofia and Würzburg Universities and received a doctorate of law in the latter. He practised as a barrister from 1919 and was the general-secretary of the Bulgarian Confederation of Intellectuals. He was a deputy from 1923 to 1928. After a period as a follower of the native fascist Tsankov (*q.v.*), Staliiski founded in 1931 his own party the National Fascist Union which made no secret of its fascist ideology and was subsidized by the Italians as an approved movement. Staliiski was the editor of the party weekly newspaper, *Vasrajdane*. In

1932 there appeared the German translation of Staliiski's book, *Der Corporative Staat*. By May 1934 the organization could boast some 20,000 green-jacketed members, united by their opposition to democracy, to freemasonry and to communism.

In the Bagryanov government Staliiski served as Minister of Justice from 12 June to 2 September 1944 but after the liberation of Bulgaria he was sentenced to death for anti-popular activities by a People's Court and executed on 2 February 1945, in Sofia, with three Regents, two Minister-Presidents and 86 Members of Parliament.

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STANG, Axel (1904–74)

Norwegian member of the Nasjonal Samling and Quisling's (q.v.) Minister of Sport and Labour Service.

Stang was born in Kristiana (Oslo) on 21 February 1904, the son of a landed proprietor. He was educated at the Frogner School in Agriculture. Although he joined the Nasjonal Samling in 1933 and was appointed district leader for Glåmdal, he played only a minor part in party affairs before the German invasion. After the invasion he was in charge, with Skancke (*q.v.*) of the NS political staff. In September 1940 at the behest of Terboven (*q.v.*) Quisling appointed him a commissarial state councillor in charge of sport. Stang had already been marked out by the Germans as a man who could be easily manipulated and when responsibility for the Arbeidstjeneste (Labour Service) was added to his duties, the Germans believed that actual control would now be in SS hands. Quisling persuaded Stang to make the Arbeidstjeneste compulsory for all young Norwegian males.

Stang was to hold on to his position as Minister of Sport and the Labour Service until 8 May 1945 but early in 1941 he enrolled in the SS-Regiment Nordland and served for a short period in Finland and later in the Balkans where he won the Iron Cross Second Class. As the Minister of Sport he clashed with private sports organizations who refused to be

subsumed in a NS-controlled state organization and preferred to boycott sport altogether, at some considerable sacrifice.

In November 1945 Stang was sentenced to hard labour for life, not least for his attempts to recruit Norwegians for the German labour service which worked closely with the Arbeidstjeneste and, indeed, for the SS. In the spring of 1956 he was pardoned and retired to his family estate at Rømskrog. He died on 11 October 1974.

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STARACE, Achille (1889–1945)

Italian fascist secretary of the Partito Nazionale Fascista.

Starace was born in Gallipoli near Lecce (Apulia) on 18 August 1889, the son of a wine and oil merchant. He gained a diploma in accounting from the Lecce Technical Institute and was employed as an accountant in the family business. In 1909 he joined the army and in November 1911 he moved to the Bersaglieri and as a second-lieutenant returned to the Reserve in August 1912. As a participant in the First World War, which he had urged Italy to join as an ardent interventionist in Milan, he was decorated with a number of medals. It was in Trento that he first became attracted to fascism. He signed up in 1920, motivated by his fervent nationalism, and was involved in various *squadristi* expeditions to secure the South Tyrol for fascism. From the foundation of the Trento *fascio* in 1920 Starace was its political secretary. In February 1921 he came to Mussolini's notice and was allowed to take control of the movement in Venezia Tridentina. In October 1921 he was made vice-secretary at the National Congress of the party. Starace was involved in what became known as Bloody Sunday on 24 April 1921 when in Bolzano a clash took place between fascists and pro-German elements.

For his organization in Trento he became known as the 'choreographer' but his main characteristics were his blind devotion to Mussolini, his lack of imagination and a tendency to violence. During the March on Rome in 1922 he led a column from

Venezia Tridentina. Opposing the Pact of Pacification with the socialists which his master supported, he later made amends by giving his full and uncritical support to Mussolini in his desire to create a Fascist Party out of the movement. As a result he was promoted to the executive committee. In October 1923 he abandoned the vice-secretaryship to take over command of the MVSN in Trieste. Elected a deputy in 1924 to the Chamber, where he defended southern interests, he was appointed party inspector (1924–6) to assess party performance at a local level as he had successfully done in Sicily in 1922. Careful not to side too obviously with either the revisionist fascists or the extreme radicals, he reaped the benefits of his fence-sitting in 1926 when Mussolini appointed him vice-secretary as a man likely to execute his wishes with little resistance. A mock epitaph of 1930 ran: 'Here lies Starace, a man of cupidity and no capability. May he rest in peace.'

In December 1928 he replaced the dissident Mario Giampaoli as secretary of the Milan party. He was created national secretary of the party in December 1931 in succession to Giuriati (*q.v.*), who had antagonized Mussolini, and for the next eight years presided over a general decline of the PNF, a reign during which it lost much of its influence and initiative and came to suffer from congestion in the weight of its bureaucracy. During the Starace period, though the party increased its actual numbers, it failed to make progress in almost every other respect, with massive parades, showmanship and a choreography learnt from the Nazis concealing the utter bankruptcy of its attempts to motivate youth and to create a fascist elite. Starace was the object of ridicule and the butt of many jokes. Almost all the party's dynamism was stifled under Starace's rigid control. After the first five years of his stewardship, real progress had given way to superficial campaigns like the disastrous 'go to the people' gimmick. His attempts to mould a new elite through the university fascist groups and the Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento and the Littoriali merely brought him into conflict with Education Minister, De Vecchi (*q.v.*), Carlo Scorza (*q.v.*) and Ricci (*q.v.*) over the Balilla training for 16–18-year-olds. Starace was also responsible for the fostering of an oppressive Mussolini cult.

By October 1939 the hostility of his Undersecretary, Buffarini-Guidi (*q.v.*) and of Ciano (*q.v.*) brought an end to his attempt to 'prussianize' the Italian people. In 1935 the bombastic and arrogant Starace had temporarily abandoned his post to serve in Ethiopia where he led the Colonna Celere in the capture of Gondar. After 31 October 1939 he served as chief of staff of the militia. In August 1943 he was

arrested by the Badoglio government but never succeeded in redeeming himself in the eyes of the real Salò enthusiasts. On 11 November 1943 he was imprisoned in Verona on charges of having harmed the party as secretary. He spent months in the concentration camp at Lumezzone near Brescia. On his release he moved to Genoa but was captured by partisans who recognized him in a café in Milan on 28 April 1945. The following day he was taken to the Piazzale Loreto and shot, and his body later hung with Mussolini's in the square.

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STARHENBERG, Ernst Rüdiger Camillo Maria, 7th Prince of (1899–1956)

Austrian Heimwehr leader.

Born into a supremely aristocratic milieu in Eferding on 10 May 1899, Starhemberg was the son of Princess Franciska (Fanny) Gräffin Lanisch von Moennich (1875–1943) and Ernst Rüdiger (1891–1927), Rittmeister and representative in the Lower Austrian parliament. He went to school in Gmunden and in the autumn of 1917 joined the 4th Dragoon Regiment to fight in the last year of the war on the Piave Front in Italy. He was invalided out of the army with dysentery.

In the autumn of 1920 he enrolled in the University of Innsbruck where he was involved with German nationalist circles, particularly a group called the Corps Rhaetia. He did not complete his education but had come under the influence, in Innsbruck, of Ludwig Draxler, the leader of the Stormzugs Tirol. In the summer of 1921 he fought with the Freikorps Oberland against the Poles in Silesia, much against the will of his parents. Hitherto it has been believed that, although Starhemberg took part in the Munich *putsch* on 9 November 1923, he was not a member of the NSDAP, but in a review of the Goebbels (*q.v.*) *Diaries*, F.L. Carsten has pointed to an entry in October 1930, which refers to Starhemberg as 'Austrian Minister of the Interior and Pg' i.e. NSDAP member. Starhemberg returned to Austria in 1926 after a six-month service in the violent

paramilitary Black Reichswehr. On his return he organized the local farmers in his home area into an active right-wing Jäger group in July 1927; this was to form part of the nationwide Heimwehr movement. On his father's death in November 1927 he inherited a considerable fortune including the family estates. His rise within the Heimwehr was meteoric; in 1928 he was appointed *Ortsführer* in Rohrbach and then *Gaueführer* and finally in July 1929 provincial leader of Upper Austria with the assistance of Pfrimer (*q.v.*). In February 1930 he started his own gau paper, *Jäger*.

Starhemberg had remained an admirer of Hitler ever since the Munich days but also had close relationships with Christian Social politicians. By 2 September 1930 his star had risen to such an extent that he was appointed federal leader of the Heimwehr (*Bundesführer*). On 31 September he also became Minister of the Interior in charge of police and gendarmerie in Vagon's cabinet and from 2 December 1930 to 6 February 1931 he served in the Nationalrat. His experience of government proved to be both catastrophic and short-lived and he left the Ministry on 4 December 1930. He also took leave of absence from the Heimwehr leadership, handing over to Pfrimer in May 1931. After the latter's ill-conceived *putsch* of September 1931, however, Starhemberg resumed the leadership which he held until 1936. As the Heimwehr gained increasing power within the ruling Fatherland Front, so did Starhemberg, whose aim was to maximize the fascist element in the Front: he became Vice-Chancellor in May 1934, a post he held until 14 May 1936.

After the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss he gave his successor, Schuschnigg, his support, became leader of the Fatherland Front and *Bundesminister* for Security from July 1934 to October 1935. It was a time of growing tension and conflict within the Heimwehr; Emil Fey (*q.v.*) was an especial target of Starhemberg's venom. After Starhemberg's removal from the government in May 1936, the incorporation of the Heimwehr into the Fatherland Front and the failure of the various attempts to deal with the Nazis left him completely disillusioned and when the Anschluss came he had already left the country. He went first to Switzerland, then to France and England, and in February 1941 served with the Free French forces in Brazzaville. Anti-Nazi though he became, he could never accept democracy and in June 1942 settled in Argentina, in Chile in December 1949, Spain in 1954, but in 1955 returned to his homeland.

Starhemberg was handsome and a good orator but could be irresponsible, childish and lazy. He was also a known womanizer. He died in the health resort of

Schrüns in the Voralberg on 15 May 1956 and was buried in the family tomb in Eferding.

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STEIDLE, Richard (1881–1940)

Austrian Christian Social politician and lawyer who became leader of the Heimwehr.

Dr Steidle was born on 20 September 1881 in Untermais near Meran (now Merano in the Alto Adige in Italy, then the South Tyrol). His father had come from Württemberg. Steidle studied law in Innsbruck University where he received his D. Juris. In 1914, declared unfit for military service, he worked as assistant to a military court and after the war set up as a lawyer in Innsbruck. He was closely connected with the Tirolische Bauernbund (Tyrolean Peasant League), a local affiliate of the Christian Social Party, from 1918 until 1934 and served in the Landtag from 1919 to 1934. From January 1922 to May 1931 he was also a member of the Bundesrat (the Upper House of the Federal Parliament) and its Chairman from December 1923 to May 1924 and from June to November 1928.

Steidle had organized a voluntary militia in Innsbruck in November 1918 to counteract the revolutionary activities of the Social Democrats whom he considered among the most militant and dangerous socialists in Europe. In the following year he organized a Tyrol Anti-Semitic League. By March 1920 he had established contact with similar movements in Bavaria, particularly Escherich's (q.v.) Orgesch and Kanzler's (q.v.) Orka, and with the Freikorps leader von Epp (q.v.). Steidle was appointed Landesrat (senior administrative official) in the Tyrol in October 1918, a post he retained until June 1921, and he was reappointed from March 1933 to November 1934. He was also security director from October to December 1933.

His various efforts to form an Ordnungsblock in the Tyrol to combat the Bolshevik threat came to full fruition when the Tyrol Heimwehr was established on 15 May 1920 with Steidle as *Landesführer* (he kept this position until 1934). From 1926 until September 1930 he was the Federal leader of the Heimwehr and from October 1932 to July 1934 he was Federal deputy leader. During these years he strove with Waldemar Pabst (q.v.) to create a national Heimwehr organization, Steidle being responsible for political organization and Pabst the military specialist. In fact, from October 1927, he was more or less co-leader of the Heimwehr with the more radical Pfrimer (q.v.). As Heimwehr leader he called for the 'dictatorship of healthy common sense' and despite his Christian Social beliefs was not opposed to Anschluss with Germany. He favoured a broad united alliance of rightist forces, a stance which led to a certain tension with Pfrimer, who preferred an independent line, and to an implicit break with the bourgeois parties.

Steidle's leadership engendered significant criticism from both the radicals, who saw him as an essentially conservative figure, and the moderates, who accused him of driving a wedge between the Heimwehr and the conventional bourgeois parties of the right. By 1933 Steidle had been overshadowed by the rising star, Starhemberg (q.v.) and by Emil Fey (q.v.) and, if it can be said that, had the *putsch* of 1931 succeeded, Steidle would have probably been Chancellor, this was certainly no longer true by November 1933 when he worked for the Department of the Federal Commissioner for Propaganda in Vienna. He then served as Consul-General in Trieste from July 1934 to 1938. After the Anschluss he was accused of having treated the illegal Nazis with undue severity and was sent to the concentration camp in Buchenwald. He was shot by guards while trying to escape, it was said, on 30 August 1940.

A rather eccentric personality, he was once called by Starhemberg 'sharp and rhetorically brilliant'. His ideological thinking probably owes more to the idealist Othmar Spann (q.v.) than to Mussolini.

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Bayern, Preussen und Österreich, 1918–1933, Munich, 1973; *Biographisches Handbuch des Nationalrates und Bundesrates*, Vienna, 1976.

STÖCKER, Adolf (1835–1909)

German theologian and conservative anti-Semitic politician.

Stöcker was born in Halberstadt on 11 December 1835, the son of a blacksmith who had later joined the army and then worked as a prison warder. After studying theology at the University of Halle, he became a Lutheran pastor. As an army chaplain during the Franco-Prussian War who had gained a national reputation for his patriotic oratory, Stöcker was invited by Kaiser Wilhelm I to go to Berlin as a court preacher.

Turning to political activity after discovering, during his work for the Berlin Municipal Mission Society, not only the increasing influence of secularizing Marxism on the lives of the working classes but also their abject poverty, he founded in 1878 a Christian Social Workers' Party to advance a social conservatism which would preserve the values of conservative Prussia in the face of Manchester liberalism and atheistic Marxist socialism. After the fiasco of the 1878 elections, he came to identify Jews as the main obstacle to his aims. As Stöcker came to rely more and more on the disgruntled, anti-liberal sections of the *Mittelstand*, he removed the word Workers' from his party title in 1881.

As a member of the Reichstag in 1881–93 and 1898–1908 on the Conservative ticket, and from 1879 a member of the Prussian Diet for Minden, Stöcker began as a somewhat reluctant anti-Semite and never became a biological racist who wanted to disqualify Jews as such, but nevertheless employed a vituperative anti-Semitic rhetoric. At heart he believed the 'Jewish Question' was a social-ethical one. In 1889 the Kaiser presented him with the stark choice of continuing as court chaplain or persisting in his political activities. Within the Conservative Party, as a member of the *Kreuzzeitung* faction, whose common denominator was their anti-Semitism, he opposed both liberalism and the dangerous experiment with expanding democracy. He resigned his Reichstag seat in February 1908 and died on 2 February 1909 in Gries near Bozen leaving behind him a tradition of clerical anti-Semitism.

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STRASSER, Gregor (1892–1934)

German National Socialist on the social revolutionary wing, the second most important leader up to 1932, known as 'the Trotsky of the Nazi Party'.

Gregor Strasser was born on 31 May 1892 in Geisenfeld (Upper Bavaria) into a conservative Catholic family of peasant origin. His father had been on the staff of the Bavarian royal house. Gregor was educated by Jesuits in Windsheim, Traunstein and Burghausen. Beginning his working life as a chemist's assistant in 1910, Strasser enhanced his education by courses he attended in the University of Munich. He fought in the First World War as a volunteer, at first in the 1st Bavarian Foot Artillery Regiment; he was at Verdun and on the Somme, was highly decorated, and was wounded a number of times. His war-time experiences acted as a powerful reinforcement of his familial, socially-tinged nationalism and a spur to his search for a military *Volkgemeinschaft*, a kind of 'soldier socialism'. After the war he took a pharmacy course in Erlangen University in 1919 but, appalled by the revolutionary events of 1918–19, interrupted his studies to fight with von Epp's (q.v.) Free Corps.

He settled in Landeshut where he started up his own chemist business. Here he became the chairman of the local branch of the ex-serviceman's organization, the *Verband Nationalgesinnter Soldaten*. His experience of the von Epp Free Corps, that of Captain Ehrhardt (q.v.), and in the civil militia, the *Einwohnerwehr*, made him an invaluable asset to the NSDAP when in autumn 1922 he took over the local Landshut SA and joined the party. As leader of the Lower Bavarian Regiment of the SA he took a leading part in the Munich *putsch* of November 1923. Let off lightly for his part (although in April 1924 he spent some time in Landsberg prison), Strasser was freed after his election to the Bavarian Landtag in April on the *Völkische-Sozialer-Block* slate. In December 1924 he was elected to the Reichstag for Westphalia North on behalf of the *Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei*, the substitute NSDAP which he co-led with Luddendorf (q.v.) in opposition to Esser (q.v.), Streicher and Sauckel (q.v.) and Dinter in Thuringia.

A large man with a deep, resonant voice and shaven head, Strasser was, under a coarse and aggressive exterior, a man not only of energy and efficiency but of some idealism. Operating from Berlin he set up in north Germany a brand of National Socialism independent to a considerable degree from that of Hitler in Bavaria and one that stressed the social-revolutionary and 'socialist' aspects of the ideology. In fact, the socialism was more related to the Prussian 'service to all' tradition, to that of Spengler (*q.v.*) and to the Bavarian Social Catholic tradition than to any Marxist variety. In March 1925 Strasser had been appointed leader of the Kreisverband of the Lower Bavarian NSDAP and gauleiter of Lower Bavaria. Frequently incapacitated by diabetes, Strasser had an organization set up in his absence, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Nord und West Deutschen Gauleitern der NSDAP with its own organ the *NS-Briefer* (from October 1925), a bi-weekly edited by Joseph Goebbels (*q.v.*), who spoke approvingly of Strasser as 'a man with anti-capitalist nostalgia'. The draft programme drawn up by Strasser returned to the anti-capitalist tendencies of the early DAP. In March 1926 the Kampfverlag was founded as a publishing organization to propagate 'leftist' views. At the Bamberg leadership conclave on 14 February 1926 he stated his demands for a higher social component.

As the chief of the party's propaganda office from September 1926, Strasser did not assume that Hitler was the automatic choice as Führer and he had support from many who were later to become Hitler loyalists, Koch (*q.v.*), Lohse (*q.v.*), Hildebrand (*q.v.*) and Kaufmann (*q.v.*) but it was clear from the defection of men like Goebbels to Hitler that the centre of gravity still lay in Munich. Hitler was able to persuade Strasser to drop his 1925 draft programme but Strasser remained from January 1928 to his fall in 1932, the crown prince of the party. In his capacity as *Reichsorganisationsleiter*, he created an efficient servicable structure and in March 1929 gave up his position as gauleiter to fulfil his national functions more diligently. His 'socialism', which Stachura and others have described as 'vacuous' and 'superficial petty bourgeois anti-capitalism' (it did indeed, advocate wages-in-kind and compulsory corporations) was gradually dissipated and he now looked for new alliances in a more conservative and nationalist direction. On 30 June 1930 he resigned from the Kampfverlag and found a *modus vivendi* with Hitler. He did not associate himself with his brother Otto's (*q.v.*) departure, which was to lead to the founding of the Black Front, and, it must be remembered, he was still deputy leader of the Reichstag parliamentary

party and presided over, through his dynamic organizational efforts, a party that Bracher has described as 'a veritable microcosm of state and society'. Yet, very significantly, he had lost his financial independence.

Gregor Strasser, however, resumed the quarrel with Hitler over tactics. Strasser favoured a broad coalition of neo-conservative forces and in December 1932 was offered a post as Vice-Chancellor and prime minister of Prussia by Chancellor von Schleicher. Hitler demanded that Strasser refuse and this he did. For some time Strasser had been building his relations with the broad right with intellectuals like Spengler (*q.v.*) and Dr Helbrandt Elbrechter of the *Tatkreis* and with the DNHV, the commercial union organization (German National League of Commercial Employees). He became increasingly irritated by Hitler's negative attitude and by his reliance on terrorism. (Though it should be noted that Strasser himself had said in 1931: 'If we have to wade up to our knees in blood for Germany's sake, so be it'.)

Strasser remained a party member and retained his Reichstag seat until March 1933 but he virtually left political life after resigning his party offices and took up a managerial post with the Schering-Kahlbaum chemical company but his 'treason' of December 1932 was not to be forgotten. Arrested by five Gestapo officers on 30 June 1934 and passed on to the SS, he was shot on the same day, one of the victims of the Röhm purge which put an end forever to the 'radical' and 'social revolutionary' wing of the party.

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STRASSER, Otto (1897-1974)

Brother of Gregor (q.v.) and renegade member of the 'social revolutionary' wing of the NSDAP who left to found the Black Front.

Otto Strasser was born in Windsheim (Middle Franconia) on 10 September 1897, the son of a civil

servant in the judicial service. He served in the army from 2 August 1914 to 30 June 1919 first as a lieutenant in charge of an artillery battery in Flanders, then on the Russian Front before finally returning to the West. As a young law and economics student (July 1919–March 1921) (he later gained a doctorate in economics) he joined the Social Democrats and was a leader of the Republikanische Führerbund, a body which aimed to provide reliable republican leadership for the new German army. During the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* of 1920 he helped the republic as a member of the Rote Hundertschaft to suppress the challenge from the extreme right. He left the SPD in 1920 to become, with Moeller van den Bruck (*q.v.*), a leading member of the right-wing June Club, attracted by its nationalism and its claims to accept a 'Germanic' socialism. He had contributed to *Völkischer Beobachter* under the nom-de-plume Ulrich von Hutten but it was not until early in 1925 that he joined the NSDAP, persuaded by his brother Gregor.

Of the two brothers, Otto was more concerned with theoretical questions, while Gregor pursued a more activist career. From 1926 to 1930 the Strassers developed the important publishing house Kampfverlag. On the basis of their various publications, and in particular through the Berliner Arbeitszeitung, they came to be considered *de facto* leaders of the 'socialist' wing of the NSDAP. Otto had a considerable influence on the evolution of Gregor's interest in autarky as an economic solution to Germany's problems and also on the industrial and agricultural aspects of the programme of the 'left-wing' Arbeitsgemeinschaft. Hitler, however, regarded Otto's brand of Nazism as chaotic 'parlour Bolshevism'. The inevitable break between Otto and the mainstream Nazis came on 4 July 1930 when he led a small faction out of the party under the slogan: 'The Socialists leave the NSDAP'. Of an independent temperament, Strasser could not accept the authority of others for any length of time and he proceeded to organize a Kampfgemeinschaft Revolutionärer Nationalsozialisten which, in June 1931, collaborated with the rebellious wing of the SA under Walter Stennes, as the Nationalsozialistische Kampfgemeinschaft Deutschlands. He also sought links with Hans Zehrer (*q.v.*) and the Tatkreis, with independent nationalists like Bruno Ernst Buchrucker (1878–1966), the leader of the Black Reichswehr (at its peak in 1923–4), and Arthur Mahraun (*q.v.*), in a loose political confederation of forces opposed to Hitler on the nationalist radical right. The Black Front, as Strasser's organization came to be known, 'the school of officers and non-commissioned

officers of the German Revolution', actually held many meetings on the premises of the Tatkreis.

With its belief in 'German socialism', the Black Front was as anti-parliamentary and almost as anti-Semitic as the Nazis but when the latter came to power, Black Front activities were prohibited in February 1933, Otto Strasser immediately formed an underground movement. In May 1933, pursued by the Gestapo, he crossed the frontier into Austria and exile and later moved to Prague where he became a great admirer of Masaryk and influenced the non-Marxist wing of the Sudeten German Social Democrats. Following an interlude in Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal and Bermuda, he settled in Canada. The Black Front was condemned in February 1935 by a People's Court of Justice as highly treasonable. Undaunted, Strasser went on to organize a Free German Movement (Frei-Deutschland Bewegung) with other Black Front emigrés in France.

After the Second World War he continued his efforts on behalf of the Third Front which would work for a neutralist position for Germany between Wall St and Moscow. Strasser under the inspiration of Othmar Spann's (*q.v.*) universalism, surprisingly turned to the idea of Christianity as an essential component of German culture, having been associated in the 1930s with Reventlow's (*q.v.*) anti-Christian *Der Reichswart*. In October 1948 he founded the Bund für Deutschlands Erneuerung (League for German Renewal) whose programme was that contained in his *Deutschlands Erneuerung* (Buenos Aires, 1946). In 1954 he became honorary president of the Europäische Volksbewegung founded by Frédéric Becker, a professor in Strasbourg College of Agriculture. His life-long disapproval of parliamentarism and party government remained intact and was now supplemented by a belief in European confederation. Attracted by certain elements of the programme of Pierre Poujade (*q.v.*), he launched the Deutsche Soziale Union in June 1956. He now called himself a 'solidarist' and for a time was associated with Sir Oswald Mosley (*q.v.*) in his quixotic search for a union of Europe and Africa, with Africa providing the raw materials and a market for a productive, industrial Europe. To the end Otto Strasser believed that Germany should be restored to its pre-First World War boundaries. He died in Munich on 27 August 1974.

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STREEL, Lucien Alphonse Joseph (known as José) (1911–46)

Belgian Rexist journalist and ideologist.

Born into a Catholic family on 14 December 1911 in Jemeppe-sur-Meuse, Streeel spent his early career as a teacher, scholar and professor, after receiving his doctorate of philosophy and letters in Romance philology from Liège University where he was the president of the Liège Federation of Christian Students. He followed the same path as Léon Degrelle (*q.v.*), whom he met in 1930, and Jean Denis (*q.v.*), from L'Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge into the Rex movement. In 1932 *Les Jeunes Gens et la Politique* in which he expressed a general disgust with the modern age and, in particular, with what he was much later to refer to as 'the rule of elementary passions and tyrannical conformisms'. Always very intellectual in appearance and manner, tall, lean, reserved and hesitant, he joined Degrelle and developed into one of his most earnest collaborators on journals like *Soirées* and *Rex*, and later became editor of *Le Pays Réel*. By 1936 he was editor-in-chief of all Rex publications.

In *Ce Qu'il Faut Penser de Rex* (1936) he elaborated a party ideology more notable for its underlying philosophy than for its prescription of detailed policies. It began by postulating an organic society, popular rather than democratic, opposed to the closed system of party government and firmly based on the natural constituencies of family, regional, cultural and national ties. It dealt with 'real people, as a collection of men bound by diverse bonds, a collection of families, occupations, of different collectivities with their elites'. Although he welcomed the New Order in Germany, he had severe misgivings from a Christian point of view about National Socialism, in practice, particularly after reading Rauschnig's *Die Revolution des Nihilismus*. He spoke no German and was no friend of the German mind.

He served as a reserve officer in the brief Belgian-German war of 1940 and in May was in the Oflag VIA camp in Solst. Following his release he became editor in August 1940 of the relaunched *Le Pays*

Réel. He consistently opposed those who wanted to follow 'foreign experiences' but believed that collaboration with Germany was essential for the survival of Belgium. When his leader, Degrelle, departed for the Eastern Front with the Walloon Legion, Streeel became a political councillor of Rex under Victor Matthys (*q.v.*), a position from which he opposed any attempt to undermine Belgian independence. During this period he was, as head of the Service Politique, in effect, deputy leader to Matthys. Towards the end of 1942 he tried in vain to persuade the newly returned Degrelle to cooperate with the Flemish VNV to frustrate the SS in their design to incorporate the Low Countries into a Greater German Reich. Streeel resigned from Rex on 17 January 1943 shortly after it became apparent that Degrelle supported an *état bourgignon*, as he had expressed it in his famous speech in the Palais des Sports. Streeel declared he could not accept his 'extremist theses, racist and annexationist'.

José Streeel continued as a proponent of limited collaboration, often speaking on Radio Brussels and contributing to *Le Nouveau Journal* and *Le Soir*. When he left Rex, dismayed by Degrelle's oath of allegiance to Hitler among other reasons, Streeel was disparagingly referred to by his former leader as 'a little man with too many scruples'. Now convinced that there could be little further meaningful contact between Belgium and the Nazis, though in public he continued to pay lip-service to this ideal, Streeel fled as a refugee to Germany at the end of 1944 where, refusing to take any active political role, he found employment as a factory worker. Re-entering his native country after the war, he surrendered to the authorities who had already condemned him to death *in absentia*. Despite the eloquent pleas on his behalf by M. Spaak and others, the War Tribunal in Brussels, having commuted the death sentence to one of hard labour for life, took the hard-line view of the Auditeur Militaire into account and reimposed the original sentence, it is said, for an article he had written condemning the government in exile in London. Streeel was shot on 21 February 1946 in the Guards barracks at Elsene, still believing that fascism had been the only way to avoid disaster in Europe. Just before his death he said: 'I wished to serve my country. I regret nothing. I consider myself a defeated soldier not a traitor.'

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STREICHER, Julius (1885–1946)

German National Socialist founder of the pathologically anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* and *gauleiter* of Franconia. Born on 12 February 1885 in Fleinhausen (Upper Bavaria), the son of a Catholic primary school teacher, Streicher attended a teacher training college and in 1904 worked as a supply primary teacher in a Swabian village before serving as a volunteer in the military for a year. In 1909 he began teaching in Nuremberg and by 1922 had become a senior master. He fought in the 1914–18 war, rising to the rank of lieutenant in the Reserve; he returned home after being wounded in 1918. His first political affiliation was to the liberal *Freisinnige Partei* which he supported in the 1912 elections. He was also involved in the Young Liberal Union. After the war he was attracted at first to socialism but very soon discovered that the *völkische* varieties suited him best. He resigned from the *Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund*, whose local group he had established in Nuremberg, because it was not sufficiently anti-Semitic and in January 1920 he was invited to join the *Deutschsoziale Partei* (founded by Alfred Brunner). Streicher assumed the leadership of the DSP and proceeded to alienate many of the members by his violent anti-Semitism and by his attempt to go beyond Brunner's concept of a small elitist group. In the late summer of 1921 he seceded, taking with him the Nuremberg group. Streicher had also spoken for Dr Otto Dickel's group in south Germany, the *Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft* (German Working Association). Abandoning both organizations he finally joined the NSDAP after an earlier flirtation in October 1922. Hitler agreed to take over the debts of Strasser's journal *Deutscher Volkswille*.

Streicher shared with Hitler not only a liking for watercolour painting but also an interest in Nordic mythology, *völkisch* 'thought', and a pathological anti-Semitism. In May 1923 he launched his vicious, pornographic and fanciful anti-Semitic weekly *Der Stürmer* which was to continue publication until 1945 and to make Streicher's name forever associated with a perverted amalgam of sex, sadism and anti-Semitism which revolted even some of his strong-stomached colleagues. After taking part in the 1923 *putsch* Streicher was released from pre-trial detention in Landsberg in February 1924 (he had

been arrested in December 1923, curiously, for his 'national communist' activities). In Bemberg he founded the *völkischer Block Bayern* and briefly belonged to a German Workers' Party from which he was expelled. He then took over the leadership of the *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft*, an *ersatz* Nazi organization, with Esser (*q.v.*) and Amann (*q.v.*). Streicher's abrasive personality, his crudeness, violence and sadism ensured that Nuremberg was the scene of constant feuds and libel actions. Although he was a fervent Hitler loyalist (after having been his enemy in his DSP days), he enjoyed almost dictatorial powers in his own area in Nuremberg and in Franconia. On his release, Hitler allowed him considerable latitude.

From 1924 to March 1933 Streicher was a member of the Bavarian provincial parliament and from December 1924 a member of the Nuremberg City Council. Despite the hostility between Streicher and many elements within the party, including especially sections of the SA, Hitler appointed him *gauleiter* of the sub-Gau Nuremberg-Fürth in September 1928. In the same year his scandalous behaviour caused him to be suspended from the education service. Rebecca West once memorably described him as a kind of dirty old man 'who gives trouble in parks'. Even Goebbels called Streicher (in his diary entry of 24 October 1925) 'a typically Bavarian bum-brusher'. Nevertheless in 1930 he was appointed *gauleiter* of Middle Franconia.

In April 1933 as head of the Central Committee for the Defence against Jewish Atrocity and Boycott Propaganda, Streicher was put in charge of the Jewish boycott campaign. In January 1933 he became a member of the Reichstag. Tolerated by Hitler, who believed, as he told Dr Benno Martin, that Streicher was the one who had roused the ordinary people, 'the stable-boy, the humble factory workers, the domestic servants and suchlike', Streicher was able to cling on to his position and to his newspaper empire (which included ownership of the *Frankische Tageszeitung*) in spite of his corruption and his pornographic excesses in which were included a number of rape charges. But when allegations were made that Göring's daughter Edda had been conceived by artificial insemination, Göring ensured that action was taken. Streicher was found by a party court under Buch (*q.v.*) to be 'unfit to lead men' and was removed from his party offices. In semi-retirement during the war, he concentrated on his writings. Although he had taken no part in the formulation of policy, the unlamented Streicher was hanged in Nuremberg for incitement to racial hatred on 16 October 1946.

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STŘIBRNÝ, Jiří (Ferdinand) (1880–1955)

Czech politician and journalist of the extreme right.

Born in Rokycany on 14 January 1880, Stříbrný was one of the co-signatories of the Prague National Committee's declaration of independence in 1918. As a nationalist journalist he had left the Social Democrats when they joined the Second International and helped to form the *Narodně socialistická Strana Česka* (Czech National Socialist Party). He was appointed Minister of the Post in the Kramář government from 14 November 1918 to 10 July 1919 and Minister in charge of railways from 10 July to 17 September 1919 and from 25 May to 15 September 1920. He was always a part of the anti-*Hrad* (anti-Castle) faction of the National Socialists (not related to the German Nazis or in any way fascist) whose major enemies were the Beneš-Masaryk group and their pro-western policies. Although he became Minister of National Defence after the December 1925 election until 17 March 1926 when the Švehla government was defeated, he was soon forced out of the National Socialist Party after Stříbrný's wing of the party, allied with Kramář's National Democrats, tried to have Beneš dismissed as Foreign Minister. Stříbrný was involved in a lacerating quarrel with the National Socialist leader Klofáč, in which Stříbrný was supported outside parliament by the fascist Gajda (*q.v.*). Klofáč alleged that Stříbrný had shown symptoms of nervous collapse. The result was Stříbrný's expulsion from the party after the party congress in September 1926.

As the publisher of two popular newspapers in Prague, he had considerable power to pursue his anti-*Hrad* struggle and to threaten to expose his adversaries who accused him of corruption. He was, in fact, highly corrupt and had been dismissed from two

of his cabinet posts for embezzlement. He continued to work with Gajda between 1926 and 1929 and in the latter year won only 0.9 per cent of the vote as one of the so-called 'Three Musketeers', the Czech fascists, Gajda, Karel Pergler and Stříbrný himself who worked together in an electoral bloc. In April 1929 Stříbrný had formed the Slavic socialists and to fight the election in October 1929 set up the National League against Fixed-Order Lists (i.e. against committed candidates). This combination lost votes to an already existing lower-middle-class Poujadist party. Most of its support came from the *petit-bourgeoisie* and from the *lumpenproletariat*. Its policy consisted of anti-Semitism (almost a half of the Jews in Prague were Germans) and social demagoguery and a considerable anti-German prejudice (cinemas showing German films were attacked).

Between 1930 and 1932 a combination of National Democrats, Conservatives and right-wing Agrarians tried to exploit the Stříbrný movement and in 1931 he was elected to parliament. He was, however, always more of a nuisance than a serious threat. He played very little further part in Czech history but was nevertheless sentenced to hard labour for life in January 1947 for 'conspiring against the Republic when it was in danger' in what seems more like an act of revenge than of justice. He died on 21 January 1955.

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STUCKART, Wilhelm (1902–53)

German National Socialist lawyer and SS man.

Born in Wiesbaden on 16 November 1902 into a poor family of working-class and farming origin, Stuckart studied law in the Universities of Frankfurt and Munich and was awarded a doctorate *magna cum laude* in June 1928. He fought with the von Epp Free Corps (1922–3) and was active in sabotage work in the Ruhr for which he was imprisoned. As a pupil in Wiesbaden he had been a youth group leader of the conservative DNVP and in December he joined the NSDAP in Munich. A legal adviser to the the party

in 1926, he was appointed a judge in 1930. In 1931 he became a legal counsel to the SS and the SA in Pomerania. He rejoined the NSDAP, which he had left to concentrate on his judicial career, in 1930. Stuckart was forced to resign as a judge in February 1932.

In June 1933 he was appointed secretary of state in the Prussian Ministry of Education, in September a member of the Prussian State Council, and in 1934 state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Education. From April 1933 he was Mayor of Stettin. As state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior from March 1935 he was a confidant of Himmler (*q.v.*). The author of many bills easing the Nazification of Germany, Stuckart was a specialist in anti-Jewish legislation within the department. He was the chief architect of the Nuremberg Laws which codified the Jewish persecution. In 1936 he published, with Hans Globke, the commentaries on the Nuremberg Laws and in September of the same year he proposed the removal of Jewish influence from the economy. He was the only leading official of the Ministry of the Interior to join the SS which he did in 1936; in 1944 he was promoted to *SS-Obergruppenführer*. In 1939 he became Frick's (*q.v.*) chief of staff. In his administrative function, Stuckart attempted in vain to rationalize the various parallel state and party organizations. He also proved a specialist in the legal incorporation of the 'new territories', Austria, the Sudetenland and Bohemia/Moravia, into the Reich. Stuckart played a key role in shaping policy in the Bohemian Protectorate.

Stuckart was present at the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942, the first attempt at systematizing the 'Final Solution'. He was in favour of the proposed solution and, in particular, of the sterilization of all *mischlinge* (those of mixed race). Eichmann, who prepared the minutes of the conference, declared at his trial that he said to himself at the time: 'Just look at Stuckart, the perpetual law-abiding bureaucrat, always punctilious and fussy and now what a different tone! The language was anything but in conformity with the legal protocol of clause and paragraph' (quoted in Fleming). The language dealt, as Eichmann testified, with 'killing, elimination, and annihilation'. In a gross miscarriage of justice, Stuckart, who pleaded that he knew nothing of the final solution, was sentenced to only four years' imprisonment in April 1949 at the Wilhelmstrasse trial. It is beyond doubt, from the evidence of Eichmann and of Lösener, adviser on Jewish affairs, who asked Stuckart if he knew of the extermination of Jews in Riga and was told that it was done on orders from the highest level and that things had

moved on since 1935. Fleming comments that 'state secretary Stuckart knew perfectly well on 21 December 1941 what the Final Solution of the Jewish Question involved'. Stuckart was released from prison on health grounds and was killed in a car accident near Hanover on 15 November 1953, most likely by a revenge squad.

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SZÁLASI, Ferenc (1897–1946)

Hungarian Arrow Cross leader who took power briefly from October 1944.

Szálasi was born on 6 January 1897 in Kassa, the son of a non-commissioned officer. His father was an Armenian from Transylvania and his mother a mixture of Slovak, Hungarian and Ruthenian; the family was originally called Salosján. Educated at the Imperial Military Academy, Szálasi served as a professional soldier and in the First World War was a liaison officer with the General Staff. One of his early interests was, as might be expected from one of such mixed ethnic origins, an irridentist concern for Hungary's historic boundaries. His first political experience was as a member of the Hungarian Life League, a military racist society. As a major on the military General Staff, he came to the notice of Gyula Gömbös (*q.v.*), later Hungarian prime minister, as a 'military revolutionary'. In 1933 Szálasi was transferred to the counter-espionage section. A man of rigid principle, with a strange mystical element to his character, eccentric but not personally violent or sadistic, Szálasi was widely read in the Marxist and anarchist classics. A devout Catholic with a belief in his divine mission, he discovered in 1933 the principles of Hungarianism and drew up a fascist-inspired Plan for the Constitution of the Hungarian State. In the same year he wrote *Cél és Követelésék* (Goal and Demands). Refusing to be an organizer for Gömbös, he decided instead to found his own party and on 1 March 1935 was born the Nemzet Akaratának Pártja (Party of National Will) with naively drafted policies including the goal of a 'Carpatho-Danubian Great Fatherland'.

Szálasi, who had resigned his commission in order to found the new party, was badly defeated in the

elections of 1936. The journal of the movement, *New Hungarian Worker*, was often socially very radical although it was also very prone to the 'socialism of fools', anti-Semitism. The movement was known between April and October 1937, when the NAP was banned, as the Hungarist Movement; it believed that Jews should be excluded from the socio-economic life of the country. The economic solutions put forward were as vague as the windy rhetoric and muddled prescriptions of Szálasi's writings. However, his almost religious sense of destiny and his anti-Marxist propaganda transformed him from a little-known agitator to a politician of national fame. Szálasi was put under close police surveillance by the authoritarian regime of the Regent Admiral Horthy and was frequently arrested but he continued to make significant progress. After another change of name, this time to Magyar Nemzet Szocialista Part (Hungarian National Socialist Party) (October 1937–February 1938), the movement was to be deprived of its leader when Szálasi was gaoled in July 1938 for three years with five years' loss of civil rights for illegal leafleting activity. The National Socialist impetus was continued by his radical activists under Kálmán Hubay, as the United Arrow Cross Party, until their leader's release in September 1940. Szálasi resumed the leadership but failed to gain power as a result of Imrédy's (*q.v.*) own ambitions to be the creator of a National Socialist Hungary. The Germans, at this stage, had marked Szálasi, with his dabbling in astrology and spiritualism, as too independent and unstable to serve their strategic interests.

Between 1942 and 1944, Szálasi waited patiently for his time to come and in October 1944 the

Germans found themselves, after their invasion earlier in the same year, with little choice but to call on the Arrow Cross leader, although, inconveniently, the Arrow Cross Party had been proscribed in August and had gone underground. Regent Horthy was forced by German ambassador Veessenmayer (*q.v.*) to preserve the semblance of legality by giving official sanction to a Szálasi regime and to his 'Programme of National Reconstruction'. Setting himself the task of 'raising the social standard of the non-Jewish proletariat', Szálasi merely presided over a tragic and bloody dénouement in which Arrow Cross gangs stalked the streets of Budapest looking for Jews. Szálasi 'retired completely into the clouds' (as Macartney has so graphically described the situation) and eventually the city was all but destroyed by the advancing Soviet forces. Szálasi fled to the west of the country and into the American zone in Austria. He was extradited to Hungary where he was put on trial, found guilty of treason and executed on 12 March 1946 in Budapest.

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TAITTINGER, Pierre Charles (1887–1965)

French leader of the Jeunesses Patriotes.

Born in Paris on 4 October 1887, the son of a nationalist Catholic from Lorraine, Taittinger began his working life as an assistant in the Printemps department store and as a salesman. After marrying a banker's daughter he became a successful businessman. As a disciple of Maurice Barrès (*q.v.*), a Bonapartist (he was the president of the Young Bonapartists of the Seine) and a supporter of Déroulède's Ligue des Patriotes, he failed in 1914 in his attempt to be elected to the Chamber. In the First World War, during which he wrote a memoir, he served first as a sergeant in the cavalry and then as a captain.

On 16 November 1919 he was elected to the Chamber for the Charente-Inférieure as a Bonapartist on the Bloc National ticket. During this time he represented as president the agricultural syndicate in the Charente-Maritime based in Saintes (1919–36) and was elected Mayor of Saint-Georges-de-Côteaux. Under the slogan 'Neither the Red cholera nor the golden plague' he was re-elected to the National Assembly for Paris in 1924 on the Union Républicaine Social et National ticket and again in 1928, 1932 and 1936. In 1924 he launched the Jeunesses Patriotes, in the first instance as the youth wing of the moribund Ligue des Patriotes, which Taittinger finally abandoned in January 1926. A response to the formation of the Cartel des Gauches coalition on the left and centre in the spring of 1924, the JP was established in an atmosphere in which it was widely believed that the whole structure of society was in danger from the communists especially after the panic created by the large communist demonstration of November 1924.

As one of the extraparlimentary leagues which have been described as 'Caesarism with fascist tinges', the JP called for changes in the composition of parliament and struggled for members with rival groups like Valois' (*q.v.*) Faisceau. Although for a period the JP sought an accommodation with democratic methods, it had returned by 1932 to a more authoritarian position and was to play a dominant role in the disturbances of 6 February 1934 in the

capital. In the National Assembly Taittinger himself was most concerned with the defence of shipping interests and with colonial questions; it was his most ardent ambition to become Minister for the Colonies. For many years the vice-president of the Fédération Républicaine on the conservative right, he founded in 1934 a Parti National Populaire which was to become after the dissolution of the leagues in June 1936, the Parti Républicain National et Social (a revival of a party he had founded earlier). This tall, imposing, dynamic figure with his tanned complexion and populist oratory was at times to praise Mussolini and to a lesser extent Hitler and in July 1940 voted for Pétain to be given the powers he demanded. During the war he presided over the Paris Municipal Council (having been first elected in 1936). He later retired from political life believing that a German victory was inevitable.

After the war he wrote for the extreme-right *Écrits de Paris* and founded the Fédération des Indépendants but, deprived of his newspapers, *Le National*, *Le Matin Charentais* and others, he concentrated on his business interests. By the time of his death on 22 January 1965 in Paris he was the director of a large number of firms including the famous Taittinger Champagne company.

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TAMBURINI, Tullio (1892–?)

Italian fascist squadrista and chief of police under the Salò regime.

Born on 22 April 1892 in Prato, Tamburini received

little education and his early life has a rather unsavoury character. In 1914 he spent three days in prison for swindling; in these days he touted at lawyers' offices for orders for printing visiting cards, collected for charity institutions and then used the proceeds for his own benefit, and forged tickets of various kinds. He fought in the First World War without any great distinction and was attached immediately after the war to Reparto Rastrellatori, a mopping-up detachment in the occupied countries, in the circumstances, given his earlier record, perhaps a foolhardy appointment; he was duly accused of looting and selling off property belonging to others.

In 1922 Tamburini was received into the Florence *fascio* and a year later became consul in the Florentine militia, commandant of the Legion 'Francesco Ferrucci'. He was an exemplar of violent and intransigent *squadristismo*, a master of the *manganello*, representing the 'popular' plebeian Florentine strain rather than the more 'aristocratic' variety espoused by Perrone Compagni (*q.v.*). The latter appointed Tamburini provincial inspector and commandant-general of Florentine squads. Tamburini opposed Mussolini's 30 November 1924 circular condemning squad indiscipline. He was a leading figure in the 'revolt of the consuls' which favoured a 'second wave' of fascist revolution. In these early days he was a friend of Malaparte (*q.v.*), a fellow native of Prato, who often protected him from the consequences of his own excesses.

Following a bloody and violent episode on 3/4 October 1925, Tamburini, a lover of power, ambitious, unscrupulous, with a large entourage of camp followers and prone to use violence for private and personal ends, was dismissed and expelled to Tripolitania. For the next nine months he petitioned and pleaded with Mussolini to be allowed to return but the Duce refused until September 1926 when Tamburini reappeared in Europe to form part of the Italian delegation to the League of Nations and in October was appointed to the Milizia Nazionale Forestale. In 1928 he returned permanently to Florence where he was greeted by a crowd of 1,500. In the same year he moved to the Alto Adige district as local head of the Milizia Forestale.

His real return to official favour was marked by his appointment as Prefect of Avellino (1 August 1936–21 August 1939), followed by a period in Ancona (21 August 1939–7 June 1941), and in Trieste (7 June 1941–1 August 1943). Tamburini was appointed Chief of Police in the Italian Social Republic with the authority and backing of the Germans on 1 October 1943. On of his functions

was responsibility for the auxiliary police and the irregular anti-partisan groups like the Banda Koch (*q.v.*). His old habits died hard and in January 1944 he was forced to defend himself against charges of illicit enrichment. He was dismissed as police chief in April 1944. The picture, however, was not entirely black and Leto has referred to his 'human side'. This is demonstrated by his possible secret contacts with Allies in Switzerland, which, being discovered, led to his later arrest by the Germans. Preziosi's (*q.v.*) gibe that Tamburini was a 'Jew-lover', however, is certainly not borne out by the diligence with which Tamburini was prepared to cooperate with the Germans in rounding up 'all Jews even if hitherto exempt or privileged'. Tamburini was arrested by the Germans along with Apollonio, the head of OVRA, and sent to Dachau in February 1945 on the orders of General Wolff (*q.v.*) who hated Tamburini. Tamburini was shortly released but on 31 May 1945 was arrested at Moltra by the representatives of the Committee of National Liberation and on 25 September sent to San Vittore prison in Milan. On 20 September 1946 he was amnestied and in September 1947 disappeared to Buenos Aires.

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TERBOVEN, Josef Antonius Heinrich (1898–1945)

German National Socialist gauleiter and Reich Commissioner in Norway.

Terboven was born on 23 May 1898 in Essen, a Catholic farmer's son (Terboven referred to his father as 'a gentleman farmer'). After attending the Humboldt School in Essen he joined the army in May 1915 as a volunteer attached to an artillery regiment. He was a member of the Luftwaffe for some time and ended as a lieutenant in the Reserve with both the Iron Cross First Class and Second Class. Following his demobilization he attended the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich in 1919 where he studied law and political science and also in the University of Freiburg where he had to break his studies due to his father's death in 1921; he never

completed his degree though he returned briefly to Munich University. In 1923 he worked for an Essen credit house and later as a bank official. He was a member of the NSDAP from 1923 (No. 25,247), Ortsgruppe leader in Essen, and *SA-Führer* in 1925, Bezirk leader in 1927 and finally from 1 August 1928 gauleiter of Essen until his death in 1945. In November 1930 he launched the *National Zeitung* in Essen. Elected to the Reichstag in 1930, he was appointed in 1933 to the Prussian State Council and in February 1935 was *Oberpräsident* for the Rhine Province. In 1936 he was named *SA-Obergruppenführer* but he had earlier been considered an enemy of the Röhmler (*q.v.*) SA which he assisted Hitler in purging. His wedding on 28 June 1934 was attended by Hitler and by his close friend Hermann Göring (*q.v.*) (with whom he was involved in some very questionable steel share dealings).

Considered by many in the party as an outsider, he was, on an impulse of Hitler's, appointed as Reich Commissioner for occupied Norway on 20 April 1940. He was concerned to bring Norway into the economic orbit of Göring's Four-Year Plan. He saw himself as having unlimited authority, being directly responsible only to Hitler according to the terms of his appointment. He attempted at first to rule through Quisling (*q.v.*) and his Nasjonal Samling, an experiment he abandoned, and concentrated on his real aim, the eventual incorporation of Norway into a Greater German Reich. Severely disillusioned by Quisling's lack of ability and hamstrung by the interference of Rosenberg (*q.v.*) and Ribbentrop (*q.v.*), Terboven committed suicide at the end of the war by blowing himself up with a keg of gunpowder on 11 May 1945 in his bunker in Skaugum, Oslo.

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TERRE'BLANCHE, Eugene Ney (1941–)

South African leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement).

Born on 31 January 1941 in Ventersdorp (Transvaal), the son of a member of the extreme right Ossewa-brandwag. He was an Afrikaner nationalist in his school days when he founded the Jong Afrikanerharte. In 1963 he joined the South African police and served as a police bodyguard to Prime Minister John Vorster.

From the outset in 1969 he was an active member of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, standing unsuccessfully as a parliamentary candidate.

The organization with which he has subsequently been associated, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), was founded in Heidelberg in 1973 by Terre'blanche and Jan Groenewald, another former policeman. He first reached the newspaper headlines in 1979 when Professor F. Van Jaarsveld was tarred and feathered for daring to suggest that the Day of the Covenant, 16 December, marking the victory over the Zulus, should no longer be celebrated. A party representing the political wing of the AWB was formed in 1979 under the title Blanke Volkstaartparty with the aim, the same as that of the AWB, of setting up an authoritarian Afrikaner state, on the territory of the former Boer Republics, Northern Natal and the Northern Cape, thus liberating the Afrikaners from the evil influence of 'Anglo-Jewish plutocracy' and democracy. Anti-Semitic and National Socialist with all the trappings, a near-swastika flag formed from three 7s in a white circle within a red background, of certain European movements of the 1930s, the AWB claims to work for the survival of 'white Christian civilization'. A corporatist representative system based on occupational groupings would be substituted for the present direct democratic system (for whites only). Terre'blanche has a particular phobia for what he calls the 'forces of Islam' and is in favour of the disenfranchisement of Jews.

In June 1983 Terre'blanche was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, suspended for five years, and a 300 Rand fine for possession of arms and ammunition and in October of the same year to two to four years, suspended for five years, for terrorism. Mr Justice Van Dyk described Terre'blanche and his fellow terrorists as 'civilized and decent people' who were 'victims of an unfortunate combination of circumstances'. In 1986 the AWB which has formed increasing links with Dr Treurnicht's Conservative Party, disrupted National Party meetings in Brits, Pietersburg and Warden but in October of the same year Terre'blanche claimed to have renounced violence. Many of his followers were shocked by reports of his 'drinking and womanizing', which culminated in January 1989 in an incident in which he was reported to have been seen near the Boer War monument at Paardekraal with a newspaper columnist from the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, Miss Jani Allan. He was later reported to have driven his car through the locked gates of the monument and in April 1989 appeared in court in Krugersdorp charged with damaging state property.

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THADDEN, Adolf von (1921–)

German post-war leader of the Deutsche Reichspartei and the National Democratic Party.

Born on 7 July 1921 in Trieglaff (Pomerania) into an ancient Pomeranian Junker family. Adolf von Thadden is the son of a district magistrate. He studied agriculture and economics after his schooling in Greiffenberg. After his work service he joined the army, becoming a brigade adjutant in the artillery. His half-sister Elizabeth, was hanged for complicity in the anti-Hitler plot of 20 July 1944. He was later to have recourse to the courts to scotch rumours of his alleged cooperation with Polish security at the end of the war after being arrested and imprisoned by them. Fleeing to the British Zone in November 1946, he worked for the British Property Control in Göttingen. He was, perhaps, the best-known name in extreme right-wing politics in the Federal Republic after the war.

In 1947 he joined the DKP/DRP (Deutsch Konservative Partei/Deutsche Rechtspartei) and became a member of its Lower Saxon executive committee and chairman of the Göttingen district. He was elected in August 1949 as one of the five representatives in the Bundestag for the Deutsche Rechtspartei (after 1950 called the Deutsche Reichspartei). Thadden became the leading writer on the DRP organ, *Reichsnuf*, and was renowned for his wit and demagoguery. In 1948 he had been elected along with the half-Jewish police chief, Leonard Schlüter, in the Göttingen City Council elections, his success due in no small measure to his ability to get across his radical, nationalist rhetoric to young voters. In 1953 he was friendly with Dr Werner Naumann, former state secretary in Goebbels' (q.v.) Ministry of Propaganda, who attempted to infiltrate the 'liberal' FDP with former Nazis.

Von Thadden was a member of the Bundestag until 1953 and then from 1955 to 1959, a Senator from 1952 to 1958, a member of the Landtag in Lower Saxony from 1956 to 1959, chairman from 1960 of the DRP in Lower Saxony, second in the party only to leader Wilhelm Meinberg, and chairman of the national DRP from 2 December 1961 to 4 December 1965. In the Deutsche Reichspartei, he

was responsible particularly for publicity, propaganda and publications and was the leading ideologist. In 1962 he was a participant in the attempt to found a National European Party with Sir Oswald Mosley (q.v.), Thiriart (q.v.) and the Italian MSI. When the National Democratic Party was founded on 28 November 1964, von Thadden became the power behind the throne although nominal leadership was in the hands of the cement manufacturer, Friedrich Thielen. In 1964 he became chief editor of *Reichsnuf* and in the next year of *Deutsche Nachrichten*. Von Thadden was elected chairman of the NPD on 5 February 1967 and served the party in the Bundestag from 1967 to 1970.

Von Thadden was in almost constant dispute with the more moderate Thielen, who tried to have his adversary ousted from the party. After much acrimony and considerable litigation, von Thadden was finally confirmed as chairman in November 1967 on a platform which demanded withdrawal from NATO. By the end of 1966 some 126 NPD representatives had been elected in Kreis and Gemeinde parliaments. Although he was never a member of the NDSAP, it was clear what was going on in his subconscious when he referred in a television interview to National Socialists instead of National Democrats. He talked of the decay of all areas of national life, lack of order and of reunification with the East and the reacquisition of Danzig and 'perhaps even Austria'. He considered the constitutional arrangements in the Federal Republic were at variance with Germany's cultural traditions.

In 1971 von Thadden was removed as chairman of the NPD, a party whose economic policy was conservative with its belief in tax reduction, control of state expenditure and thrift. He retired from politics in 1974 after obtaining a position with a construction firm. He remained as chief editor of *Deutsche Wochenzeitung* and in 1988 was still the publisher. In 1981 and 1982 he was reported to be speaking for the Gesellschaft Für Freie Publizistik.

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THIERACK, Otto Georg (1889–1946)

National Socialist President of the People's Court (1936–42) and Minister of Justice (1942–5)

Born in Wurzen (Saxony) on 19 April 1889, Otto Thierack studied law and political science in the Universities of Marburg and Leipzig. In February 1914 he achieved his Dr. Jur. From August 1914 he served in the First World War as a volunteer. After the war he entered the Saxon judicial service in April 1920 as a court assessor and in April 1921 as public prosecutor in Leipzig. In 1926 he held the same position in Dresden. A member of the NSDAP from only 1932, it was enough to ensure his appointment as State Minister for Justice in Saxony in May 1933, in 1935 as Vice-President of the Reich Supreme Court, and from 1936 to 1942 as President of the Volksgerichtshof (People's Court) in Berlin. When Thierack took over the VGH its sentences had been relatively mild compared with its later behaviour under the increasing influence of Himmler (*q.v.*) and the SS. The beginning of this process of delivering justice into the hands of the police and the SS was marked by Thierack's cooperation with Heydrich (*q.v.*) over the Eliáš case when Heydrich decided to act on a dossier he had in his possession which allegedly demonstrated the Czech prime minister's ambiguous attitude to collaboration. The prosecution was handled by the head of the Prague Gestapo and the People's Court instead of by the Reich Attorney General.

Hitler's demand in 1942 for the Nazification of the courts was reflected in *Das Reich's* editorial of 11 October 1942: 'The more subjectively a judge clings to the ideas of National Socialism, the more objective and just will be his sentences.' After Goebbels' (*q.v.*) recommendation in March 1942, Thierack found himself appointed Minister of Justice in August 1942, in succession to the acting minister, Franz Schlegelberger, after Hitler had criticized the VGH for excessive leniency in its prosecution of the regime's enemies. Thierack was also created head of the Nationalsozialistischer Rechtswahrerverbund, the successor to the Bund Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Juristen. From 1942 to 1945 he was also head of the Akademie für Deutsches Recht. Hitler allowed Thierack to speed up justice and to take a line independent of existing law when called for. As an *SS-Gruppenführer* Thierack, who had in 1942 judicial responsibility for Jews and Poles in the Eastern occupied territories, was content to accommodate Himmler and the SS; with Thierack's connivance the police were allowed to execute where the NSDAP objected to milder sentences 'without

further judicial intervention'. In the summer of 1943, Thierack, whom Orlow refers to as 'one of the most radical partifiers among the professional German jurists', agreed that all Jews under German sovereignty should come under the jurisdiction of the RSHA. In the interests of the 'liberation of the German body politic', he was prepared to countenance measures like 'annihilation through work'.

Arrested by the Allies, Thierack committed suicide in Eselheide Camp near Paderborn on 22 November 1946.

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THIRIART, Jean François (1922–)

Belgian founder of the neo-fascist European movement, Jeune Europe.

Born in 1922 into a left-wing milieu and a former member of the Sozialistische Jonge Wacht/Jeune Garde Socialiste, Thiriart, who after the war built up the Opteron chain of opticians' retail outlets, appears to have moved to the right by 1939 when he joined the extreme right Légion Nationale. During the war he was a member of the collaborationist Amis du Grand Reich Allemand, an experience that not only instilled into him the ideal of a supranational European unity but also led to his prosecution after the war for collaboration.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a time of colonial disengagement for both France and Belgium, Thiriart helped to found the Comité d'Action et de Défense des Belges d'Afrique in 1960, an organization which changed its name to the Mouvement d'Action Civique. Like a number of similar French movements it used the Celtic cross as its emblem and was, in fact, closely linked to the clandestine French OAS paramilitary organization dedicated to the concept of a France Algeria. One of Thiriart's formative influences at this time was the ex-socialist Henri Moreau. In 1962 a larger European movement was founded, of which MAC became the Belgian section. The Jeune Europe made contact with other extreme right elements in Western Europe, Mosley (*q.v.*) in Britain, von Thadden (*q.v.*) in Germany and the Italian MSI, although the latter two were reluctant to sink their national identities in a common European 'communitarian' movement. When Thiriart stood for parliament in 1965, he split the

Jeune Europe movement, many of whose members were opposed to traditional parliamentary activity. The party became at this time the Parti Communiste Européen, continuing the pro-Palestinian, anti-communist, anti-American policies of the previous organization. Thiriart's Europocentric policy was expressed in his journal *La Nation Européenne*. This mystical European nationalism rejected equally the twin poles of 'American materialism' and imperialistic capitalism on one side and Soviet communism on the other, demanded support for Portugal and South Africa, and at home for a strange mixture of corporatist and Poujadist economic policies, an end to foreign aid, and authoritarian political changes to favour the executive power at the expense of the legislative. Thiriart was close, through his MAC organization, to the Sidos brothers (*q.v.*) in France, to the Fédérations des Étudiants Nationalistes and to Le Pen's (*q.v.*) Front National pour l'Algérie Française.

In August 1966 in Spain for a meeting of the PCE, he is known to have placed flowers on the grave of the Falangist leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). After 1969 he went into semi-retirement but he continued to make contact with Communist China and to write for journals financed by Arab anti-Zionist money. Thiriart had become, like Serafino di Luia of the Lotta di Popolo in Italy, that strange amalgam, a Maoist-fascist. In October 1971 he participated in a congress of 'integralists' in Perugia and set up after 1974 the Aginter-Press but little was heard of him after that date. Many of his members continued, however, under Charles Saint-Prot, to propagate his ideas. The magazine, *Volonté Européenne*, published in the late 1980s, continued to keep his name alive.

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TISO, Jozef Gašpar (1887–1947)

Leader of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party and later President of the independent Slovak state.

Born in Veľká Bytča (N.W. Slovakia) on 13 October 1887, the son of a butcher and smallholder, Jozef

Tiso was from a magyarized family. He enrolled in the Hungarian theological institute in Vienna University, the Pazmaneum. Ordained in 1910 he received his doctorate in theology in 1911. After war service in 1914 as a chaplain, he was invalidated out and became both a professor in the Nitra seminary and personal secretary to Bishop Vilmos Bathyaný. When the new Czechoslovak state was created he became a vociferous Slovak nationalist and in 1924 served a two-week sentence of imprisonment for his political activities. From 1924 until 1945 he was the pastor of a parish in Central Slovakia (Bánovce and Bebravou).

As a member of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, created by the Catholic priest Father Hlinka, he agitated through his powerful oratory and by organizing mass demonstrations on behalf of the Slovak cause although he was always on the moderate wing of the party which accepted the existence of the democratic Czechoslovak Republic. Elected to parliament in 1920, he was re-elected in 1925. When the People's Party joined the Cabinet of Antonín Švehla in 1926, Tiso became Minister of Health and Social Welfare. His facility for gaining the confidence of various factions of the party and his driving ambition combined to give him, in October 1938, the prize of Hlinka's successor as party leader after he had been appointed chairman of the executive committee and vice-president, defeating his main rival Sidor (*q.v.*). Tiso served as Prime Minister in the Slovak autonomous government from 1 October 1938 to 20 January 1939.

In March 1939 Hitler was able to persuade him, by threatening to include the Slovaks in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, to declare a completely independent Slovak Republic. Tiso remained as the premier of the independent Republic until he moved over to the Presidency in October, a post he held until the Red Army overran the country in 1945. As President and *Vodca* (leader), a title conferred on him by the Diet on 23 October 1942, he made great use of the radicals of Durčanský's Nastup group to provide the ideological foundations of the state although since his Vienna days he had been attracted to the combination of Thomist philosophy, social Catholicism based on the encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, and 'Christian totalitarianism' which underlay much of the authoritarian ideology throughout the Catholic world in the 1920s and 1930s. Tiso's ideology has been the subject of much controversy, with some like Jörg Hoensch suggesting that he had as his aims, as Tiso himself suggested, 'the honour of God and then the good of the [Slovak] people'. Others have argued that he became

an admirer of Hitler and failed to see the distinction between his own Christian solidarism, 'theocracy in authoritarian dress', as it has been called, and National Socialism. 'The leader of the workers', he declared, 'must not be Lenin but Christ'. The authoritarian constitution of 21 July 1939 had as its predecessors those of Salazar (*q.v.*) and the Fatherland Front in Austria. Tiso, however, remained a conservative and, in Slovakian terms, compared with the radicals of the Hlinka Guard, a 'moderate'.

After the autumn of 1941 anti-Semitism became the official policy of the Slovak state although Tiso had begun to prepare anti-Semitic legislation as early as November 1938 and by August 1939 Jews had been excluded from the universities and the professions; it is certain that he personally desired a Slovakia free of Jews despite the fact that he hypocritically condemned the deportation of some 60,000 Jews to the gas-chambers. Slovakia under Tiso was, in fact, the first European state to accede, with alacrity, to Germany's demand for the 'resettlement of Slovak Jews in Poland'. His powers within the Slovak state were limited only by the Germans whose influence in the country was immense.

Tiso sought asylum in an Austrian monastery when the Russians arrived and surrendered to the US army. He was put on trial in the new Czechoslovakia from 2 December 1946 to 14 April 1947 and found guilty of high treason, collaboration with the Germans, sending Slovak soldiers to fight the USSR, suppression of the uprising of 1944, deporting Slovaks and Jews to Germany and Poland, and other serious charges. He was executed on 18 April 1947 in Bratislava.

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TIXIER-VIGNANCOUR, Jean Louis Gilbert (1907–)

French extreme-right deputy and presidential candidate.

Born on 12 October 1907 in Paris, the son of a paediatrician and haematologist with strong political views, Tixier was educated at the lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris and in the law faculty at the Sorbonne. As a militant member of the Étudiants d'Action Française he was noticed by Léon Daudet (*q.v.*). In March 1926 he was arrested for demonstrating at a meeting held to mark the anniversary of the Black Sea mutineers during the Russian Revolution and sent to La Roquette. After qualifying as an advocate in 1927 and completing his military service in the artillery he began his practice as a lawyer in 1931. In May 1936 Tixier was elected deputy for Orthez (Basses-Pyrénées); he had forsaken Action Française for L'Alliance Démocratique and took up a position as an independent nationalist.

During the 1930s he was close to the *Je Suis Partout* fascist circle; in 1937/8 he spoke in a series of lectures organized by the journal. Tixier took up a position in opposition to the Popular Front, advocated agricultural protection, peace and the defence of the lower-middle-class small proprietors and non-union workers. He flirted with many of the right-wing leagues and paramilitary organizations including Taittinger's (*q.v.*) Parti Républicain National et Social, La Rocque's (*q.v.*) Parti Social Française, and the Front de la Liberté, Doriot's (*q.v.*) attempt to unite the various anti-communist forces in France. When Doriot founded the Parti Populaire Français, Tixier became a supporter. Although he was clearly a man of the right, he possessed a radical temperament and an independent disposition. By the end of the decade he had managed to remain aloof from the main forces of the extreme right 'because I desire to remain the militant of all the nationalist parties whichever they may be'.

In 1940 he opposed war but was also mobilized as a sub-lieutenant and won the Croix de Guerre. At first an ardent Vichyist, continuing as a deputy until 1941, he was appointed Commissioner of Press and Radio, briefly in late 1940, and Undersecretary of State for Information. In 1941 he was imprisoned in Tunisia, where he had fled, by the Germans, freed by the Allies but rearrested by the Gaullist authorities. He shared a prison cell with Pierre Pucheu (*q.v.*) but was released by the Allies and mobilized in May 1943 only to be arrested once again in November 1944.

At the end of the war Tixier returned to the world of extreme right politics in the Jeune Nation movement founded by Pierre Sidos (*q.v.*). He was also associated with Maurice Bardèche (*q.v.*) and a member of

the French section of the European Social Movement; he acted as a patron of the neo-Nazi journal *Défense de l'Occident*. In 1955 he was elected a deputy for Basses-Pyrénées, having founded a year earlier the Rassemblement National which allied itself with Poujade's (q.v.) Union et Fraternité Française. On 16 September 1958 he transferred his allegiance to De Gaulle but was ousted at the elections and returned to his legal practice. He used his considerable talents as an advocate in the cause of an Algérie Française, defending many OAS militants, including General Salan, in the barricades trial, and Colonel Bastien Thierry, leader of an assassination attempt on De Gaulle. T.-V., as he came to be known, was a member of both Le Pen's (q.v.) Front National pour l'Algérie Française, which disappeared after the end of 1960, and of Georges Bidault's La Démocratie Chrétienne de France.

Turning against De Gaulle, whom he saw as betraying the concept of a French Algeria, he stood as a presidential candidate in December 1965 for which he set up, as early as 1963, the Comité d'Initiative pour une Candidature Nationale which expanded into the so-called Comité Tixier-Vignancour with the aim of attracting as many political malcontents as possible. In the event he won only 5.27 per cent of the vote, losing some of the traditional extreme right vote to the attractive Kennedyesque liberal candidate, Lecanuet. Embarrassed by many of the extremists around Le Pen, who had done more than anybody to organize his campaign, Tixier founded l'Alliance Républicaine pour les Libertés et le Progrès. By 1969 he was again reconciled to the Gaullists under Georges Pompidou to the disgust of many of his traditional supporters. However, in the 1970s he returned to the far right and in 1976 won 1.31 per cent of the poll for the Eurodroite/Parti des Forces Nouvelles. In June 1979 he led the list of the Parti des Forces Nouvelles in competition with Le Pen's Front National. One of his last political initiatives before going into retirement was in the 1984 Euro-elections when he returned to support his old friend and organizer Le Pen's Front National.

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TOBLER, Robert (1901–62)

Leader of the Swiss Nationale Front between 1938 and 1940.

Born on 23 December 1901 in Zürich into a prosperous local family, the son of a lawyer, Tobler achieved a diploma in music theory in 1922 before studying law at the University of Zürich from April 1927; he was awarded his doctorate of law in 1931. From 1934 he practised as a lawyer. Although he had spent at least three years in Italy and had seen fascism at first hand, his earliest foray into politics was with the young liberals. As a mature student he threw himself into campus politics, came into contact with the Oehler (q.v.) Klub and was involved in the foundation of the Neue Front on 2 July 1930, which grew out of the Zürcher Gruppe and, at first, had little to do with fascism. As chairman and co-founder of this organization, however, he soon became persuaded of the need for a corporatist solution to Swiss problems, initially owing more to the theories of Othmar Spann (q.v.) than to Benito Mussolini.

When the Neue Front was absorbed into the Nationale Front in May 1933, Tobler became the *Gauführer* for Zürich, a position he held until 1935. He had already (in 1931) received some experience of editing with the student journal, *Zürcher Student*, a period which was to serve him in good stead during the Second World War when he ran the NF newspaper, *Die Front*, with the financial assistance of the Germans. From 1935 to 1939 he served as a National Councillor in the Nationalrat and from 1933 to 1938 as a member of the community parliament, the Gemeinderat. On 23 January 1938 he was appointed leader of the Nationale Front, an elevation which provoked the defection of a prominent group including Henne (q.v.) Oehler, and the novelist Schaffner (q.v.). As leader of the party Tobler attempted to compromise with the authorities but by February 1940, when he was imprisoned for a short time as a suspected fifth columnist, the dwindling membership had rendered the movement almost moribund. The movement continued under the guise of various successor organizations like the Eidgenössische Sammlung, which Tobler continued to lead, and the Schaffhausen Nationale Gemeinschaft, but by autumn 1943 the Federal Council had outlawed all the surviving off-shoots. Tobler died on 17 June 1962 in Zürich.

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TODT, Fritz (1981–1942)

German National Socialist engineer and Minister of Armaments.

Todt was born in Pforzheim (Baden) on 4 September 1891, the son of a jewel-factory owner. He attended the Gymnasium in Pforzheim but his subsequent study of civil engineering in the Munich Technical High School (1911–14) was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. Following his service, first as a reserve lieutenant in the Field Artillery Regiment No. 14, then in the Baden Grenadier Regiment No. 110 on the Western Front, and finally from January 1916 as a flying observer in the Luftwaffe, he returned to his studies in Karlsruhe Technical High School to complete his diploma. In 1930 he took up a post as a building supervisor with Grün and Bilfinger and in November 1921 he entered the world of road-building with the firm of Sager and Woerner in Munich. He was promoted to *Oberingenieur* in 1927 and from 1928 to July 1933 served as the company's technical director.

Todt had joined the NSDAP as member No. 2,465 on 5 January 1923 and was to remain faithful to it until his death. He rejoined the SA as a *Standarte-führer* on 31 October 1931. As the Nazis' technical expert on road-building he was the natural choice as Hitler's Inspector-General of German Roads in July 1933. In this capacity Todt was responsible for the huge network of high-speed autobahns built in the 1930s. He was apt to see this as a cultural achievement of the first order. Todt was a widely respected engineer both within the profession (he was editor of *Deutsche Technik*) and also within the party where he was a leading member of the NS Bund Deutscher Technik whose aim, according to Herf, was 'to make German technology into a pillar of the total state and to place cultural and spiritual attitudes of Germans on the foundation of a broad National Socialist Weltanschauung'; he was later to become head of the NSDAP's Main Office for Technology.

In May 1938 Todt came to the attention of Hitler as the ideal man to supervise the construction of the West Wall (Siegfried Line); in December he was appointed Plenipotentiary-General for the Control of Building and head of road building under Göring's (*q.v.*) Four-Year Plan. His organization known as the Organisation Todt came into its own as a vast, disciplined machine for the creation of roads, bridges, and other civil engineering projects (particularly, later, in the occupied Soviet territories). Of all his achievements the most impressive was the construction of a chain of submarine bases

from the north of Norway to the Spanish border with France. In February 1940 Todt was selected as Inspector-General for Special Tasks within the Four-Year Plan and on 17 March 1941 was rewarded for his almost miraculous engineering achievements with his appointment as Minister of Armaments and Munitions 'in order to consolidate the highest leadership of all offices engaged in the production of armaments and munitions'. As he was responsible only for army arms production and incurred Göring's wrath by stopping air force encroachments on army production capacity, Todt found it difficult to carry out his task of coordinating arms production although through a system of committees and a considerable advance towards centralization, he was able to achieve a notable success in the period of transition from the concept of Blitzkrieg to the new realism of acceptance of prolonged war.

Todt preferred to delegate as much power as possible to the industrial leadership and factory management under the banner of 'self-administration'. However, by the beginning of 1941, he had begun to show signs of strain and disillusionment; he confessed to Speer (*q.v.*), in a letter, that he 'brooded' over his problems and he talked of 'bitter disappointments'. On 29 July 1941 Todt had the post of General Inspector for Water and Power added to his other responsibilities; he took control over industrial power requirements from various other ministries. Hitler much admired his technical skills but, although he lived in Berchtesgaden, he was not a part of Hitler's inner circle of advisers. He hated Bormann (*q.v.*) and was loathed in turn by Göring who refused to attend his funeral.

Todt was killed in a plane crash shortly after taking off from Hitler's headquarters in Rastenburg (East Prussia) on 8 February 1942 and was succeeded by Speer, who happened to be at Hitler's headquarters at the time. Seidler has speculated that Todt may have been murdered on Hitler's orders, with the connivance of both Bormann and Speer, to whom he had promised Todt's post; Hitler had feared, the argument runs, that Todt, like Hess (*q.v.*) was planning an escape flight to neutral Sweden.

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TOLLENAERE, Reimond (1909–42)

Flemish National Socialist who died on the Eastern Front in the Second World War

Tollenaere was born on 29 June 1909, the son of a building contractor. He was expelled from the philosophy department in Roeselare Seminary in 1928 after only one year for his Flemish nationalist activities, after he had decided not to become a priest. He resumed his studies in law in the Rijksuniversiteit in Ghent from 1928 to 1933. His early intellectual mentors were Léon Bloy (1846–1917), the French Catholic writer, Albrecht Rodenbach (1856–1880) and Nietzsche. In Ghent he came into contact with the nationalist Algemeenen Vlaamsch Hoogstudentenverbond. Tollenaere became president of the AVHV in 1932 and was also a member of the board of the Dietsche Bond and head of the governing council of the Dietsche Studentenverbond.

He was violently opposed to the Belgian state as it stood and to any federal solution; he stood out for a Greater Netherlands state. He was an enemy of democracy and believed in a kind of solidarism. On a visit to Germany he came into contact with National Socialism which began to inspire him with what became a life-long devotion. He joined the Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond in October 1933 and soon became its chief of propaganda and one of a hard core of pro-Nazi extremists. He was a district leader for Mechelen in 1935 and in 1936 member of the assembly for Roeselare-Tielt. Tollenaere was associated with the group around the journal edited by Leo Wouters, the *Vlaanderen-Jong Dietschland*. In parliament and out, with Romsee and Hermans (*q.v.*), he was one of the most abject and unapologetic supporters of German National Socialism. In 1938 he justified Nazi foreign policy and especially the invasion of Czechoslovakia in a pamphlet, *Komt er Oorlog*.

Arrested after the war broke out on 10 May 1940, he was deported to France but freed on 10 June from Saint-Malo. In 1941 he was appointed Commandant-General of the Dietsche Militie-Zwarte Brigade, the paramilitary militia organization of the VNV. One of the major concerns had been his total opposition to communism and on 6 August 1941 he left for Germany with the first group of volunteers of the Flemish Legion to fight against the USSR. Iron-

ically he had already, at the point of this supreme commitment, grown disillusioned with German policy in Flanders. He was incensed at the behaviour of some of the more annexationist collaborators and at a series of breaches of faith by the occupiers. With the Eastern volunteers he discovered that he was not allowed the VNV journal, *Volk en Staat*, and was subject to the interference of political commissars from the DeVlag organization. Fighting as an *Untersturmführer* he was killed at Kopry near Leningrad on 22 January 1942.

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TSANKOV, Aleksandur (1897–1959)

Bulgarian professor of political economy and founder of the fascist National Social Movement.

Born in Oriakhovo on 29 June 1897, Tsankov studied law in the University of Sofia. Although he became involved with the workers' movement through the Social Democrats, he was not well known in Bulgarian political life until 1922. In 1910 he was appointed professor of political economy in the University of Sofia. In 1922, together with A. Grekov and T. Kulev, he founded the *Naroden Zgovor* (National Alliance) which in June 1923 was one of the constituents of the bourgeois coalition that overthrew the agrarian populist regime of Aleksandur Stamboliiski which resulted in the murder of Stamboliiski, an act for which the peasantry never forgave Tsankov, whose main support was urban. Tsankov took over as Prime Minister of the *Demokratischen Zgovor* (Democratic Alliance) which superseded the National Alliance as a broad group of bourgeois parties calling for state intervention and national harmony based on class collaboration. In September 1923 followed the bloody suppression of the communist uprising; fear of the communist threat was to remain, perhaps, the most intense of Tsankov's political emotions.

He gave up the premiership in January 1926 and took over the less prestigious position of President of the Subranie (Legislature) until 1930 when he entered the Democratic Alliance government on 16

May 1930 as Minister of Education. Tsankov, who was a poor communicator and speaker, aloof, academic and suspicious of the masses, broke with the Democratic Alliance in 1932 to launch a new movement more closely influenced by Italian fascism and German National Socialism, the National Social Movement. Although the ideology of the movement was called 'social nationalism', Tsankov favoured more individualist economic freedom than was compatible with German National Socialism or a corporatist arrangement of the economy. He believed in a national worker's syndicate set up in the interest of class conciliation.

When the military Zveno movement split in 1934 many members of a rightist orientation (it was estimated that this was some 80 per cent of membership) joined Tsankov putting him in a strong position to regain power. In 1935, however, the Zlatev government, acting on behalf of Tsar Boris who pulled the strings, made war on the extreme rightist group and Tsankov was interned. During the Second World War Tsankov was a leading pro-Nazi oppositionist. In the Subranie he declared in November 1941: 'I am with the National Socialists.' Throughout the war he waited in readiness for the Germans to lose patience with the monarchist government and to turn to a more radical and abjectly supportive regime led by himself. It is clear that the Germans, in the event of their rejecting the Tsarist government which was never likely, would have preferred Gabrovsky or a Legionary leader like Lukov (*q.v.*) to Tsankov. In September 1944 he fled to Vienna where he, rather belatedly, achieved his ambition by becoming head of the Nazi puppet Bulgarian government-in-exile. After the German collapse he found his way to Buenos Aires, where he died on 17 July 1959.

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TUKA, Vojtech 'Bela' (1880–1946)

Slovak nationalist and ideologist of Slovakia's brief independence.

Born in Banská Štiavnica on 4 July 1880, Bela Tuka

was the son of an educated Slovak, a teacher who embraced Magyar values. Bela himself attended Hungarian-speaking schools. In 1906 he taught in a school in Pecs after receiving a degree in law; his own studies were not completed until 1911 with a degree in political science from the University of Budapest. In 1912 he was teaching in the Magyar University of Bratislava (Pozsony) which was demagyarized in 1918 by the new Czechoslovak government; Tuka lost his chair in international law. At this time it is clear that he considered himself a Hungarian. His conversion to Slovak nationalism appears to have been concentrated in a short period in 1920 following his exposure to clerical nationalist influences in Bratislava. By the end of 1920 he had been noticed by Father Hlinka and, being unemployed at the time, took up an appointment as editor of the Slovak People's Party journal, *Slovak*, in January 1921. He soon acquired a certain notoriety for his intemperate attacks on the Czech Republic and for his support for organized violence. He was the founder in 1923 of the party's paramilitary 'national guard', the Rodobrana, which was banned in 1927 by the Švehla government.

Tuka had long been a believer in the importance of direct action and of elites in the historical process (there is evidence that he had read Pareto and Sorel (*q.v.*)) and had clearly based his Rodobrana on Italian fascist models. It appears that he had been in Munich during the beer hall *putsch*. He was a devout Catholic who had founded a society with the name 'Blood of Christ'. In 1926 the Rodobrana took part in the attempted coup by Gajda's (*q.v.*) National Fascist Community. Tuka faced trial in October 1929 for alleged treason and 'military subversion' on behalf of the Hungarians. The allegations had been precipitated by an article he had written in *Slovak* in January 1928 claiming that a *vacuum juris* existed based on a secret clause in the St Martin Declaration of October 1918 which allowed Slovakia to choose its own future after ten years. (This appears to have been entirely bogus.) Despite Hlinka's faith in Tuka, he was condemned by a number of party leaders and by the state to fifteen years' imprisonment. Czech historians, after the war, unearthed documents which tend to show that there was some strong evidence against Tuka.

Released in the autumn of 1938 after the Munich agreement, now almost blind and weak in health, he was appointed honorary commandant of the Hlinka Guard (the new Rodobrana) but excluded from the list of People's Party candidates for the Slovak Diet. He returned to teach in the University and in February 1939 met Hitler to try to persuade him to assist

the independence struggle. He was appointed deputy prime minister and then on 29 October 1939 prime minister, a post he held until 5 September 1944. He replaced Ďurčanský as Foreign Minister after the latter had fallen out with Mach (*q.v.*) on 29 July 1940. Between summer 1940 and spring 1942 Tuka was still ambitious to become the supreme leader (*Vodca*) of Slovakia and as the representative of the National Socialist tendency within the party (he referred in 1939 to Hitler's 'abundant genius') clashed with the more clerical orientation of President Tiso (*q.v.*). Jelinek has called Tuka 'avaricious and servile'; he was a self-willed, ambitious adventurist, a marginal man caught between the Hungarian and Slovak worlds and not quite belonging to either. He resigned as party chairman on 12 January 1943 thus marking the victory of Tiso and the clericals.

In the autumn of 1944 now very ill Tuka retired to a spa in Austria. He was tried after the war by a national tribunal in July/August 1946 and on 20 August was hanged in Bratislava.

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TURATI, Augusto (1888–1955)

Leader of Brescia fascism and secretary of the PNF from 1926 to 1930.

Born on 25 August 1888 in Parma, into a lower-middle-class family, Turati studied law but did not complete his course. He began his journalistic career as editor of the liberal-democratic *La Provincia di Brescia* in 1914, a paper of which he was to become director after the war until September 1920. As a captain of infantry in the First World War, following his involvement in the interventionist movement, he served in the front line from 1915 and was decorated. Demobilized in 1919, he became a radical

democrat before joining the Brescia *fascio* with which he had entered into contact as early as April 1919. The Brescia *fascio* had been founded by Alessandro Melchiori but Turati did not actually join until October 1920. Soon, however, he took over the leadership, becoming *ras* of Brescia.

A radical by temperament, who had been influenced by Sorel (*q.v.*) and De Ambris, Turati was keen to recruit the working class into the fascist movement as a counterweight to the heavily bourgeois composition of the Brescia movement. His squads used violent methods to assault the socialist unions and the Catholic Popolari. Although he resigned in October 1921, he withdrew his resignation shortly after but remained sceptical about Mussolini's use of parliamentary methods. In 1922 he was rumoured to have been involved in a scheme devised by Piero Marsich to replace Mussolini with D'Annunzio (*q.v.*), whose neo-syndicalist ideas, embodied in the *Carto del Camara*, he believed were more in keeping with his own.

The alternative fascist union, which Turati had organized in Brescia, held a strong position in some of the smaller factories. In early 1923 he threatened a strike of municipal employees unless wage increases were agreed but these 'Bolshevik tactics' were disapproved by Mussolini. It was in February 1925 that Turati came to prominence as the provoker of a metal-workers' strike in which the fascist unions' demands went beyond those of the official FIOM metal-workers' union. What began as a routine local wage dispute to demonstrate the fascist unions' independence of management control was escalated by the FIOM into a strike of the whole steel and engineering sector, involving some 80,000 workers, including large centres like Milan and Turin. The strike was eventually settled by national bargaining, an outcome quite unsatisfactory for Turati. The Fascist Grand Council was thereafter to declare strikes 'acts of war'.

As vice-secretary in charge of syndical affairs, however, Turati had, in June 1925, secured some recognition of the fascist unions by employers. In April 1926 he became national party secretary and set about trying to reduce bureaucracy and to encourage, through the establishment of inter-syndical committees, the development of corporatist organization. One of his major aims was to integrate the working classes into the regime through the fascist unions and to bring areas, until then outside party control, within its remit, particularly in the field of welfare, worker education, and leisure and sport; this last was to be achieved through the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, a partly autonomous state agency. Turati worked with

Bottai (*q.v.*) in 1927 on the fascist labour charter, confronting in the process Rossoni (*q.v.*) and his Confederation of Worker Syndicates. Although Turati expelled many intransigent and unruly members, who were agitating for a 'second wave' of *squadristi* activity, he tried to compensate by a search for 'the most honest and intelligent people in Italy', merely to find that he had created a mass of passive and non-contributory members.

Turati resigned in September 1930 and for the next two years, until he abandoned politics in August 1932, was the subject of a scandal, fomented, orchestrated and exploited by his old enemy, Farinacci (*q.v.*), and the Turin secretary, Gastoldi. Accused not only of scandals concerning his mistress Paola Marcellino, the proprietress of a local dress shop, but also of profiteering and other charges ranging from pederasty to drug addiction, he was forced to abandon his editorship of the Turin paper, *La Stampa*, a post secured for him by the powerful industrialist, Giovanni Agnelli, following a period on *Corriere della Sera*.

In 1933 Turati was exiled to Rhodes, having

incurred the wrath of Starace (*q.v.*) and Mussolini himself, who considered Turati too independent and too popular, and he was stripped of his party membership. This was restored in 1937 and he was to spend a short time in Ethiopia in charge of a small agricultural estate. He returned from that country in 1938. As war approached he tried to dissuade the dictator from any Italian involvement. Following the Italian change of sides, Turati did not join Mussolini in the Italian Social Republic and, indeed, may even have taken part in acts of resistance in Rome. Tried and condemned after 1945, the intelligent but dull Turati was eventually amnestied. He died in Rome on 26 August 1955.

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U

UNZAGA DE LA VEGA, Oscar (1916–59)

Bolivian teacher and journalist, founder of the Falanga Socialista Boliviana.

Unzaga was born in Cochabamba on 19 April 1916 the son of Colonel Camilo Unzaga, and was educated as an agronomy student in the Universidad Católica in Chile. He taught in the Colegio Nacional Sucre in 1935 and again from 1939 to 1941. In 1935 and 1936 he was editor of *La Acción*.

The Falanga Socialista Boliviana was founded on 15 August 1937 by Bolivian students studying at the Universidad Católica and at the National University in Santiago, the Chilean capital. Modelled on the Spanish Falange Española, it remained a highly marginal force of small groupuscules, even after its spread to Bolivia in 1938. In ideology it was Hispanicist and anti-Marxist and at first received support from few sections of the populace outside students and some clergy. Unzaga was the leader of the FSB until his death in 1959.

Although it claimed to be of the left, the Falange accepted the subordination of the individual to a highly disciplined, organic, one-party state which would foster economic development through national harmony and a ruthless suppression of class conflict; like many such movements the sub-text of its high-sounding concern for national reconciliation and restoration was a firm defence of property. It was violently opposed to the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria which it saw, surprisingly, as smacking of Bolshevism.

Unzaga saw himself as an Attaturk or a Haya de la Torre, the Peruvian Apra populist, that is, as a developmental leader of steel. He was a practised orator whose energy was almost exclusively devoted to political struggle but at heart, with his large moustache and heavy spectacles, and his melancholic appearance, he was a tormented puritan, pallid, emaciated, ascetic and tubercular. His vision of the just society was heavily larded with austerity and discipline. In 1946 he was elected deputy for Cochabamba and in 1956 stood as a presidential candidate.

After serving as secretary-general of the movement, he was appointed *jefe* on 15 August 1945, after which he presided over a relentless struggle against the MNR. This culminated in the attempted coup of April 1959 when the FSB seized a part of the capital, La Paz, under the impression that they had the support of the Director-General of Police but, after holding out for six hours, they were overcome by the MNR militia. Unzaga was found in his apartment on 19 April 1959 with two bullets in his head; although the police claimed it was suicide, the evidence suggests that he was shot by the police.

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V

VACHER DE LAPOUGE, Georges (1854–1936)

French anthropologist, racial theorist and supporter of Drumont (q.v.).

Born in Neuville-du-Poitou on 12 December 1854 into an old Poitou noble family, Vacher de Lapouge studied medicine and law in Poitiers and Paris, becoming a doctor of law in 1879. His intellectual interests ranged from natural history to Assyriology, Egyptology and Oriental languages. In his eighties he was still engaged in writing a monograph on the ground beetle. He abandoned a career as a magistrate to devote himself to anthropology and took various posts in the libraries of the University of Montpellier (1886–93), Rennes (1893–1900), and Poitiers (1900–22). In Montpellier he taught anthropology and the new science of anthroposociology, a precursor of the sociobiology, of which he was the founder. From a foundation of social Darwinism, Lapouge believed in the validity of eugenics, that by systematic selection, human nature could be recast. With Paul Topinard (1830–1911), the editor, he collaborated on the *Revue d'Anthropologie* from 1886 to 1891. Curiously he combined his interest in racism with an involvement with socialist politics in the shape of the Parti Ouvrier Français, an insignificant local Montpellier group. The German socialist Ludwig Woltmann (1871–1907) was a colleague and disciple.

His three major works, *Les Sélections Sociales* (1896), *L'Aryen: son rôle sociale* (1899) and *Race et Milieu Social* (1909), synthesizing concepts of Darwinian natural selection with his own anthropological measurements, confront what he saw as the inevitable decline of human kind through miscegenation and the permanent struggle of races for expansion, a situation which would, in time, lead to the disappearance of the best. 'Everyman is related to all men and all living creatures. Therefore there are no human rights any more than there are . . . rights of the armadillo.' The individual in such a scenario is only an abstraction and 'the idea of justice is an illusion. Nothing exists but violence.' The conclusion he drew was the necessity of a return to natural

hierarchies and the elimination of social situations in which the 'inferior' dominated. 'It is a chimera of Jean-Jacques [Rousseau] to have regarded men as virtually equal and differentiated solely by social convention and education.'

A year after the foundation of Drumont's Ligue Antisémitique Française, Lapouge gave a course of lectures in 1890/1 on 'The Semite: his social role'. He considered Jews 'arrogant' and at first supported Drumont's anti-Semitic campaign but, at the same time, doubted their domination of or their menace to French society. A disciple of Gobineau, Lapouge was a member of a Gobineau-Vereinigung from 1894 and from 1926 was in contact with the Nordischer Ring, a racist society, of which Hans Günther (q.v.) was also a member. Vacher de Lapouge died on 20 February 1936 in Poitiers, an obscure and unread figure, although in 1939 the National Socialist regime in Germany commissioned a German translation of his *L'Aryen*.

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VALLAT, Xavier (1891–1972)

French politician of the right, war veterans' leader and, during the Vichy regime, General Commissioner for Jewish Affairs (1941–2).

Vallat was born on 23 December 1891 in Villedieu (Vaucluse), the tenth child of a schoolteacher. Educated at the Collège au Sacré-Coeur in Annonay, and taking law studies, he worked first as a teacher in Toulouse and in Aix-en-Provence before practising as a lawyer. During the First World War he was wounded three times, lost his right eye and his left leg, and reached the rank of lieutenant. Vallat was

elected on 16 November 1919 as a deputy on the Union Républicaine list in the Ardèche and moved to join a group of independents of the right. Although he was defeated in 1924, he was re-elected in 1928 and served in the Assembly until 1942. He was to be elected secretary of the Assembly and then on 9 January 1940 vice-president. From 1930 to 1944 he served as Mayor of Paillares in the Ardèche.

Never a member of the Action Française, Vallat nevertheless shared a Catholic and nationalist outlook with Maurras' (q.v.) movement. In 1925 he joined the revolutionary off-shoot of the AF, Valois' (q.v.) *Le Faisceau*, and was on the editorial committee of *Le Nouveau Siècle*. His *curriculum vitae* at this time reads like a short history of the French nationalist leagues of the 1920s and 1930s, for he was a member of the Croix de Feu in 1928, of Taittinger's (q.v.) Parti Républicain National et Social (1936–9), and a member of the executive committee (1925–37) and president of de Castelnau's Fédération Nationale Catholique. In the Chamber as a non-denominational rightist, he used his considerable polemical abilities to attack immigration and the Popular Front. His anti-Semitic outbursts became notorious, describing the prime minister Léon Blum, as 'a subtle Talmudist', lamenting that he had seen his 'old Gallo-Roman country . . . governed by a Jew', and describing the Jews as 'worms attracted by gangrenous wounds'; and if his anti-Semitism was closer to the rhetorical and abusive anti-Semitism of Maurras than to the murderous, biological racism of the Nazis, it also has to be owned that, during the Vichy interlude, the two became perilously confused.

Vallat, who had many friends in high ecclesiastical circles, was also the president of the parliamentary group of ex-servicemen's deputies and a member of a parliamentary anti-masonic group. During the Vichy regime, to which he adhered, his expertise on ex-servicemen's questions won him, on 17 July 1940, the position of Secretary-General of War Veterans, a body that was to become the Légion des Combattants Français. His major responsibility during this period was as *Commissaire Général aux Questions Juives* from 29 March 1941. In this capacity he repealed the laws of April 1939 punishing anti-Semitic writings in the press; his general aim was to eliminate the role of non-French Jews with a view ultimately to deporting them and to curtail the rights of French Jews and limit the numbers in the media, the professions and in the financial world. A certain residual anti-German feeling remained however, and he was removed from office in March 1942 for, among other things, refusing to extend to the

occupied zone the requirement for Jews to wear the yellow star. From May of the same year Vallat was a *Ministre Plénipotentiaire*. In June 1944 he succeeded Henriot (q.v.) as a radio spokesman on Radio Paris.

In 1947 Vallat was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but released in 1949. His right-wing activities continued and he was editor of the royalist *Aspects de la France* from 1962 to 1966, a member of the Amis du Robert Brasillach (q.v.), contributed to *Écrits de Paris* and was a member of the Union des Intellectuels Indépendants. His anti-Semitism did not decline, demonstrated by an article in *Aspects de la France* of 8 December 1967 in which he supported de Gaulle's anti-Jewish lapse on the occasion of the Israeli attack on Egypt during the Six Day War. Vallat retired to his native Ardèche in 1966 but continued to write for *Aspects de la France* until his death on 6 January 1972 in Annonay.

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VALOIS Georges (pseud.) (Alfred Georges Gressent) (1878–1945)

French disciple of Sorel (q.v.), member of Action Française and founder of his own fascist movement, Le Faisceau, who died in a German concentration camp during the Second World War.

Born on 7 October 1878 in Paris, the son of a butcher, Valois was orphaned at the age of 3 and brought up by his grandparents who instilled into him an exaggerated version of the work ethic. All his life he was self-willed, highly motivated and a stern moralist. In 1897 he began to frequent anarchist circles in the Latin Quarter. Valois sided with the Dreyfusards. Georges Sorel, whom he had met in the offices of *L'Humanité Nouvelle* in 1898 was a major influence and helped to convert him from democracy. Valois' intellectual conversion began in 1900 with his experiences in the military and as a tutor in Russia. His nationalism intensified, he returned to the fold of Catholicism in 1905, and discovered anti-Semitism, the seeds of which had been sown in

Russia. Thereafter he feared that the world was moving 'to a sort of universalism controlled by the Jews'. By 1906 he was a confirmed monarchist. In *L'Homme qui Vent* (1906) he devised an authoritarian doctrine based on the myth of 'the man with the whip' who forced men to work. After his conversion to monarchism he joined the Action Française following his introduction to the Pretender, the Duc d'Orléans.

Valois was caught up in the unsuccessful attempt to attract the working classes to extreme right-wing monarchism through the *Revue Critique des Idées et des Livres* (beginning in 1908) and the Cercle Proudhon (from December 1911). Valois became the leading spokesman of that strange amalgam, neo-royalist syndicalism. He was to be sadly disillusioned by the 'unreal' attitude of the workers to his experiments. 'They were wondering how they would make a revolution: I was wondering how we would work after the revolution' (*D'un Siècle à l'Autre*). From 1903 Valois had earned his living as a secretary at the Paris publishing house, A. Colin. A man of 'subtle intelligence', according to Louis Dimier, he was appalled by the behaviour of the National Assembly which he called 'an Assembly of appetites'; democracy, he believed, was simply the law of least effort. In many ways his ideas immediately before the First World War were, as Berth called them in 1924, 'fascisme avant la lettre', particularly that aspect of fascism that Mussolini was later to characterize in a phrase which he used in a French radio broadcast: 'We are against the easy life'. A Sorelian to the core, Valois experimented with a national syndical co-operation, predicated on his opposition to the unacceptable face of capitalism, although he rarely criticized the institution itself.

During the First World War Valois won, as a second lieutenant, the Croix de Guerre and the Légion d'Honneur. Returning to the Action Française in 1918 after the failure of his opening to the working classes in 1914, he turned to the industrial and banking interests as the salvation of France. With Eugène Mathon and Gaston Japy he worked for the convocation of the States General. He also took an interest in war veterans' affairs, seeing this group and the industrialists as the only combination worthy of taking over the reins of government. The ex-servicemen initiative was to lead to the founding of Le Faisceau and the contacts with the business community to his further experiments with the corporatist organization of French society. He believed that corporations would provide 'ordered liberty'. In 1924 the Union of French Corporations was founded but Valois had very little influence except

among small groups like the pharmacists. He was always more revolutionary than his potential industrialist allies. From about this time he began to express approval of Italian fascism.

In 1925 he left the AF and on 11 November launched the blue-shirted Faisceau des Combattants, des Producteurs et des Chefs de Famille. From February of that year he had been publishing the journal, *Le Nouveau Siècle* (until March 1928). The Faisceau, in whose ranks could be found the more authoritarian, radical and youthful ex-members of the AF, had an étatist programme and employed much anti-bourgeois and anti-liberal rhetoric. It argued for a rational economy organized by technical experts and for the concept of a society of producers united in developing the national economy. By 1928 the Faisceau had collapsed, riven by disputes over the fascist element in the programme; the remnants merged with Taittinger's (*q.v.*) Jeunesses Patriotes. Valois himself moved back in June, with Jacques Arthuys, to the idea of the 'syndicalist republic'. In May 1928 he had founded the Parti Républicaine Syndicaliste, turning once again to the working classes for his base. His Librairie Valois published works by some of the most advanced and pragmatic radicals and socialists, many on their way to the far right, Déat (*q.v.*), Montagnon, Luchaire (*q.v.*), Lagardelle (*q.v.*) and Jouvenel.

In the late 1920s and 1930s Valois moved significantly to the left. In June 1932 the tireless experimenter turned to the cooperative movement and to the idea, in particular, of consumers' cooperatives. He founded a journal, *Un Nouvel Age de l'Humanité*, which, as Sérant has pointed out, offered an almost Galbraithian analysis of capitalist evolution. His campaign was continued by the journal, *Chantiers Coopératifs*. Valois was also in favour of the *planisme* of socialists like the Belgian Henri De Man (*q.v.*). He came to be a pacifist, resigning as a lieutenant in the reserve, opposed the Nazis and the Munich agreement, and favoured the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. In 1935 he applied to join the Socialist Party but was rejected. Valois joined the Resistance in Haute Savoie, after the fall of France, and was arrested by the Gestapo and interned in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where he died on 8 February 1945. His career marked an astonishing parabola from anarchism through extreme right syndicalism and fascism to cooperative socialism and the Resistance.

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VAN RENSBURG, Johannes Frederik Janse (1898–1966)

South African commandant-general of the Ossewa-Brandwag (Ox-Wagon Sentinel) and Orange Free State administrator.

Born in Winburg (OFS) on 24 September 1898 and educated at Stellenbosch University where he was awarded a degree in German, Van Rensburg was a brilliant student and in 1930 received his doctorate in law. In 1924 he was appointed private secretary to Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice in Hertzog's first national cabinet. He worked as legal adviser to the government in the Attorney-General's Office and in 1933 became Secretary of Justice. On 1 December 1936, at the age of 36 he was appointed administrator of the Orange Free State.

He took an active interest in military affairs and in 1934 was the colonel in charge of the 6th Brigade of the Active Citizens Force. It was as a colonel in the Pretoria Regiment that he attended a German army rally while a guest at a Belgian Military Conference. He met Hitler and other National Socialist leaders at the 1936 Olympic Games and was impressed to the extent of claiming: 'Hitler is ein heiliger' (Hitler is a saint). When the Second World War broke out Van Rensburg was a colonel in the 6th Free State Brigade in the Reserve. He was forced to resign as administrator on 15 January 1941, on being appointed commandant-general of the Ossewa-Brandwag, a force which Pirow (*q.v.*) called 'the storm-troopers of Afrikanerdom'. The OB had been founded in February 1939 by Colonel J.C.C. Laas, to commemorate the centenary of the Great Trek.

In 1941 this extreme Afrikaner paramilitary organization consisted of some 350,000 members and an elite formation called the Stormjaers (SJs), in which Van Rensburg took a special pride. Although he would not sanction sabotage and often took a responsible and moderating line, Van Rensburg had

a narrow vision of an authoritarian, Christian, nationalist republic with a corporatist structure and an apartheid constitution. He cooperated with the Herenigde Nasionale Party until the two organizations quarrelled in 1942. He was also in contact with Nazi agents in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique).

In 1948 Van Rensburg became deputy leader of the Afrikaner Party and in 1952 resigned from the leadership of the OB, which had been in decline since 1948. He served on various government advisory bodies concerned with group areas under the apartheid system. In 1962 he retired to a farm in Mooi Eiland, near Parys. He died on 25 September 1966 in Cape Town. A monument at his grave was unveiled in October 1967 by Prime Minister B.J. Vorster, an ex-general in the OB.

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VAN SEVEREN, Georges Edmond Edouard (known as Joris) (1894–1940)

Founder and leader of the Flemish Verbond van Dietsche Nationaal-Solidaristen.

Born in Wakken on 19 July 1894 into a *fransquillon* family (a Flemish elite of French-speaking people), Van Severen was the son of a lawyer and Mayor of Wakken. Educated in the Jesuit and French-speaking College Saint-Barbe, he studied law in the University of Ghent. He was sent to the Front in the First World War, first as a sergeant and then in January 1917 he was promoted to second lieutenant. However, in June 1918 he was demoted to the ranks, ostensibly for a letter he had written to King Albert, which was considered a breach of discipline. He was, in fact, a member of a secret Flemish Nationalist organization within the army.

At this time he was in the grip of a profound admiration for things Russian and greeted the Russian Revolution with 'pure joy'. On the contrary he called Germans 'a gang of bandits with no soul'. The other major component of his thought was an enthusiastic Catholicism, influenced by the French writer Léon Bloy (1846–1917) and the

Flemish writer, Albrecht Rodenbach (1856–80), who had founded the Blauwvoeterij student movement. On one occasion Van Severen had said: 'Without Christ life is absurd.' With other soldiers Van Severen was the editor of *Ons Vaderland*. After the war he returned to Ghent University and became president of the General Flemish Student Union. From 1921 he edited the journal *Ter Waarheid* (To the Truth). His ideological position had moved steadily from a nationalist one, incorporating a certain respect for international socialism, to a purely nationalist Jacobinism. On 20 November 1921 he was elected nationalist member of the Assembly for Roeselare-Tielt on the Front Party ticket, a seat which he held until 1929. He supported a policy of flemicization of the courts, the government, the army and other institutions. His mentors now were Maurras (*q.v.*) and Barrès (*q.v.*) whom he had discovered in the trenches.

He created a reputation in the Chamber as a violent polemicist but at other times he would disdainfully read Péguy during proceedings. He was known to be honest and dedicated if austere and at times fanatical. In October 1931 he broke with the KVVN (Catholic Flanders National Party), which he had served as West Flanders leader, to found the national solidarist and integral nationalist Verdinaso (Federation of Dutch National-Solidarists). At first a separatist party (there were only 169 founding members), under Van Severen's influence it came to believe in a violent takeover of the existing Belgian state to create a Greater Belgian state; all seventeen provinces of Charles V's Empire from Frisia to Burgundy would thus be united. As an advocate of a 'natural aristocracy', Van Severen took over La Tour de Pin's motto: 'Le Chef dans ses conseils; le peuple dans ses états.'

After his parliamentary defeat in 1929, which had involved the most undignified manoeuvres on the part of his erstwhile Catholic friends, he moved to a determinedly anti-parliamentary position. Not a compromiser by nature (in fact, the Dutch historian Pieter Geyl found him fanatically divorced from any sense of political reality), he made no headway in coming to an understanding with Rex or with the VNV. Ideologically he was closer to Maurras and Barrès than to Hitler, although it is true that during the 1930s Verdinaso adopted many of the trappings and gestures of fascism including, most noticeably, the cult of the leader. Bertrand de Jouvenel in his memoirs quotes Van Severen as saying: 'I detest the Hitlerians.'

Arrested on the eve of the German invasion of Belgium on 10 May 1940, Van Severen was mas-

sacred along with a number of colleagues, Rexists and communists by undisciplined and indiscriminating French soldiers near Abbeville on 20 May. On the outbreak of war he had outlawed the production of any pro-Nazi leaflets by his own organization and it is unlikely that he would have collaborated had he lived.

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VAUGEOIS, Henri (1864–1916)

One of the founders of Action Française.

Born in l'Aigle (Orne) on 25 April 1864 into a family with a Jacobin tradition, Vaugois was the son of a professor of law in Caen University. A philosophy teacher in Coulommiers, Vaugois was, in political terms, a liberal Republican with an interest in Marxism and a member of the Union pour l'Action Morale. However, he was an anti-Dreyfusard and was dismissed from his teaching post for participation in Déroulède's frustrated coup attempt of February 1899. A member of the Ligue de la Patrie Française, he found it too pacific to be the anti-parliamentary, national republican party capable of overthrowing the government by force if necessary that he desired. He was a member of the Comité de l'Action Française launched in April 1899 which did little but issue a brief manifesto of intention. It was Maurras (*q.v.*) who took the idea by the scruff of the neck and in May 1899 founded the Société de l'Action Française. Maurras, whom Vaugois had met in January for the first time, was to persuade him, by 1901, like so many others, of the necessity to restore the monarchy as the basis of their renovationist movement.

Vaugois was an unlikely politician and a poor public speaker but useful as a fund-raiser and as director of the daily *L'Action Française*. Despite the slogan '*Reaction d'Abord*', Vaugois preferred, according to Léon Daudet (*q.v.*), converts from the

left. 'We are not royalists of regret, we are revolutionary royalists,' he said. He had no doubt of the most important theme of the AF: 'Anti-Semitism is . . . the psychological root of all the ideas and sentiments which have brought the nationalists together in the first place.' Vaugeois died in Paris on 11 April 1916.

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VEESENMAIER, Edmund (1904–77)

German National Socialist diplomat and Reich plenipotentiary in Hungary.

Born on 12 November 1904 in Bad Kissingen, Veessenmayer began his career as a lecturer in economics in Munich and Berlin. Converted at an early age to National Socialism, he did not join the NSDAP until 1932. He advanced rapidly in the SS, which he joined in 1934, becoming *Obersturmführer* in September 1938 and *Oberführer* in January 1942, and in March 1944 *SS-Brigadeführer*. Assigned to Wilhelm Keppler (1882–1960) in the German Foreign Office, Veessenmayer became Undersecretary for special assignments, among which were Italy (1940), Zagreb and Belgrade (1941), France and Spain (1942) and Hungary (1943). In 1939 he was involved in negotiations with Slovak politicians and in 1940 was selected by Ribbentrop (*q.v.*) as an expert in the practice of subversion and the *coup d'état* to foment a rebellion in Ireland. As an attaché in Croatia and in Serbia in 1941 he proved his efficiency in the service of the German Minister to the collaborationist regime in Serbia; he proved most anxious to effect a speedy dispatch of the Jewish population to Poland where most of them later died in the camps. He came to be considered Ribbentrop's expert on South-East Europe and was a close friend of Himmler (*q.v.*). He was sent to Hungary, where he first drew up a report on the Jewish population in April 1943 which he dispatched to Himmler, his primary loyalty being to the SS rather than the Foreign Office.

He described the Hungarian Jews in a second report in December 1943 as 'Bolshevik vanguards' and recommended severe measures against them. On 19

March 1944 he was appointed plenipotentiary of the Greater German Reich and Minister in Hungary. His powers as plenipotentiary after the German invasion were immense; he encouraged the implementation of the Final Solution especially in his protection of Eichmann's (*q.v.*) activities. In October 1944 he persuaded the new Hungarian leader, Szálasi (*q.v.*), to transfer 25,000 Jews for labour in the Reich, having reported in June that 340,142 Jews had already been deported. Torn between his loyalty to the RSHA chief Kaltenbrunner (*q.v.*), upon whom Ribbentrop expected Veessenmayer to spy, and the demands of the Foreign Ministry, he was, nevertheless, able to play a major role in the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry.

Sentenced in April 1949 by the military tribunal in Nuremberg to twenty years' imprisonment, the man who, according to Fleming, played 'the key role' in the 'relocation of the Hungarian Jews' and who cleared the whole operation with the Hungarian Prime Minister Sztojay, an operation carried out by Eichmann, Endre (*q.v.*), Baky (*q.v.*) and others, was fortunate to be released on 16 December 1951 on the recommendation of a US clemency board, after the intervention of the American High Commissioner John J. McCloy had commuted the sentence to ten years. He settled in Darmstadt where he worked as a representative of Pennel and Bulgomme, the perfumery company. Thoroughly ungrateful for the extraordinary leniency shown him, he was involved with the Naumann circle of neo-Nazis who tried to infiltrate the major parties. Veessenmayer died on 24 December 1977 in Darmstadt.

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VEGAS LATAPIÉ, Eugenio (1907–85)

Spanish Alfonsine monarchist and founder of the Juventud Monarquía, who served Franco's (q.v.) National Movement but retained his monarchist convictions.

Born in Irun (Guipuzcoa) on 20 February 1907, Vegas was the son of an army lieutenant. He studied law from 1925 in the University of Oviedo where he

became leader of the Juventudes Integristas de España and director of the integrist youth journal, *Cruz y Verdad*. He was influenced by both the ideas of Action Française and by those of the nineteenth century Spanish reactionaries. He became president of the Juventud Monarquía Independiente de Madrid and from 1931 contributed to the journal *Acción Española*, which he served as editorial secretary; he had, more than anybody, set up contacts with other integral Catholic intellectuals during the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera. He was also one of the founders of the monarchist organization of the same name. In 1932 his collection of articles from *Acción Española*, *Catolicismo y República*, appeared. He considered the Republic to be an illegal creation and in August 1932 acted on this assumption by supporting the Sanjurjo conspiracy, for which he was forced to flee to France. He was expelled from the State Council on which he was a member of the *Cuerpo de Letrados*.

For a period he joined the Legion and then took a part in the planning for the *alzamiento*, as the uprising of 1936 was known in nationalist circles. Vegas Latapié's ideas owed more to the reactionary Juan Vazquez de Mella, mediated through the more modern beliefs of the Portuguese Integralists and the Action Française than to the contemporary totalitarian regimes of Italy and Germany. He had identified the Spanish problem in 1936 as the result of the lack of a directing minority, similar to the sixteenth-century *conquistadores*, who, small in number though they were, were able to 'civilize' the New World. In October 1937 Vegas became one of the national councillors of the unified FET movement and secretary-general of press and propaganda. He also fought on the Madrid Front in the Bandera de Marruecos of the Foreign Legion. In April 1938 he was deprived of his seat on the National Council because of the persistence and boldness of his monarchical convictions. In fact, in 1941 and 1942 he was an active conspirator against Franco, involved in the machinations of General Alfredo Kindelán; Vegas could never accept Franco's monarchy without a king. The years from 1942 to 1949 were spent in exile, mostly in Switzerland. He became a political secretary of the Pretender, Juan de Borbón, Count of Barcelona.

In 1955 Vegas Latapié was appointed to the Council of State and in 1965, long having ceased to take a controversial part in political life, but retaining his strong Catholic beliefs, he entered the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He died on 19 September 1985.

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VENNER, Dominique 1935–)

French journalist of the extreme right and author of books on hunting and arms.

Born on 16 April 1935 in Paris (7th arrondissement), the son of an architect and building society administrator who had supported Doriot (*q.v.*), Venner was educated at the Collège Bossuet and the École Supérieure des Arts Modernes in Paris. He joined Sidos' (*q.v.*) *Jeune Nation* in 1956 in which he rapidly became in effect Sidos' deputy and the editor of the *Jeune Nation* journal. He was secretary-general of the fleeting and ill-fated Parti Nationaliste which succeeded the proscribed JN. *Jeune Nation* and its successors devoted their energies to extra-parliamentary revolutionary action based on a dedicated cadre of militants. It was extremely nationalist, anti-communist, authoritarian (it would have suppressed 'electoral practices'), anti-American, anti-immigrant, and believed in a corporatized economy. Venner was the organizer of the Société de Presse et d'Édition de la Croix Celtique, JN's commercial counterpart. Venner had served as a volunteer in Algeria. After a period in hiding, he was arrested on 19 April 1961 and sent to La Santé prison for his efforts on behalf of the continuing French Algeria. On his release he founded on 6 November 1962 a publishing house, Éditions Saint-Just, and in the same year founded Europe-Action; Venner became editor of its journal of the same name in January 1963. Europe-Action, which grew out of Venner's Fédération des Étudiants Nationalistes and recruited from the most militant elements of the FEN, broke new ground on the extreme right in its concern with ecological issues and its call for global revolution. Confirmed in its belief in the need to defend the 'Western heritage' and to revolt against 'the castration of the West' through a supra-European authoritarian nationalism, the movement was accused by many of Venner's old associates of 'neo-Marxist' tendencies and of

being a collection of 'anti-Christians, cosmopolitans, materialists, in short, heretics'. Among the temporary supporters of Europe-Action were Coston (q.v.) Bardèche (q.v.) and Rebatet (q.v.). Venner also formed at this time, with Marc Augier (q.v.), the Comité France-Rhodésie, designed to give support to a white Rhodesia.

Venner was active on the Comité National Tixier-Vignancour (q.v.), presided over by Le Pen (q.v.), whose purpose was to elect the eponymous veteran deputy as President in 1965. Disillusioned after the electoral failure of Tixier, Venner launched, in 1966, with former members of Jeune Nation, the Mouvement Nationaliste du Progrès, a further attempt to redefine the traditional extreme right and to jettison the ageing Tixier as the great white hope of the nationalists. In elections of March 1967 the MNP appeared under the banner of the Rassemblement Européen de la Liberté, which shortly after joined with Roger Holeindre's Jeunesses Patriotes et Sociales to form the Parti National Populaire; Venner left the movement on 24 March 1968.

Subsequent to these short-lived allegiances and initiatives, convinced of 'the sterility of activism alone', he has been associated with Alain de Benoist's (q.v.) GRECE and particularly with the Club de l'Horloge. His main claim to fame in recent years has been as an expert on shooting, arms, horsemanship and hunting, about which he has written numerous works.

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VIDUSSONI, Aldo (1914-82)

Italian secretary of the PNF from 1941 to 1943.

Born in Fogliano (Gorizia) on 21 January 1914, Vidussoni served in the militia from 1930 to 1932 and then studied for a law degree. As a student he became a leading member of the fascist student organization, the Gruppi Universitari Fascisti and then its general secretary. He fought in the Spanish Civil War with the Italian 'volunteers' from 15 August 1937, losing an arm and an eye in combat, and being awarded a gold medal. He was appointed National

Inspector of the PNF even though he had not completed his law degree and in December 1941 he replaced Serena as PNF secretary at the age of 28. His only qualifications for the post were his youth, his loyalty, his capacity as representative of the fighters in Ethiopia and Spain, and his devotion to Mussolini, who wanted to assume the functions of the post for himself. He believed Vidussoni would be docile and controllable. Ignorant, naive, incompetent and totally lacking in experience, he fulfilled all expectations of him: a report referred to his 'lack of capacity which each day is further emptied of any meaning'. Ciano (q.v.), who thought he had misheard on hearing the appointment announced on the radio, called him 'mutilated, depraved, ignorant and moronic'. Many considered it a 'dangerous experiment' and some said the GUF motto should be changed from *Libro e Moschetto* (Book and Musket) to *Libro e Maschietto* (Book and Little Man).

Vidussoni strove as best he could to raise morale by visiting boxing and football matches and even the Russian Front in September/October 1942 but he was eventually shadowed by two 'minders' as vice-secretaries, Farnesi and Ravisio, until the disastrous strikes in northern Italy in March 1943 brought the joke to an end (gossip said that Vidussoni had been appointed because he was the lover of one of Mussolini's former mistresses). Succeeded by Carlo Scorza (q.v.) on 20 April 1943, Vidussoni was to become a member of the party directorate of the Fascist Republican Party under the Salò regime and a member of the Istituto del Nastro Azzurro (Institute of the Blue Ribbon). After the war he moved to Arborea (Cagliari) in Sardinia where he lived on in obscurity until his death on 27 November 1982.

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VOLDEMARAS, Augustinas (1883-1942)

Lithuanian nationalist politician.

Born on 4 April 1883 in Dysna (Lithuania), Voldemaras studied at the University of St Petersburg where he was a student of the great Russian historian, Mikhail Rostovtsev (1870-1952), and proved to be a brilliant scholar in classical philology and history. From 1911 to 1914 he was a lecturer and in 1917 was appointed professor in the University of Perm. In his political life he represented Lithuania at

the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and in 1918 was appointed to the Lithuanian State Council in Vilnius. He became prime minister in November 1918 and attended the Versailles Peace Conference. He ceased to be prime minister in May 1920 when he returned to academic life and added a new career, journalism. After the military coup in December 1926, he became premier once again under President Smetona.

Before 1924 Voldemaras had been a member of the Tautos Pazanga (National Progress Party) but on the foundation of the LTS (Lietuvių Tautininkų Sąjunga or Lithuanian National Union) in August 1924, he became a member and was elected as representative in the legislature, the Seimas, for the new party. Under the authoritarian regime of Smetona, he was one of the most radically rightist of all the leading politicians. In 1927 he launched the *Geležinis Vilkas* (Iron Wolf), which combined the characteristics of a national guard and a secret society. Voldemaras deliberately used it as an instrument of personal terror and control against opposition elements. On 6 May 1929 a socialist student made an attempt on his life, which he survived. In September of the same year, Smetona, fearing that his colleague was attempting to pack the cabinet with radical Iron Wolf activists, dismissed Voldemaras. In 1930 he was tried for conspiracy and banished following the proscription of the Iron Wolf.

The Iron Wolf was more fascist in style and implication than in explicit ideology but it was undoubtedly militaristic, anti-Semitic and radically nationalist. By 1934 sympathy for Nazi Germany within the organization had become widespread, even if it is difficult to trace any formal contacts before 1939. In 1934 the Iron Wolf was transformed into the *Lietuvių Nacionalista Partija* (Lithuanian Nationalist Party) known as the *Voldemarininkai* (Followers of Voldemaras). In the same year an attempted coup by *Voldemarininkai* army officers took place. This time Voldemaras was sentenced to twelve years in prison for high treason but amnestied in 1938 and forced to go into exile in Paris. Voldemaras was certainly the stuff from which fascist leaders are made – aggressive, ambitious, vile-tempered, but also idealistic, charismatic and of high intellect. In 1939 he tried to return, was arrested, and sent once more into exile. Reappearing yet again after the Soviet occupation of June 1940, he was arrested and sent to the Caucasus from where he disappeared into the great maw of Stalinist repression. He died in prison in Moscow on 16 December 1942.

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VOLPI DI MISURATA, Giuseppe, Count (1887–1947)

Italian banker and industrialist who became a minister under Mussolini.

Born on 19 November 1877 in Venice into a lower-middle-class family, Giuseppe Volpi, after abandoning his studies at the University of Padua, became a civil engineer and businessman. One of his earliest business enterprises was to set up a firm for exporting agricultural produce to the Balkans. In 1906 he achieved a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of tobacco in Montenegro. As a result of his export activities he was able to attract a great deal of capital and in 1905 he founded the *Società Adriatica di Elettricità*, an organization of which he was to remain president until 1943. He came in time to control a large sector of the electricity industry.

By the time of the Italo–Turkish War of 1911/12, Volpi had attained such a prominent position in public affairs that he was asked to mediate at the Treaty of Ouchy in 1912. In March 1913 he was granted a noble title and in July 1925 he became Count di Misurata. In the course of his entrepreneurial activities he developed a distaste for the compromises of parliamentary politics and a consciousness of the failures of the liberal state to provide an ordered framework in which business could flourish. His ruthlessness in business life was to make him many enemies. An interventionist in 1914, he moved away from Giolittian politics towards the nationalists like Federzoni (*q.v.*). As president of the Committee for Industrial Mobilization he played a key role in planning the war effort after 1915, including the creation of the new port of Marghera. As president of the Central Industrial Committee he wielded considerable power.

Volpi was a believer in the theory of the '*vittorio mutilato*', in the lost opportunities following the 'victory' in the First World War. He joined the Partito Nazionale Fascista in January 1922 although he did not meet Mussolini until November of that year. In July 1921 he had been appointed Governor of Tripolitania by Giolitti. He proceeded to organize

the military reconquest of the territory. In October 1922 he was created a senator. When the economic policies of De Stefani (*q.v.*) came under criticism, Volpi succeeded him as Minister of Finance in July 1925. His nationalist instincts led him to support government loans to industry, state intervention in exchange control and a policy of high tariffs, while his conservative caution predisposed him to an advocacy of balanced budgets. He was successful in obtaining a large loan from the Morgan Bank. His symbolic position in the government as a representative of big business portended Mussolini's desire for harmonious relations with this group. The more radical, plebeian elements in the party could never forget his highly visible profile as a director of the Banca Commerciale and a friend of other banking interests. His main achievement was the stabilization of the lira, albeit at a high exchange rate. His loyalty to fascism was based on its ability to provide an economic environment in which trade unions were

suppressed, international competition discouraged and markets created through imperial expansion.

In 1934 Volpi became president of Confindustria. When war broke out he favoured the Germans but by November 1942, heavy allied bombing of industrial targets had caused a change of heart. Sacked from Confindustria on 30 April 1943, he was arrested by the Germans in September but escaped to Switzerland in July 1944. He returned to Italy in October 1947 and died on 16 November 1947 in Rome.

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W

WAGNER Adolf (1890–1944)

German National Socialist gauleiter, Minister of the Interior and Minister of Education in Bavaria.

Born on 1 October 1890 in Algringen (Lorraine), the son of a miner, Adolf Wagner went to school in Metz and Pforzheim and in 1910 studied Maths and Science for a year in the University of Strasbourg before continuing his studies in mining engineering in a technical college in Aachen. As a staff officer and company commander in the First World War he lost his right lower leg and was also gassed. From October 1919 to October 1929 he was the director of several mining companies in Bavaria and Austria and then a publisher.

In 1923 he became *Ortsgruppe* leader of the NSDAP in Erbdorf near Beyreuth and took part in the Munich *putsch* of November 1923. After the proscription of the NSDAP he represented the Völkisch Bloc in the Bavarian provincial parliament from April 1924. Wagner, who read Hitler's speeches when the latter was banned from speaking, a privilege he later expanded to apeing Hitler's gestures and speech-patterns, was appointed gauleiter of the Greater Munich Gau in October 1929 and in the following year of the Gau München-Oberbayern (Munich–Upper Bavaria). Despite his business connections (which he exploited to assist in the financing of the National Socialists), Wagner supported the Strasserite heresy for a time in 1928/9 but abandoned the 'pro-worker' line when he realized that it would not enhance his career prospects. A violent opponent of Catholicism, he tried, as Minister of the Interior in Bavaria, to have crucifixes removed from Bavarian public schools.

From a position as Commissioner in the Ministry of the Interior in Bavaria in March 1933, he rose to be the Minister in April and deputy Minister-President of Bavaria. Elected to the Reichstag on 2 November 1933, Wagner, in the following year, was one of those who acted against the SA leaders in Bavaria during the Röhm purge after the incitement of a 'mutiny' which could be easily crushed and which provided Hitler with his excuse for severe measures against his erstwhile colleagues. He was to

become the single most important Nazi in Bavaria following the Nazi seizure of power, in which Adolf Wagner played a vital part in his home province. Hitler called him 'the best, the most favourite and the most idealistic colleague in Bavaria'.

On 28 November 1936 he added the portfolio of the Ministry of Education and Public Worship in Bavaria to his responsibilities. The womanizing, chain-smoking, heavy-drinking, brutal 'despot of Munich' once declared that he would have every finger cut off if Hitler ordered it. In June 1942 the high-living, particularly the alcohol, took its toll, and Wagner was virtually incapacitated by a stroke, although he did not resign his position as gauleiter until August 1943. Wagner died on 12 April 1944 in Munich.

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WAGNER, Josef (1899–1945)

German National Socialist gauleiter and Oberpräsident who transformed the NSDAP in Westphalia from a splinter group into a leading contender for power.

Born into a Catholic family in Algringen (Lorraine/Lothringen) on 12 January 1899, the son of a miner, Josef Wagner attended a teachers' training college in Wittlich. In 1917 he served with the Reserve Regiment No. 65 on the Western Front and was captured by the French in 1918. After the war he worked as a financial civil servant in Fulda following the completion of his training college education.

A member of the NSDAP from 1922 when he founded an *Ortsgruppe* in Bochum, Wagner was appointed *Bezirkleiter* in 1927, having been an assiduous activist and speaker in the period since 1925,

and gauleiter for Westphalia in October 1928, a Gau later to be divided; Wagner, in 1930, continued as gauleiter of Westphalia South where he edited the newspaper, *Rote-Erde*, from 1931. He had, in fact, been the *de facto* leader of the Gau after Kaufmann (*q.v.*) took leave of absence. In December 1934 Wagner was appointed gauleiter and *Oberpräsident* (the senior administrative official) of Silesia, after the purge of party officials resulting from the Röhm (*q.v.*) affair. As a protégé of Göring (*q.v.*), he was appointed Reich Price Commissioner under the Four-Year Plan in October 1936; in this function he was expected to smooth over the worst effects of inflation caused by the massive armaments programme. His dictatorial temperament in the question of appointments and his attempt to influence party courts made him unpopular with certain of his colleagues and with the office of the *Stellvertreter des Führers* (the deputy leader, Rudolf Hess's office).

His firm Catholic convictions and his strong support for the Church, encouraged and strengthened by his formidable wife, were to lead him into trouble when he refused to allow his convent-educated daughter, Gerda, to marry a lapsed Catholic SS man. In September 1939 he was made Reich Defence Commissioner for Army Group VIII. Having incurred the dislike of Bormann (*q.v.*) and made an enemy of Himmler (*q.v.*) through opposing his resettlement policy in Poland, he was dropped as *Oberpräsident* and gauleiter of Silesia in January 1941 and from the Gauleitung of Westphalia by the end of 1941.

On 12 October 1942 he was expelled from the party after a dispute with Hitler. Under suspicion by the Gestapo, Wagner, as an associate of Yorck von Wartenburg and as a visitor to the Vatican immediately before the assassination attempt on Hitler of 20 July 1944, was imprisoned and executed on 22 April 1945 in Berlin.

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WAGNER, Robert (1895–1946)

German National Socialist gauleiter of Baden and then of Alsace-Baden.

Born into an old farming family as Robert Backfisch on 13 October 1895 in Lindach (Neckartal), Robert Wagner took his mother's maiden name. His teacher training course was interrupted by the First World War in which he fought as a volunteer in the Baden Grenadier Regiment No. 110 in the Champagne country and in Flanders; he was promoted to lieutenant. In 1919 he was forced to move with his regiment to Thuringia as Baden was in the neutral zone, following his part in the suppression of the communist insurrection in Baden, Mannheim and Karlsruhe, an experience that turned him to anti-republicanism. He was arrested in 1921 after hiding weapons from the Allied Control Commission, and sent back from Villingen to Baden where he continued his clandestine rightist activities. In September 1923, placed in command of the Infantry School in Munich, he first encountered National Socialism and two months later was at the head of his students in Hitler's beer hall *putsch*. After serving 15 months in Landesberg prison in April 1924, Wagner returned in the autumn to Baden, unemployed, his military career now in ruins.

In Karlsruhe he was associated with *völkisch* youth groups and eventually received Hitler's permission to begin an official NSDAP group after his name was rejected from the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei's (the substitute for the banned NSDAP) election list. As gauleiter of Baden from 22 March 1925, he centralized the party structure and built up a reputation for preferring working-class members as more reliable, although he actually operated through a party elite. In 1929 he was elected to the Baden Landtag and in March 1933 became a Reichstag member. Wagner was no speaker, had little charisma and was colourless, but on 5 May he was appointed *Reichstatthalter* (Governor) of Baden. As a Reich Commissioner he was allowed to assume police powers in Baden and became known as an enemy of the Catholic Church. He was also leader of the chief personnel office of the party on Hess's (*q.v.*) staff.

After the fall of France, Wagner took over as chief of the civil government in Alsace on 2 August 1940. He was given the function of winning the 'population of Alsace . . . to the ideas of National Socialism', a task which was to prove disastrous. As the supreme state authority and party leader in Alsace, he assumed, through a special court in Strasbourg, power over life and death. With terrorism and mass deportations he attempted to impose both Germanization and Nazification and cooperated in every way with Himmler (*q.v.*) in the deportation of Jews. In December 1942 he was appointed Reich Defence Commissioner for Baden, a function he already held

for Alsace. In hiding after the end of the war, he eventually surrendered to the US authorities on 29 July 1945. Under interrogation his US interlocutors noted that the self-assured and self-righteous Wagner had retained his 'ferocious fidelity to Nazi ideology'. He was sentenced to death by a French military court and executed by firing squad in Strasbourg on 14 August 1946.

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WALLENIUS, Kurt Martti (1893–1984)

Finnish soldier, writer and politician of the extreme right. Born in Kuopio on 25 July 1893, Wallenius graduated from university in 1915. He joined one of the Jäger battalions trained by the Germans to fight on the Eastern Front against the Russians and became head of recruiting and supplies in Finland. He served in the Finnish War of Independence on the North-Eastern Front first as a lieutenant and then as a major. He became the commander of a Lapp border patrol battalion in March 1918, fought with the Murmansk Legion in their attacks on the Murmansk railway line, and took part in May and June in the punitive expedition which hunted for Red Finns hiding in the Murmansk area. In 1920 he took charge of the Petsamo expedition which occupied the soon-to-be-granted area around Petsamo (Petchenga). From 1922 to 1924 he was a battalion commander in the Viipuri Regiment and in 1924 commander of the Pohjanmaa light infantry. He visited Germany from 1923 to 1925 where he attended a German military general staff officers course. He was chief of the Finnish General Staff from 1927 to 1930 and in the latter year promoted to major-general. He was a delegate at the Geneva disarmament conference in 1927/8.

From 1930 he became involved with the fiercely anti-communist, fascistic Lapua Movement: he was its general secretary in 1931–2 and the secretary of Suomen Lukko (Finland's Lock) which attempted to coordinate the various extremist movements connected with the Lapua Movement. His belief in direct action led, in October 1930, to his famous order for the abduction of Finland's first President

K.J. Ståhlberg and his wife (for which he was later acquitted) and on 27 February 1932 to his part in the Mäntsälä revolt when, in pursuit of his preparations for a *coup d'état* led by the paramilitary defence volunteers, the Suojeluskunta, and the Lapua Movement, which would place Mannerheim in supreme power, he marched south towards the eponymous town with some 200 men. Following his release from custody owing to ill-health, for an action which he claimed that he joined only after it had begun, he moved to Petsamo to manage a fish factory and from 1937 to 1939 was employed as a war correspondent in China and in 1939 in Germany.

During the Winter War Wallenius commanded the Lapland groups to February 1940 and then fought on the Viipuri Front. After the war, he moved to Rovaniemi where he lived as a small farmer in the rugged wilderness and turned to writing novels, nature books and fairy tales. He developed into one of the best-known post-war Finnish writers, beginning with his collection of stories *Emäpuu Kertoo* (1942), placing his macho soldiers, Lapp reindeer herders and fishermen in a close symbiotic relationship with the harsh but beautiful terrain. Wallenius died on 5 May 1984 in Helsinki.

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WEICHARDT, Louis Theodor (1894–1985)

South African founder of the anti-Semitic and National Socialist Greyshirts.

Born on 21 May 1894 in Paarl (Cape Province), Weichardt was of German extraction and fought for Germany in the First World War after moving there to complete his education in 1912. A barber by profession, he founded on 26 October 1933 in Cape Town, an organization called the South African Christian National Socialist Movement whose paramilitary section was known as the Gryshemde or Greyshirts. It amalgamated with various smaller groups like the White Workers' Party and after its first congress operated as the South African National Socialist Movement.

Weichardt was interned during the Second World War as a political enemy of the state. Following his

release in 1944 he worked closely with Oswald Pirow's (*q.v.*) New Order to work for a National Socialist South Africa. After the electoral victory by the Nationalist Party in 1948, Weichardt disbanded his own party and transferred his allegiance to Dr Malan's party. He was nominated by the National Party as a Senator on 6 December 1955 and was then elected senator in 1965; he served until 1970. Louis Weichardt died on 26 October 1985.

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WELCH, Robert Henry Winborne (1899–1985)

Founder and leader of the extreme anti-communist organization, the John Birch Society, in the United States.

Born in Chowan City, N.C., on 1 December 1899, Welch was educated at the US Naval Academy from 1917 to 1919 and at Harvard Law School from 1919 to 1921 (he did not complete his course at the latter establishment). From 1922 he worked as a sweet manufacturer, spending his most successful years working for E.J. Brock and Sons of Chicago and for his brother James O. Welch of Boston. His outlook at this time was that of the typically anti-statist, small business Republican. For seven years he was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers. In 1950 he stood as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. As a supporter of Senator Taft and of Joseph McCarthy, he brought a distinctly paranoid flavour to traditional conservative Republicanism. He retired from the confectionary business in 1956 to devote himself to saving America from the communist threat: the threat he had persuaded himself menaced the state in the same way as the Illuminati had done in the eighteenth century. A number of his major themes had been picked up from the sub-current of nativist, nationalist and extreme conservative ideas which circulated in the 1930s. Learning from Elizabeth Dilling (*q.v.*), James True and Robert Edmondson (*q.v.*), Welch recirculated the idea of communism as a ubiquitous conspiracy and the United States as constitutionally a republic rather than a democracy.

In 1958 he launched the John Birch Society, named after an obscure intelligence officer killed by the Chinese communists shortly after the end of the Second World War and, therefore, the first casualty of the Cold War. With a powerful propaganda effort and more than 100,000 members, the movement had, by the mid-1960s, developed into a far from negligible influence as a pressure group within the Republican Party: this was despite his bizarre accusations that President Eisenhower was a dedicated and conscious agent of the communist conspiracy (a charge made in *The Politician*) and that between 60 and 80 per cent of US citizens were already communist. Not surprisingly, as two-thirds of the council of the Society were small businessmen, calls for less government and for restrictions of free collective bargaining were prominent among the Society's demands. Welch had, in 1956, addressed the States Rights Conference in Memphis and was no friend of civil rights. From 1956 he was the editor of *American Opinion*, one of the Society's journals. After retiring as chairman in 1983, Welch became honorary chairman of the Society. He died on 6 January 1985 in Winchester, Mass.

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WESSEL, Horst (1907–30)

*German SA leader and source of a myth of martyrdom invented by Goebbels (*q.v.*) after his death.*

Born on 9 September 1907 in Bielefeld, the son of a Lutheran clergyman and a freemason, Horst Wessel was an active member of the conservative nationalist Bismarck Bund, the youth section of the DNVP. He was also a militant in Captain Ehrhardt's (*q.v.*) Wiking Bund. He held a degree from the University of Berlin in law and worked as a copywriter. A typical example of the restless and rebellious generation who manned the SA, he seems to have found his métier from the autumn of 1926 in charge of Storm Section V of the SA in the communist Friedrichshain area of Berlin.

Wessel became involved in 1929 with a prostitute, Erna Jaenicke, and in his obsession with her lost interest in his party duties. Tricked by his landlady, Horst Wessel was shot in his apartment by a communist pimp and petty criminal Ali Höhler, who was at the head of a group from the Red Veterans' Organization for what were personal and not political reasons. Wessel died of his wounds in Friederickshain hospital on 23 February 1930.

Horst Wessel's death at the hands of a communist was exploited by Goebbels in his journal, *Angriff* and his funeral turned into a violent political demonstration. The young SA man was elevated from a simple political martyr to the plane of myth – a myth, as Baird has argued, 'of resurrection and return'. His tomb became a shrine, he was lauded in poetry and film, street and ship names, units of the German Army were named after him, and, above all, the song whose lyrics he had written in 1929, set to a communist marching tune, was exalted to the status of Germany's second national anthem in 1933. The cult survived almost until the fall of the Third Reich.

Although it seems that Wessel's religious background had left him with a perverted idealism and a semblance of a social conscience, the facts of his death were at variance with quasi-religious legend, created by Goebbels, of a paragon of party virtue. In his oration at the opening of Horst Wessel's monument, Goebbels had compared him to Christ.

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WIELE, Jef van der (1903–79)

Founder of the Flemish collaborationist organization, DeVlag.

Jef van der Wiele was born, on 20 July 1903, the son of a cattle dealer who served as Mayor of Deurne between 1919 and 1933. He studied in Antwerp and Ghent and then taught in Aalst and Deurne. He was known to his friends at this time as 'Jef Cognac' because of his Francophile outlook. As a mature student, he received a Doctorate in Philosophy and Letters, specializing in German philology. In 1937 he made a study tour of Germany where he did research on the reception of Flemish literature in Germany from 1897 to 1937. His thesis earned him

an honour from the Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde in 1939.

In 1936 he had become the leader of the Deutschen–Vlaamsche Arbeidsgemeenschap (German–Flemish Working Community) universally known as DeVlag. What began as a scholarly circle of philologists without political content developed into an extreme right pro-Nazi political movement. Van der Wiele edited the Community's magazine, *Nieuw Vlaanderen*, from 1936 to 1940. On 7 November 1940 he was appointed secretary of the short-lived Vlaamsche Kultuurraad.

In the years of German occupation one of the major vehicles of absolute collaboration was the militant National Socialist DeVlag. Van der Wiele believed not only in the incorporation of Flanders into the Greater German Reich, with himself as gauleiter (he wrote a pamphlet in 1942, *Op Zoek naar een Vaderland*, which traces the history of this idea) but also supported and encouraged the total mobilization of Flemish youth on behalf of the Reich and made fervent efforts in the propaganda war to recruit volunteers for the Eastern Front. His readiness to cooperate with the most extreme elements of the collaboration (he toured Wallonia with Degrelle (*q.v.*) in 1943) brought him into conflict with the Flemish VNV and its leader, Elias (*q.v.*). DeVlag had managed, in May 1941, to avoid the forced merger of the authorized parties. In November 1943 van der Wiele voluntarily united the youth wing of DeVlag with the Hitler Youth under Benewitz and then von Schirach (*q.v.*).

As the Allies approached, he left for Germany in September 1944 and found employment with the Vlaamse Landsleiding in Waldeck-Pyrmont. By this time he was the only Fleming with whom the Germans could deal. From a base in Cologne, van der Wiele was given the unenviable task of creating an organization to reassemble the scattered Flemish refugees. On 6 December 1944 van der Wiele was declared, rather belatedly, the leader of the Flemish people; he had not, however, been even the titular head of DeVlag since 1941, this dubious distinction going to Gottlob Berger (*q.v.*), Chief of the SS Main Office. He was recognized by Ribbentrop (*q.v.*) as the head of the so-called Vlaamsch Bevrijdingscomité (Flemish Liberation Committee).

In 1946 van der Wiele was arrested wearing a German officer's uniform and in November condemned to death by the Antwerp court martial. This sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in 1963. Moving to the Federal Republic of Germany, he was resident there until shortly before his death. He died in Bruges on 4 September 1979.

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WINNIG, August (1878–1956)

German trade union leader and SPD member who adopted conservative-völkisch ideas and flirted briefly with National Socialism.

Born on 31 March 1878, the son of a grave-digger, Winnig was brought up in a very poor household. He qualified as a mason and became editor of the masons' journal, *Der Grundstein*, from 1905 to 1913. As a trade unionist he first organized for the Masons' Union and then in 1913 became president of the German Building Workers' Union. By November 1918 he was a leading administrative official as plenipotentiary of the Reich for the Baltic States and Reich Commissioner for East and West Prussia. He was still at this juncture a member of the socialist SPD even if this was in the *Die Glocke* faction of social imperialists on the extreme right of the party. Winnig had wholeheartedly supported the war effort.

In 1919 he was appointed *Oberpräsident* of East Prussia. After his open association with the right-wing June Club and his involvement with the Kapp (*q.v.*) *putsch* in March 1920, he was finally expelled from the Socialist Party. In fact, he had long since rejected Marxist socialism. In the early 1920s he launched, with Paul Lensch, the bi-weekly, *Der Firm*. Winnig found a temporary new home in the Old Socialist Party in Saxony which he helped to establish in 1926; he worked closely with Ernst Niekisch (*q.v.*). He shortly left the Old Socialist Party to co-edit Niekisch's journal, *Widerstand* (Opposition), but he suffered from a common ideological ailment of the time, a kind of conceptual confusion, so that, as a member of the *Widerstandsbewegung* he described himself as a National Bolshevik while simultaneously contributing to the conservative *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*. In 1933 his book *Vom Proletariat zum Arbeitertum* was published.

His political evolution now led him increasingly towards the conservative-völkisch band of the ideological spectrum and especially to the Deutsche Handelshilfenverband, the lower-middle-class shop workers' union: his rejection of equality and his

failure to embrace the currents of modernism, flowing freely in the Weimar Republic, made him a natural ally of the völkisch *Mittelstand* organizations. As a strong Lutheran, Winnig rejected what he perceived as a pervasive Jewish influence in the labour movement, a rejection which led him to embrace a German Christianity on the lines of that advocated by Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*q.v.*). By 1932 the convergence of Winnig's position with that of the National Socialists had become apparent and in that year his book, *What We Expect of the National Socialists*, appeared.

Winnig was soon to be disenchanted with the Nazi performance. He never joined the NSDAP despite Gregor Strasser's (*q.v.*) endeavours as a recruiting sergeant. His true voice, that of the traditional conservative believer in a German *Volks-gemeinschaft*, was expressed in his *Das Reich als Republik, 1918–1928* (1928). Under the Third Reich Winnig refused the offer of leadership of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront and gradually drifted towards those who joined the 'inner emigration'. Even if, however, he concentrated on his literary career and was known to have committed minor acts of resistance nevertheless, he was happy to be a fellow traveller during the late 1930s and attended such compromised gatherings as Grimm's (*q.v.*) regular Lippoldsberg meetings of writers. Winnig survived the war and died on 3 November 1956 in Bad Nauheim.

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WINROD, Gerald Burton (1900–57)

American fundamentalist and leader of the anti-Semitic Defenders of the Christian Faith.

Born on 7 March 1900 in Wichita (Kansas), the son of a small-town bartender converted to evangelism, Winrod and others with similar fundamentalist tastes created the Defenders of the Christian Faith in November 1925 in Salina, Kansas. Setting their faces against the tide of evolutionary and modernist thought, in April 1926 they launched the monthly journal, *The Defender*, equipped with a simple 'back to the Bible' theology. By 1936 it had a circulation of 100,000. Winrod's objections to Darwinism were expressed in one of his books *Christ Within* (1932).

Believing himself possessed of prophetic powers and empowered by divine mission, he came to see the political realities of the 1930s, including the rise of the fascist powers and the advance of the New Deal, in an apocalyptic light. He saw, fascism and communism, as twin manifestations of a tyrannical collectivism.

Towards the end of 1932 Winrod 'discovered' the Jewish 'world conspiracy' and began to purvey the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which he believed were accurate in substance and spirit if not absolutely genuine. Associating the Beast of Revelations with communism, Catholicism and the Jews, Winrod, after 1934, became progressively more sympathetic to Nazi explanations of their anti-Semitism; he blamed the Jews themselves for their treatment. In 1938 Winrod was a candidate in the Republican primary election for the Senate in Kansas. Despite his best endeavours to moderate his anti-Semitism and to play up his economic conservatism, he still came third with only 22 per cent of the vote in a state with a strong German Mennonite and Ku Klux Klan presence.

As war approached, Winrod, the archetypal isolationist, strongly opposed American intervention in Europe and regarded the war, when it arrived, as Jewish-inspired. He was indicted in July 1942 in the abortive *US v. McWilliams* trial, known unofficially as the Great Sedition Trial, for conspiracy to cause insubordination in the armed forces. Following the declaration of a mis-trial, he returned to Wichita where *The Defender* still appealed to large numbers of subscribers. In his last years he dabbled in unorthodox medicine and saw the atom bomb as a step towards Armageddon. He died in Wichita on 11 November 1957.

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WOLFF, Karl Friedrich Otto (1900-84)

German Higher SS and police leader and Waffen-SS general who commanded SS troops in Italy.

Born on 13 May 1900 in Darmstadt, the son of a

county court magistrate (Landgerichtsrat), Wolff joined the Grand Duke of Hesse's Life-Guard Infantry Regiment No. 115. He served in 1917 and 1918 in the First World War. He returned home after the armistice with the rank of lieutenant, and became a company commander in the Hesse Free Corps until May 1920. Following his discharge as a lieutenant, from 1920 to July 1922 he was employed as a bank clerk and after a period of unemployment ran an advertising agency from 1925. It was bankruptcy that forced him into joining the NSDAP on 17 October 1931 as member No. 695,131 and the SS, at the same time, as No. 14,235.

Dubbed *Wölfchen* (Little Wolf) by Himmler (*q.v.*), Karl Wolff became adjutant to Ritter von Epp (*q.v.*) in Bavaria in 1933 and served as Himmler's senior aide from 1933 to 1935. He was promoted to SS-*Brigadeführer* in November 1935, and from 1936 chief of the personal staff of the *Reichsführer-SS*. The private office that he ran within the SS was raised on 8 June 1939 to the status of a *Hauptamt*. In 1936 he became a member of the Reichstag and on 30 January 1937 was promoted to SS-*Gruppenführer*. On 26 August 1939 he was appointed chief liaison officer between Himmler and Hitler's headquarters. On 3 May 1940 he was elevated to major general of police (*Generalleutnant*). His rise continued with his appointment on 30 January 1942 as a General of Police and SS-*Obergruppenführer*.

Wolff's main claim to fame was as Military Governor of Northern Italy and Higher SS and police chief from 23 September 1943. He had been given the commission as 'special adviser for police matters', taking orders directly from Himmler, to set up the SS and police apparatus in the event of Badoglio removing Italy from participation in the Axis war effort. From the end of July 1944 Wolff served as military plenipotentiary in North Italy. As the end of the war approached and Wolff began to fear an imminent surrender by the Salò authorities, he decided on his own initiative, in March 1945, to negotiate with Alletti Dulles of the American Office of Strategic Services in Berne, Switzerland. He had already (in February), on Himmler's instructions, explored the possibility of the Vatican acting as a mediator through the good offices of the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Schuster, and the Archbishop of Turin. The surrender of the one million soldiers of the Army Group South finally took place on 2 May 1945 and Wolff was rewarded for his complicity by his absence on the defendants' benches at Nuremberg. He did not, however, escape unscathed and was sentenced to four years' hard labour in 1946 by a denazification court, for war crimes in his capacity as

chief of Himmler's personal staff in his inspection of concentration camps.

In 1961 his case was reopened and he was charged by a Munich assize court with the organization of the transport for 300,000 Jews to Treblinka (he wrote to Dr Ganzenmüller of the Transport Ministry in July 1942 that he would 'assure the implementation of the process without friction'). In the meantime he had become a wealthy man through his business interests in advertising. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on 30 September 1964. Released in 1969 for reasons of ill health and finally freed entirely in 1971, Wolff was involved in the scandal over the sale of the forged 'Hitler Diaries' to *Stern* magazine after he had appointed Gerd Heinemann, the compromised *Stern* journalist, as his literary heir and executor. Wolff died in Rosenheim on 16 July 1984.

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WULLE, Reinhold (1882–1950)

German völkisch politician and leader of the Deutsch-völkische Freiheitspartei.

Born on 1 August 1882 in Folkenberg (Pomerania), Wulle studied German, theology and history and from 1908 worked as a journalist of decidedly conservative and anti-Semitic leanings. His earliest political allegiance was to the Pan-German movement. From 1918 to 1920 he was chief editor of the newspaper, the *Deutsche Zeitung* (Berlin). In the spring of 1920, Wulle met with Richard Kunze and Dr Arnold Ruge to attempt to unite the various völkisch groups under one coordinating directory. In 1922 the revolutionary völkisch purists, including Wulle, broke with the conservative DNVP to found their own Deutsch-völkische Freiheitspartei and in March 1923 they formed an alliance with the northern wing of the NSDAP, under which they agreed that Hitler would be recognized as the Führer of the DVFP in the north; in the end this arrangement was to prove impossible to implement. From 1920 until December 1924 Wulle was a member of the Reichstag, at first representing the DNVP, then the DVFP, and briefly from May 1924, the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei, when the DVFP entered into an alliance with some of the fugitives from the proscribed NDSAP.

Wulle was to remain loyal to the DVFP and from 1928 to 1933 served as its leader. In January 1928 his endeavour to form a wider Völkisch-National Kampfblock, which would include many of the existing völkisch organizations, was a complete failure: only the Wehrwolf and VVVD organizations expressed any interest. A disciple of Langbehn (*q.v.*) and Paul de Lagarde (1827–91), Wulle believed that spiritual renovation had to precede the seizure of political power; he channelled most of his energy into the problems associated with the ideological and cultural condition of Germany rather than on the strategic and tactical methods of attaining power. He never quite found a satisfactory resolution of the conflict arising from, on the one side, the demands of the 'voice of the blood', and, on the other, the obligations of his strong Christian faith. His major work on cultural themes was *Die Sendung des Nordes* (the Mission of the North).

Although Wulle had dabbled with Hitlerism in the mid-1920s, he came to believe that Hitler's fanatical political drive was immoral and completely at variance with his own mystical, anti-materialist creed. He called Hitler 'the Bavarian cross-breed between Mussolini and Louis XIV'. Such sentiments led to his inevitable expulsion from the Reichspressekammer and from July 1938 to July 1940 he was incarcerated in Sachsenhausen concentration camp, released only through the intercession of the völkisch enthusiast, Frick (*q.v.*). In 1930 Wulle had opposed the Harzburg Front, which included the Nazis, and in 1932 had supported von Papen (*q.v.*) and von Schleicher. He could well have been the Minister of Public Affairs in the event of a von Schleicher-led military government having been set up in January 1933. Wulle continued his political activity in the Gesellschaft Deutsche Freiheit (Society for German Freedom).

In October 1945 he returned to the political scene with the conservative-völkisch Deutsche Aufbau-partei, which he founded with Joachim von Ostau, his old colleague of the early 1930s. In March 1946 the DAP merged with the German Conservative Party of North Rhine-Westphalia to form the German Conservative Party. Wulle died on 16 July 1950 in Gronau (Westphalia).

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Y

YAGÜE BLANCO, Juan Lorenzo Teodoro (1891–1952)

Spanish Falangist general.

Born on 19 November 1891 in San Leonardo (Soria), the son of a rural doctor, Yagüe graduated as an officer in July 1910, having entered the Military Academy in Toledo in 1907. He served in Africa, working his way up from captain to commandant. He fought in Morocco, became an adjutant on the staff of General Ricardo Burguete Lana (1871–1937) in 1924 and then was a part of the African Expeditionary Force of legionaries and Moors that suppressed the Asturian rising in 1934. Considered by the right as the pacifier of the Asturias, he was known to the left as 'the hyena of the Asturias'. He was one of the few high-ranking officers to join the Falange Española. As a colonel he took part in the conspiratorial preparations for the rebellion of 1936. He worked harmoniously with Franco, an old ally, but was hostile to General Mola: the two men were of completely opposite temperaments, the cautious Mola and the impetuous Yagüe.

He tried to persuade the Falange of the need for a corps of trained officers. So prominent and respected was he in the Falange that some of the old guard favoured him as successor to José Antonio Primo de Rivera (*q.v.*). In the later stages of the war, there was some evidence that he had become disillusioned with the killing and the political manoeuvring that went on in Salamanca, intrigues in which he was himself involved. (In 1936 it was Yagüe who had ordered the bloody murders in the bull-ring in Badajoz.) He was known to be honest and fair, to the extent of criticizing the administra-

tion of justice in the nationalist zone. His outspokenness was to lead him into trouble in April 1938 when he was removed from his offices for an attack on Franco's Cabal, only to be returned to his command later in the year. He once reminded his audience that the Reds too were born in Spain. During the Civil War, as chief of the second Bandera of the Legion, a post to which he had been appointed in February 1936, he took Ceuta and then marched from Seville in the direction of Madrid. In April 1937 he was given command of the 4th Division South of Madrid. He took part in the battles of Brunete, Teruel and Lerida. He has been assessed militarily as one of the best generals of the Civil War.

At the end of the war, after a brief spell in Germany, he was appointed Air Minister on 12 August 1939 only to be dismissed by Franco; his career was blighted by an unfortunate incident when some Italian aircraft were allowed to refuel in Spain on their way to Gibraltar following the Italian declaration of war against Britain. He was exiled for a time to San Leonardo and in 1940/1 was involved on the fringes of the anti-Franco conspiracy. However, in 1942 he was restored to favour and promoted to captain-general and on 24 September 1943 to head of the 6th military region. Yagüe died on 21 October 1952 in Burgos.

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ZEHRER, Hans (1899–1966)

German neo-conservative and authoritarian founder of the influential Tat Circle.

Hans Zehrer was born on 22 June 1899 in Berlin, the son of a humble postal official. He served on the Western Front from 1917 in the Garde-Jäger and won the Iron Cross Second Class, having volunteered for military service at the age of 17. After the war he fought as a soldier in the suppression of the left-wing outbreaks following the failure of the Kapp (*q.v.*) putsch in 1920. He studied medicine, psychology, theology, history, philosophy and economics in Berlin University. Unable to continue his studies owing to financial difficulties, he eventually became a journalist on the moderate *Vossische Zeitung*, as foreign editor from 1925 to 1931 and then as editor-in-chief. In the fractious climate of middle-class unemployment which prevailed in the Weimar Republic at this time, Zehrer developed a revolutionary conservative philosophy and advocated a middle way between restoration and revolution, a kind of 'National Socialism' (not the Nazi variety) 'based on the *potestas* of Reichswehr and the *autoritas* of Presidency'. One of the leading influences on his self-perception as an intellectual outside the class structure was Moeller van den Bruck (*q.v.*). Zehrer was also an admirer of such diverse figures as the Italian Pareto and the maverick Belgian socialist Henri De Man (*q.v.*).

After the death of Eugen Diederichs, Zehrer officially took over the editorship of the journal *Die Tat* in September 1930: he had, in fact, been a contributor since 1928 and effectively in charge since October 1929. *Die Tat* was to become one of the leading organs of the right. In the early 1930s the ideas of the *Tat* circle were to exercise a strong influence on middle-class intellectuals. Favouring an open but unfettered authoritarian elite, Zehrer and his Circle called for nationalization of the banks, autarky and a semi-corporate state that would accept its social responsibilities, the end of party democracy in favour of a 'true' representation of the *völkisch* community, and German expansion in the East and South-East of Europe. His ideas drew him close to a

number of other elitist groups neither clearly of the extreme right or the extreme left, the National Bolsheviks, and to rightist groups like the Werewolf League and the Oberland League, Otto Strasser's (*q.v.*) Black Front, the German Freischar youth groups, and the Deutschnationale Handlungsgehilfenverband.

On 31 August 1932 Zehrer became editor of the *Tägliche Rundschau* of General von Schleicher, in whom he now placed his confidence in the creation of a 'revolution from above'. Zehrer approved von Schleicher's presidential ambitions and called for a Third Front between the Nazis and the left, between the authorities (*Obrigkeit*) and the masses, which would out-Hitler and outmanoeuvre the Nazi Führer, leaving an authoritarian elite regime, ruling with the cooperation of the trade unions, in power. When the game was up, Zehrer hoped that the Nazis, on gaining supreme power, would accept his more gentlemanly version of National Socialism, but after 3 May 1933 the *Tägliche Rundschau* was banned (with a small reprieve in July 1933) and the *Tat* Circle broken up in October. The man whom the SS journal, *Das Schwarze Korps*, referred to as 'an unruly conservative' retired to the North Sea island of Sylt in summer 1934, depressed and pessimistic. In December 1938 he returned to Berlin as a manager of the Berlin publishing house, Stallings-Verlag. In 1943 he was called up by the Luftwaffe but saw no active service.

Zehrer was taken up by the young Axel Springer after the war and he became editor-in-chief of the weekly paper, *Sonntagsblatte* of Hamburg (1948–53) and later of the conservative, *Die Welt* (1953–66). He wrote under the pseudonyms, Hans Thomas and Hans in Bild. According to Adolf von Thadden (*q.v.*), he influenced the programme of the Deutsche Rechtspartei but he had no truck with the blatant neo-Nazis. Zehrer died on 23 August 1966 in Berlin.

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